THE WORKES OF LVCIUS ANNÆVS

SENECA, Both Morrall and Naturall.

CONTAINING,

1. *His Bookes of Benefites.*
2. *His Epiſtles.*
3. *His Booke of Prouidence.*
4. *Three Bookes of Anger.*
5. *Two Bookes of Clemencie.*
6. *His Booke of a Bleſſed Life.*
7. *His Booke of the Tranquilitie of the minde.*
8. *His Booke of the Conſtancie of a Wiſeman.*
9. *His Booke of the Shortneſſe of Life.*
10. *Two Bookes of Conſolation to* MARTIA.
11. *Three Bookes of Conſolation to* HELVIA.
12. *His Booke of Conſolation to* POLIBIVS.
13. *His ſeuen Bookes of Naturall Queſtions.*

Tranſlated by THO. LODGE, *D. in Phyſicke.*

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby.* 1614.

ILLVSTRISSIMO HEROI, AC DOMINO SVO OBSERVANDISSIMO, D. THOMÆ EGERTONO, DOMINO DE ELLISMERE, SVMMO ANGLIAE CANCELLARIO, MAIESTATIS REGIAE à Secretioribus Concilijs omni virtutum genere ac Doctrina Clarissimo, Almæ Academiæ OXONIENSIS Cancellario, bonorumq; studiorum omnium *Mœcenati præstantissimo*,

THOMAS LODGE Doctor Medicus, *Salutem*.

Vi potius liber iste dicari velit, vel ego debeam dedicare quam Honori tuo (vir omnibus nominibus Honorande) deliberanti diu & multum cogitanti, plane non occurrebat. Etenim cum Philosophia ipsa inculta prorsus sit, & ab omnibus neglecta fere, tum si à pleriſq; vt horrida conspuatur, non est sane mirandum: Quo magis veteri quidem debet, ne temere

temere cuivis seſe offerat, ne forte in eos incidisse videatur, qui cuticulam curantes ipsi, nihil admirantur vltra cutem; quorum oculis nihil placet, nisi quod externa specie, & lineamentorum harmonia se commendet; quorum aures omnia respuunt, nisi quæ cum voluptate quadam influunt: quod si contingat, quomodo non contemptui apud omnes esset liber is, qui apud eum ipsum quem patronum sibi delegit potissimum, sordescat? Quod si ioculare quiddam & molliusculum in publicum proferendum statuerem, quod voluptate nescio qua, mentes hominum titillaret tantum,

Introrsum turpe & speciosum pelle decora,

(Vt inquit Poeta) non deesset hercle, qui

Fautor vtroq; meum laudaret pollice ludum,

Nec certe

——— Nauitus atq;
Quadrigis peterem.———

Mihi patronum aliquem

Quoi donem lepidum nouum libellum.

Opprimerer eorum multitudine credo, qui occurrerent mihi nænijs hisce patrocinaturi: Cum autem res serias tantum tractet author hic noster, idq; serio; quæ tantum ijs arrident, quibus leuiora illa arrident minus; tum eos qui subtiliori quodam oculo, & mentis acie, venustatem Philosophiæ illam intueri possunt, (quæ si corporeis oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret sui) nescio quod fatum contraxit in compendium. Et certe quamuis eorum numerus tantus esset atq; talis, quorum in sinum hic noster posset tuto Conuolare, vt delectus ipse delectum fere tolleret, nescio tamen an cuiquam ex omnibus deberi se

magis

magis agnoſceret, quàm Honori tuo, qui cum in eam opinionem iam diu veneris, vt inter prudentiſsimos, & virtute quam maxime excultos, principatum quendam tenere videaris; tum etiam ita ad certam authoris huius normam vitam direxiſſe, & momenta officiorum ea perpendiſſe videris omnia, quæ ab ipſo in ſapiente requiruntur; vt ſi in eadem tempora incidiſſes, ille ne præcepta ad exemplum tuum, an tu vitam ad ipſius præcepta conformâris, eſſet vehementer dubitandum. Qua de cauſa quidem, in ſpem maximam venit, aditum ipſi apud te patere; quôd ea afferat potiſsimum, quæ ſi tibi placeant, (quod non deſperat) nemini quidem à tuæ vitæ ratione non alieniſsimo, poterint diſplicere.

Quid quod & eum ſibi Patronum deligendum cenſet, qui ipſa authoritate poſsit eam ab aliorum iniurijs vindicare! quod cum ita ſit, nullius quidem iniurijs in eo locus erit, quamdiu totus ipſi apud te fuerit, cuius potentia, & authoritas, cum ſit maxima, talem tamen intuemur, vt maiorem indies & auctiorem fieri velimus omnes, qui videmus.

Inter *Ajacem*, & *Vlyſſem*, litem nonnullam apud Poetas legimus interiectam de *Achillis* armatura quondam, vter indueretur ipſa; de facto non diſputo. Poetarum mens ea fuit, vt cum prudentia polleret alter & concilio; lacertis alter atq; robore; apud quem tandem armorum eorum ius reſideret, eumne qui prudentiſsime ijs vti poſſet, an qui robuſtiſsime eluceret: quod ſi ex iure manu conſertum vocaret authoritas ſapientiam, & ſapientia authoritatem, ad quem tandem *Senecæ* noſtri patrocinium æquius pertineret, haud eſſet difficile quidem ad iudicandum. Tu vero vir Honorande

norande cum tanta ſis ſapientia, vt ab authoritate quantumuis maxima vinci non poſsit, & authoritatem tantam nactus es, vt ne ſapientiæ tuæ quamuis eximiæ & illuſtri velit loco cedere, facilè contrcuerſiam hanc omnem dirimes; in quo cum vtræq; ſummæ de paritate contendant ad quem patronum potius accurret, quam ad te, qui & propter ſapientiam ſingularem optimè conſultum voles libro non inſipientiſsimo, & propter egregiam authoritatem effectum dabis, libro malè ne conſulatur (dico confidenter) egregio.

Ad me vero quod attinet (Illuſtriſsime Mœcen.) cum multa alia perpulerint, vt te potiſsimum ſeligerem ſub cuius nomine prodeat hic labor in *Seneca* transferendo meus, tum iſta inprimis quæ dicturus ſum. Nempe vt ad ſenem ille de ſenectute ſenex, & amiciſsimus, ſcripſit ad amicum de amicitia, ita & ego (illud fileo quod quam vellem vt poſſem attexere) Philoſophiæ libros hos (quam ſapientiam dixere veteres) ad te ſapientiſsimum & Philoſophorum Oxonij ſtudentium omnium Patronum primarium inprimis ſtatui dedicandum. Quo quidem in loco non poſſum illius non meminiſſe, (quod prætermitti ſine ſcelere nefario non poteſt) quodq; grauiſsimi eſt inſtar argumenti, cur tibi vel ſoli, vel certe potiſsimum omnium noſtrûm qui Oxonienſes audimus in gratæ mentis teſtimonium, labores & ſtudia inſeruiant; quòd per te effectum eſt fere, vt ſtudijs noſtris ibi locus ſit, vbi cum floruere maxime, tum maxime eiecta inde voluiſſent ij, qui minime debuiſſent: per te vero iam effectum id videmus, vt qui fontes illos limpidiſsimos conturbarunt, quo minus hauſtus inde puriores eſſent, iam tandem aduerſum Muſarum Alumnos vtcumque

coaxant

coaxant fortaſſe, tantum tamen coaxare poſsint. De hoc autem ni grati ſimus omnes, omnium erimus ingratiſsimi. Quin quod magis me ipſum ſpectat, illud Cardinale quiddam eſt, quod cum beneuolentiæ erga me tuę veſtigia ſemper vidi non leuiter impreſſa, mihi nunquam ſatisfacio ipſi, priuſquam tibi (non dicam ſatisfaciam de animo erga me tuo) at agnoſcam certe quantis nominibus obſtrictum me & obæratum ſentiam: quin attexo, ideo tibi lubens dico, quod cum mihi beneuolus ſemper extiteris, tunc etiam & ab ijs qui ex me emanârunt vtcumque, animo eſſe non poteris alieno.

Hac ſpe fretus (Honorande *Mæcenas*) hoſce meos labores, quales, quales tibi trado in manus, quos æqui ſi conſulas, conditione haudquaquam iniqua ſuſceptos exiſtimauero: Deumque rogabo Opt. Max. vt tamdiu nobis te conſeruatum volet, quam-diu te virtutum tuarum minime pœnitebit.

Dignitatis tuæ,

Obſeruantiſſ.

THO. LODG. *D. M. P.*

REVERENDISSIMIS DOCTORIBVS, CÆTERISQVE IN STADIO LITERARIO OPTIME *EXCERCITATIS LECTORIBVS*;

THO. LODGE D. Medicus Phisicus. Salutem.

VM nulli magis opprobrijs alios conscindunt, & lacerant maledictis, quam ij qui in opprobrium ipsi facillime incurrunt; tum plerumq; id euenit, vt exilis cuiusdam ingenij ipsi sibi conscij, nihil sapere videri se credant aliis, nisi plane desipere se probent; dum ea carpunt omnino, quæ non Capiunt. Ex quo euenit, vt nihil egregium ita & excellens in publicum emanarit vnquam, in quod dentes isti mordaces non impegerint. A quo hominum genere cum ego me facile vindicare nesciam, apud vos (Viri Doctores doctoresq; prestantissimi, politioris literaturæ alumnos, qui quales erga vos ipsi velitis alios esse, tales estis erga omnes) præfatione vti nonnulla haud absonum fore existimaui, vt rationem consilij de Seneca *in nostrum sermonem transmittendo mei, vobis explicem.*

Video autem multis id displicere quidem, idq; vehementer, quod authores ita Latini transferantur, & in sermonem nostrum migrent Anglicum: cum multa alia tum illud inculcantes, iniuriam literis insignem inuehi, quod ea quæ literatorum deberent esse propria, nunc denuo prostituantur & omnibus contrectandã prouulgentur: Qui cum id agunt quid aliud agunt, quam vt nostri ad vnum omnes, a virtutum scientia vt profani quidam arceantur, velut a Dianę *sacris? De quibus illud est Calimachi* ἐκτὸς ἑκατὸς ἀλιτῶ. *Hi dum a se scientias omnes velut a Chaldæis dies postulari volunt, quid aliud agunt quam quæ ipsi vident vt cæteris omnibus inuideant? Quæ si mens eorum fuisset qui ista primo literis mandauerunt, quomodo tandem egregia illa ingenij eorum monumenta ad nostra hæc tempora permanare potuissent? Nec vero nios ille priscis inoleuit, vt cogitata illa sua præclara cæteris inuiderent, qui per se minus acie valerent & ingenio, & ex omnibus certe vix paucos reperias qui vel Græci Latine, vel Romani Græce scripserint, quo minus suis innotescerent ea quæ libri sui præclara continerent: ex quo effectum, id est vt quantum bruta intellectu cæteri, tantum ipsi ingenio cæteros anteceſſerint. Neq; vero non laudare possum Sapientissimum illum apud Laertium, qui cum de tribus Diis ageret gratias, quod homo esset natus, non brutum; quod vir, non fœmina, tertium id erat quod Athenien sis esset, non Barbarus; non quod solus inter eos sapere visus est, sed quod ex infinitis vnus esset, qui non nihil sapere didicisset: Et recte ad Amicum scribens* M. Tullius *monet, vt vbiuis esse malit, quam vbi sit, propterea quod multo rectius illic viuendum sit vbi aliquo numero siet, quam illic vbi solus sapere videatur. Et sane si æqui rerum æstimatores velimus esse, facile quidem inueniemus exculticres multo nostros, & limatiores quam antea*

tea extitisse, ex quo doctrina illa veterum, & historia Romanorum vernacula ipsos alloquente lingua perpoliri cæperunt. Quo in curriculo labores mei cum non nihil desudarint, tum facti mei tamdiu me non pœnitebit, quamdiu publicæ vtilitati & honori patriæ inseruire intellexero: & quanquam omnes reclamantes videro Comici, tamen illo me facile consolabor & recreabo, quod nihil in animo magis habeam, quam vt pluribus prosim.

Quin illud fortasse non recte quod παραδοξα occurrunt Senecæ nonnulla, quæ celari multo possunt honestius, quam in apricum protrudi, lucem non ferentia; & male locatã operam eam omnem clamabunt omnes, quæ in re non bona. Habet etiam ενδοξοτατα quã plurima, quæ si recte ediscantur nihil illa nocebunt: quanquam quid egi? Aut in quo euigilauere curæ & cogitationes meæ, nisi vt lectorem pro virili prænonerem, & ad scopulos eos digitum intenderem, ad quos si adhæserit fortasse, naufragium illico facturus sit?

Nec vero defuerint ij, qui id vitio mihi vertendum senserint, quod in omnibus non verbum verbo respondeat, quin infidus interpres sit ille necesse est, & vbi fide est opus vel maxime, fideliam adhibebit, qui ita interpretem agere edidiscit. Quin ille rectissime

Non verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus
Interpres———

Ne poterit quidem; quod tum eo res deducetur, vt dum in verbis se torquebit nimis, sensus interim elabatur omnis. Quis autem ita inscius erit, vt illud non intelligat in omni sermone, idiomata loquendi quædam apparere, & flores elegantiarum, quæ si verbis alienis efferantur, illico pro ridiculis habeantur? Longum esset huc omnia conuertere quæ falsissime a Latinis dicta, a nostris enuntiata verbis ijsdem,

dem, appareant insulsa. Quo facilius adducor, vt eius omnia sic interpreter, vt quæ proprijs verbis enuntiari non possunt, enuntientur quibus possunt aptissimis: Hic ego, si reprehensionem incurro iustam, exemplo me consolabor eorum, qui cum in hoc genere palmam ferant, crimen commune mecum sustinebunt, nec nostrorũ solum, sed & eorum etiam omnium qui in Hispania, Gallia, Italia communem mecum in eo genere nauarunt operam. Agnosco vero libentissime errata huc irrepsisse nonnulla, quæ vt homini cuiuis in summo otio non vigilantissimo, facile possunt obrepere quædam, ita si mihi in hoc opere frequentiora visum est quã erat æquum, facile ignoscet, qui rem ipsam vt acciderit cognoscet prius. Cum enim primo statuerem ita in hoc opere meam operam posuisse, vt nequid per incuriam elapsum mihi videri possit, in medio operis a me suscepti nescio quomodo in medium rerum omnium certamen incidi; Præterquã enim illud quod fratre charissimo pientissimoq; essem orbatus, ita vt studijs nullus in me locus esset relictus, quem dolor vniuersum occuparat, accidebat id etiam, vt turbis ijs forensibus, & molestijs vndiq; circumfrementibus opprimerer ita, vt dum illius omnia (iam cum beatis illis incolis agente æuum) cõponere studeo, ne subcisiuas horas certe mihi relinquo vllas, quibus huic operi iam inchoato supremam manũ imponam.

Interim ista dum aguntur annus fere integer elapsus est, &, adhuc tamen.

——— pendent opera interrupta minęq;
Murorum ingentes. ———

Vt Poetæ verbis vtar. Interea fremere Typographus, & de prælo tantum non prælia mouere, quæ nactus est typis excudenda curare sed citra curã: hoc modo ad imprimendum solum licentiã fortasse nactus, qui me premit semper nec pensi quid habet, quid imprimat. Quin tandẽ vt molestijs hisce me euoluo,

euoluo, colligo me vt possum ex magna iactatione, & dimidiũ Senecæ alterum quod imperfectum reliquerã, quanta possum abscluo celeritate, nec typographo satisfacio tamen inhianti suo semper luero, quin quæ manus prima coniecit in chartulas, subinde arripit ipsa impressione peiora facta emissurus, quæ prius acceperat omnino non optima, quippe quibus ipsius festinatio præpropera, ad ornanda se melius ne minimum quidem indulsit temporis. Ita fit vt quod mensium nonnullorum opus esse debuerit, diebus haud ita multis absolutum prodierit, atq; vtinam absolutũ. Quod si minus conceditur, non despero tamen quin per meum debinc otium quæ rudia iam excidere, limentur accuratius, & quæ obscuritate nonnulla videbuntur laborare, fiant etiam illustriora cum proxime emanabunt.

Obijcient alij (qui reprehensionis ansam vndiq; arripiẽt:) quod versus eius quosdam, vna cum Apocolocyntheſi, & Epistolis quibusdã ad Diuum Paulum exaratis (vt non nemo retulit e Patribus) omnino prætermiserim. Sed parcent mihi facile spero, qui prius norint, quibus rationibus adductus, huic ego labori pepercerim: Primo quidem de Apocolocyntheſi cum liber is totus dicterijs in mortem Claudii Cæsaris sit refertus ne alienus a se noster Seneca videretur, qui vbiq; seuerus & grauis, & ab hoc genere quã maxime videtur abhorrens, inutili labore potius supersedendum statui, quã ea attexenda, quæ labẽ nonnullam operi toti possent affricare. De reliquis autem id tantum dico, quod cum authoris huius an sint a multis in dubium vocari video, tum an a me sint interpretanda vehementer dubito.

Habetis iam tandem (Doctores & lectores beneuoli) quæ ego dicenda habeo, quæ si vobis candidioribus arridere perspicero, tum vt iis placeant quibus omnia displicent, vehementer non contendo. Valete.

To the Courteous Reader.

IT was well donne by Nature (gentle Reader) to giue time, but ill donne by men not to apprehend the ſame: How much thou haſt loſt in life in begetting vanities and nouriſhing them, in applauding follies, and intending them, read heare; and begin now to apprehend this, that it is but loſt life, that men liue in entertaining vaine things, & that no time is better ſpent, thē in ſtudying how to liue, and how to die wel. This ſhalt thou learne in our *Seneca*, whoſe diuine ſentences, wholſome counſailes, ſerious exclamations againſt vices, in being but a Heathen, may make vs aſhamed being Chriſtians; when wee conſider how backward a courſe wee haue runne from the right ſcope, by being buried in vaine readings, beſotted with ſelfe opinion, by apprehending vertue no more, but in a ſhadow, which ſerues for a vaile to couer many vices. It

is

is lost labour in most men now-a-dayes whatsoeuer they haue studied, except their actions testifie that readings haue amended the ruines of their sicke and intemperate thoughts: and too pregnant a proofe is it, of an age and time ill spent, when as after a man hath summed vp the account of his dayes that are past, hee findeth the remainder of his profites, hee should haue gotten in life, to be eyther ambition vnsatisfied, or dissolution attended by pouerty, or vaine vnderstanding boulstered by pride, or irkesome age called on by surfet; I must confesse that (had I effected it) I could haue pickt out eyther an author more curious, or a subiect more pleasing for common eares, to allure and content them. But seeing the worlds Lithargie so farre growne, that it is benummed wholly with false appearance, I made choice of this author, whose life was a pattern of continence, whose doctrine a detection and correction of vanities, and whose death a certaine instance of constancy. VVould God Christians would endeuour to practise his good precepts, to reform their owne in seeing his errours; and perceiuing so great light of learning from a Pagans pen, ayme at the true light of deuotion and pietie, which becommeth Christians. Learne in him these good lessons, and commit them to memory, That to be truely vertuous is to be happy, to subdue passion is to be truely a man, to contemne fortune is to conquer her, to foresee and vnmaske miseries in their greatest terrors is to lessen them, to liue well is to be vertuous, and to die well is the way to eternitie. This as often as I thinke vpon, I finde an alteration in my resolution, which heretofore hath too long time surfeited vpon time-pleasing;

I am armed againſt all worldly contempts, wherwith Enuie may pretend to loade mee. My ſoule and conſcience bearing me witneſſe that my intent and ſcope was only to draw men to amendment of life, & to root out vain cuſtomes, that are too much ingrafted in this age; What care I for detraction? which rather barketh for cuſtome ſake, then baiteth at mee for fierceneſſe. No Souldier is counted valiant, that affronteth not his enemie; no Philoſopher conſtant, that contemneth not Fortune; nor writer vnderſtanding, that ſcornes not detraction; I had rather bee condemned for confirming men in goodneſſe, then flattering the world in follie. Gentle Reader for thee I laboured, for thy good haue I made this admirable Roman ſpeake Engliſh, if it profit thee I haue my wiſh, if it diſpleaſe thee, it is thy want of iudgment.

Farewell.

In

In Momum.

Si tamen vsq; iuuat quæ sunt bona carpere, Mome,
Carpe hæc, vt morsu sint meliora tuo.
Quæ liber iste tenet forte ignorare videris,
Quin lege, mox fies forsitam ipse bonus.
Non in bicipiti quæ vidit somnia narrat,
Parnasso, ant vanis ludit imaginibus:
Nec prius vsq; nouem nisi quæ docuere sorores
Castalis vnda tuæ, nil docet iste liber
Vera sed hic rectæ promit dictamina vitæ,
Et sapiens narrat quæ bene dixit anus.
Si malus ista leges, poterint non ista placere
Nec non ista probes, qui legis, ipse bonus:
Vel non ergo legas quæ sunt benedicta, pudendis
Nec lacera verbis, quæ minus ipse capis,
Vel lege, nec carpas; vt non male prodita: dentes
Iamq; tibi gratulor Mome perire tuos.

THE LIFE OF LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA, DESCRIBED BY *IVSTVS LIPSIVS.*

CHAP. I.

Of his Countrey and Parents.

IT hath beene an olde cuſtome to publiſh the liues of worthy men, and thoſe whoſe wiſedomes, writings and actions we admire it doth not a little content vs to know ſuch other things as concerned or appertained vnto them. I will therefore ſpeake of *Seneca* as farre as may be, and will collect and diſpoſe all thoſe things that concerne this matter, both out of himſelfe and diuers other writers. It appeareth that he was borne in Corduba, an olde and flouriſhing Colony in Andalouzill in Spaine, and beſides that, the chiefeſt in thoſe Regions. This doth *Strabo* teſtifie in theſe wordes: *Amongſt all other Cities of Hiſpania, Batica, or Andalouzie, Corduba is enlarged both in glorie and power by* Marcellus *meanes: as alſo the Citie of Gaditana, the one by reaſon of Nauigations, and the ſocieties of the Romanes: the other, becauſe of the goodneſſe and greatneſſe of the countrey; the riuer Bahs likewiſe conferring much hereunto.* They praiſe it, and therewithall proue it to be auncient, becauſe it was *Marcellus* worke: which of them, was it his that was Prætor, or the other that was Conſull? For *Marcus Marcellus* the Prætor gouerned Spaine, as *Pliny* teſtifieth, *Lib. 3.*

Lib. 43. eth in the yeare of the Citie DLXXXV. although, as it seemeth, in peace and quietnesse; by which means the rather this Colony of his countrimen was drawne thither, and happily the Citie both increased and adorned. For that it was not built anew, it appeares by *Siluius*, who euen in *Hanibals* time called it Corduba. I had rather therfore ascribe it to him, then to the Consul *Marcellus*, who in the yeare DCI. gouerned the hither part of Spain, as it appeares in the Epitome, and thou mayest gather out of *Appian*; and hauing worthily executed his charge in that place, triumphed Celtibers. He had therefore at that time nothing to do with Bætica, or our Corduba, which is in the farther part of Spaine. But *Strabo* addeth more, The most chosen Romanes and Spaniards inhabited this Corduba from the beginning, and into these places did the Romanes send their first Colonie. Note this word Chosen; for it was so indeed: and thereupon afterwards, as I suppose, it obtained this priuiledge, that it was called *Colonia Patricia*. *Pliny* testifieth it most plainly; Corduba (saith hee) named the Patrician Colonie, and in *Augustus* stampe of money, *Permissu Cæsaris Augusti*, with his head on the one side, and then on the other side, *Colonia Patricia*. The cause of which title, in my opinion, is, because that being both a faire and a rich Citie, it supplied the Romane Common-wealth with Fathers and Senators. For now in *Augustus* age they made choice of men out of euery Prouince to make vp the Senate. Furthermore, *Strabo* saith, That the first Colonie was sent thither, which reade thou with circumspection. For Carteia in the same countrey of Bætica, before this time had a colonie planted in it by *Lucius Canuleius* Prætor: but because they were not of the better sort, it was called *Colonia Libertinorum*, or the colonie of the Libertines. Thou shalt reade it in *Liuy*, in the beginning of his 43. booke: yet mayest thou, and happily oughtest thou to defend *Strabo*, that those inhabitants were not sent from Rome or Italie, but that they were begotten by the Romane souldiers vpon the Spanish women; and by the permission of the Senate the Bastards had their libertie giuen them and were planted in a colonie. But *Strabo* expresly writeth, that a colonie was sent thither. Enough of Corduba, and this was his countrie; but who were his parents? It appeareth that they were of the Annæan race, whose name seemeth to be giuen them in way of good fortune, *ab Annis*. The sirname of *Seneca* likewise was fortunate. For the first, in my iudgment, had this name giuen him, although

Lib. 3. cap. 1.

Isidore

Isidore thinke, that hee who was at first so called, was borne grey headed. Vndoubtedly *Seneca*, or as the Auncients write, *Senica*: (for *Senecis* is deriued *à Sene*) signified γεροντιον, as *Senecio* doth. Let *Nonius* be seene in *Senica*. Hereunto I adde that in another kindred also I finde this sirname; as in Accia in an ancient stone *M. Accio Seneca*. *Manlio Plauta 11. virg. Quinq.* But whether those of the race of *Annæa* were of the Spanish race, or were sent out of Italie in a Colony, I dare not affirme; this onely I say, that they were of the order of Knights: for so *Seneca* himselfe speaketh of himselfe in *Tacitus*. Am I he that sprung from the order of knight, and in a prouinciall place, numbred amongst the chiefest Peers of the Citie? Can it be amongst the Nobles, that boast themselues of their long worthinesse and antiquitie, that my noueltie should shine? his father therefore, and happily his grandfather were Knights, and not aboue. For he presently maketh mention of his noueltie; which he would not haue done, if any of his Ancestors had attained vnto honours. But his father was known both by himselfe and his writings, to be *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, whom for the most part, they distinguish from the sonne by the title of Declaimer, in which kinde he excelled. Diuers Declamations are extant, which were not his own but another mans, digested by him, which he distinguished by some titles and Annotations, and by this meanes sufficiently expressed his milde & happy wit: he had to wife one *Heluia* a Spanish Ladie, a woman of great constancie and wisedome, as her sonne sufficientlie describeth her in his Consolatorie booke vnto her. The father came to Rome in *Augustus* time, and presently after his wife with her children followed him; amongst which was this our *Seneca*, as yet but verie yong. In that place liued he long, and followed his affairs with the fauor and good report of all men, and I thinke that hee liued till about the later time of *Tiberius*; and hereunto am I perswaded, because he maketh mention of *Seianus* conspiracie in his bookes, and of other things that appertaine hereunto. I let him passe, and returne vnto his sonne, of whom I haue intended to speake. *Lib. 14.*

Chap. II.

Of Lucius Annæus Seneca himselfe and his brethren, where he was borne, and when he was brought to Rome.

Cons. ad Hel. cap. 16.

IN Corduba was he borne, and was transiated from thence to Rome when hee was a childe; which hee himselfe testifieth thus, where hee praiseth his Aunt: By her hands was I brought into the Citie, by her pious and motherly noursing I recouered my selfe after my long sickenesse. If he were carried in her armes, it must needs be that he was but an infant, and thou seest that hee was sicke at that time likewise, and was recomforted by her care and diligence. This thinke I hapned in the fifteenth yeare or thereabouts, before *Augustus* death, the argument whereof is *Senecaes* young yeares in *Tiberius* time, whereof I must speake hereafter. The father therfore not long before that time came to Rome: he had two brothers, and no sisters; which appeareth by his wordes vnto his mother; Thou buriedst thy dearest husband, by whom thou wert the mother of three children. And these three were *M. Annæus Nouatus*, *L. Annæus Seneca*, *L. Annæus Mela*; all borne in such order as I haue set them downe. This appeareth by the inscriptions of the Controuersies, where they are so set down, although by their surnames. But the eldest of these brethren presently changed his name, and was called *Iunius Gallio*, because hee was adopted by him. Which *Gallio* is oftentimes named by *Seneca* the father in his declamations, and is called ours, either by reason of their common countrie Spaine, or of that friendship which was betweene them, were they not likewise allied and a kin? I know not, yet suspect it, by reason of this adoption. And this *Gallio* it is who is called Father by *Quintilian* and *Tacitus* likewise, in the sixt of his Chronicles. But this our adopted *Gallio* in the Eusebian Cronicle is called *Iunius Annæus Gallio*, *Senecaes* brother, and a worthy Declamer. Was it by the name of both the Families (which was rare amongst the Auncients; nay more, neuer heard of) that it might appeare into what familie hee entered by adoption, and in what hee was borne by nature? It appeareth manifestly, if the name

Ad Hel. c. 2.

and

and title bee true. He it is to whom our *Seneca* both sent and wrote his bookes of Wrath, in which he calleth him *Nouatus*: yet the same man in his title of blessed life calleth he his brother *Gallio*, and likewise in his Epistles his Lord *Gallio* and that honestly as him that was his elder brother. Obserue this therefore that he seemed not to be adopted at such time as his bookes of Anger were written, that is, when *Caius* was aliue, but afterwards, and that then he changed his sirname: but his yongest brother was *Annæus Mela*, so called by *Tacitus Dion* and *Eusebius*, who was onely a Romane Knight (for he that was the elder was a Senator) who begat *Lucan* a great accesse to his greatnesse, as *Tacitus* saith. These therefore were the three brothers, of whom *Martiall* witnesseth,

And learned Senecaes *house,*
That is thrice to be numbred.

He calleth him learned, (I meane, the Orator) his treble-house; his three sonnes called his families.

Chap. III.
His youth, his Masters and studies.

He came therfore to Rome when he was a childe, and in that place ripened he his excellent wit in the best studies: his youth hapned in the beginning of *Tiberius* gouernment, as he himselfe confesseth, and about that time, when forraine sacrifices were remoued and abolished. This was in the fift yeare of *Tiberius*, & of that of the Citie Dccl xxii. which appeareth manifestly by *Tacitus*, who writeth, that the sacrifices of the Egyptians and Iewes were abolished. *Seneca* therefore about that time grew to mans estate, & was about som twentie or two and twentie yeares olde. For that he was well stept in yeares in *Augustus* time, hereby it appeareth; because he obserued a Comet or a flame before his departure; of which he saith: We saw before the death of *Augustus* such a kinde of prodigie, which children could not so curiously obserue. His father, in my opinion, was he that first instructed him in eloquence: & this do his books of Controuersies & their Præfaces testifie. For why shold not this worthy olde man, who both directed & taught others, direct and instruct his owne children in that kinde. Hee did it, and left

Epist. 113.

Lib. Annal. 14. in fine.

Quæst. l. c. 1.

two of them most excellent & exercised in eloquence, Gallio, and this our *Seneca*, for I haue red nothing of *Mela*. This is that Gallio whom *Statius* commendeth for his sweet discourse.

And thus much more, that from his happy line
He blest the world with Seneca *diuine,*
And brought to light that Gallio, *whose grace*
And fluent speech the commons did embrace.

He that was the author of the booke *Of the causes of corrupted eloquence*, said, that hee had a certaine resounding and pleasing eloquence, which he calleth the resounding of Gallio, meaning it by the sonne and not by the father. But our *Seneca*, besides his eloquence, addicted himselfe to Philosophie with earnest endeuor, and vertue rauished his most excellent wit, although his father were against it. He himselfe diuers times saith, that hee was withdrawne from Philosophie, and that his wife was shee that dissuaded him; yea, and that she hated it, hee openly writeth in another place: yet did the sonnes desire and forwardnesse get the vpper hand, so that hee diligently and carefully heard the most famous and serious Philosophers of that age, and namely, *Attalus* the Stoicke, *Sotion* one of the same sort, although he seemed to follow *Pythagoras* and *Papirius Fabius*, which he names likewise, and praiseth with a gratefull memorie: he was *Sotions* scholler in his yonger yeares, and he writeth, *And now, though a childe, I sate and heard* Sotion. Moreouer, he admired and honoured *Demetrius* the Cinique, conuersing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at such time as he serued in Court, both priuately and publiquely. For he made him his companion both in his walks and trauailes. Such was his forwardnesse in honest studies, yet his father broke him off, and in the interim caused him to follow the Courts and to pleade causes: which course, as it appeareth he continued long, yea, euen in *Caius* time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his eloquence. *Vndoubtedly* there are no Philosophicall treatises extant, that were his before that time.

Epist. 49.

Epist. 49.

CHAP.

Chap. IIII.

His honours and ciuill life.

His father likewise perswaded him to affect gouernement, and to make sute for honours: he therefore first of all was Threasorer, in obtayning which office, hee acknowledgeth what helpes his Aunt had procured him: She (saith he) tried all her friends in my suite for the Threasorership, and she that scarcely would endure to be confer'd with all, or publikely saluted in my behalfe, ouercame her modestie by her loue towards me. What woman this was, and what husband she had thou shalt learne by my notes: but when he was Threasorer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares, it might haue been vnder *Tiberius*, or it might be vnder *Caius*, but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather say, that by *Agripinals* meanes presently after his exile he got and exercised the Prætorship. For thus saith *Tacitus: Agripina* got at her husbands hand, not onely a releasse of *Annæus Senecaes* banishment, but also the Prætorship, supposing that it would be pleasing to the common sort by reason of the fame of his studie, and to the end that *Domitius* childehood might be the better ripened by such a master, and that hee might vse his counsailes, vnder hope to attaine the soueraignty. Thou seest that hee was suddenly made Prætor, and heareſt what praises and endowments *Tacitus* vntainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the commons was gotten by that meanes. Because *Seneca* now was accompanied with euery mans good words and fauours, by reason of the excellencie of his studies, and was desirous that vnder such and so great a Master, that their *Domitius* should be brought vp, and should be addressed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouern it. He was therefore Prætor the yeare of the Citie D C C I I. and was hee not afterwards Consull? The Law bookes affirme the same to *S.C. Trebellian*, as *Vlpian*. In the time of *Nero* in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when *Annæus Seneca* and *Trebellius Maximus* were Consuls, it was made irreuocable. The same is written in the elements of *Iustinians* institutions. But they that made our holy-daies, make these substitute Consuls (for ordinarie they were not) the yeare of the Citie D C C C X V. which should be

Conf. ad Hel. cap. 16.

12. *Annalls.*

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Cons. ad Hel. cap. 16.

12. Annalls.

be the yeare, and some few moneths before *Senecaes* death. Some men perhaps will doubt of the whole matter, because *Ausonius* in his thankesgiuing saith openly, The rich man *Seneca*, but yet not Consull. *Seneca* likewise himselfe neuer maketh mention of this honour, although he wrote many Epistles at that time. I answer, for *Ausonius* it is to be vnderstood, that it seemed to him to bee an ordinarie Consulate; for our *Seneca*, that a silence is no deniall. Furthermore, I adde this likewise, that the Chronicle-makers seem to haue digested their relations badly; for in that yeare vndoubtedly he was not. For see here in the very beginning of the yeare, how *Tacitus* maketh mention of his cold entertainement by *Nero*, and how his detractors had diuersly iniuried him, and how he himselfe with a confident Oration came vnto the Prince, and desired *viaticum*, and resigned his substance: yet *Cæsar* permitted it not, & yet *Seneca* from that time forward, as *Cornelius* saith, changeth the prescripts of his former power, forbiddeth intercourse of Courtiers, auoydeth attendants, is sildome seene in the Citie, and as if ouer-tired with sickenes, keepeth himselfe at home, intending onely the studie of wisedome. These are no proper actions of a new made Consull or a Candidate, and his death that followed presently afterwards, forbiddeth vs to consent hereunto. But what was it that learned men suspected thus? That which *Tacitus* writeth in that yeare was done by the consent of the Senate, lest a fained adoption should in any sort further a publique Office, & least in vsurping heritages, it should profit. But this appertaineth nothing to that of *Trebellian*, it hath another reference: if a man doe examine those things likewise that are in *Tacitus*. I therefore consent that he was Consull, but in another and a former time, the certaintie whereof I will not set downe. But the perpetuall honour of this man, and how hee was both the teacher and gouernour of a Prince, vndoubtedly worthy as long as he addicted himselfe to his counsailes and admonitions, *Tacitus* concealeth not, and nameth two, to whom the Prince was well inclined for his owne profite. Murthers had preuailed except *Afranius Burrus* and *Annæus Seneca* had withstood them. These were the Gouernours of the Emperour in his yonger yeares, and conformed in that equall societie they had in gouernement, and in diuers sorts they had equall power. *Burrus* in his charge, in regard of warlike affaires and seueritie in his manners. *Seneca* in his precepts of eloquence and honest affabilitie; assisting one another, whereby

Annal. 14.

whereby they might more easily restraine the tender yeares of the Prince if he despised vertue, by granting him pleasures. O laudable endeuour and consent, which is too rare in Court, where euery one for the most part will desire to be so eminent that he desireth no second. But to *Seneca*.

Chap. V.

His priuate life, his wife, his children, his banishment.

Whether he acted any other thing in publique, I know not; but priuately I find, or at least wise I collect, that during his yonger yeares hee was in Egypt vpon this occasion; because his Vncle was Præfect there: for he writeth of his Aunt to his Mother, Shee will shew thee her example, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. An eye witnesse? he therfore associated his Aunt in that Nauigation (of which he speaketh in that place) when as his Aunt returned from Egypt. And how could this be, except he himselfe likewise had beene in Ægypt? Vndoubtedly it was thus: and this is the cause why he curiously intermixeth many things of Ægypt and Nilus, especially in his bookes of Naturall Questions. Perchance he trauailed out of Ægypt into India by the red Sea, and therefore would hee comment vpon India, vpon that which was written by *Pliny*. But now he married a wife at Rome, which though it be vncertain to be so, yet the reason he had children do approue it: for he maketh mention of *Marcus* a wanton lad, with much praise and affection to his mother *Heluia*: neyther is it to be doubted but that he was his sonne, at least wise his owne verses will approue it, where amongst his vowes,

Consol. ad Helu am. cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 17.

So may yong Marcus, *who with pleasing prate*
Contents vs now, in eloquent debate,
Prouoke his vncles, though in being yong
In wit, in wisdome, and in fluent tong.

For should I giue way to those who attribute this to *Marcus Lucanus*, I finde no reason for it; yet maketh hee no mention of his for-

former wife: not in these books, I confesse; what then? not of his brother *Annæus Mela* by name, had hee not therefore a brother? Notwithstanding thou art to consider whether thou vnderstand not this by his first wife: Thou knowest that *Harpastes* my wiues foole remained as an hereditary burthen in my family: what wife? *3. de Ira. c. 1.* his first wife? for the books of Anger seem to be written in a place well known to vs. But he married *Paulina* after his exile, a woman of great Nobility, which, as I tell thee, married him when he was old & powerful in the Court: which very thing *Dio* likewise, or whatsoeuer he were in *Dion*, thought good to obiect against *Dion*; which is, that being stept in yeares he had married a yong wench. Such were both of them, and *Seneca* himselfe testifieth it. This said I to my *Paulina* which commends my health vnto me: it came into my mind, that in this old man there is a yong one that is forborn. A yong one? he meanes *Paulina* her selfe: for vndoubtedly she loued her husband, as there in many places he boasteth, and that vnfainedly, which she expressed in his death, when in as farre as in her lay, she sought to accompanie his soule with hers. *Epist. 104.* Hereafter we shall see it. And these were his wiues. The rest of his life quiet, and without offence, excepting onely that grieuous accident of his exile. For vnder *Claudius* the first yeare of his reigne, when *Iulia* the daughter of *Germanicus* was accused of adulterie (Gods and Goddesses by *Messaline?*) and was driuen her selfe into banishment: and *Seneca*, if he had beene one of the adulterers, was exiled and sent into Corsica; I will not say whether it were vpon a iust cause, I could wish it were not, and happily *Tacitus* with me, who when hee speaketh of his banishment. *Seneca* was angrie with *Claudius*, it was supposed by reason of the iniurie that was done him. Note this Iniurie: hee therefore had receiued some. For who would otherwise be ignorant to interprete the accusations of that impudent Harlot (I meane *Messaline*) and that my sonne beast *Claudius*? For, for the most parte they practised no mischiefe but against good and innocent persons. Hee liued about some eight yeares or thereabouts in exile, I, and constantly too; yea, if wee may beleeue himselfe, happily intending onely the best studies, and the wholsomest meditations. For thus writeth he to his mother; That hee is blessed amongst those things which are wont to make other men wretched. And afterwards (but I pray thee obserue him) he worthily Philosophieth, he addeth in the end, and rowseth himselfe;

Con-

Conceiue what thou shouldest, thinke mee to be ioyfull and addressed as it were in the best fortunes. But they are the best, when as the minde, deuoide of all thought intendeth himselfe, and somtimes delighteth himselfe in lighter studies, and somtimes mounteth into the consideration of the nature of himselfe, & the whole world being desirous of truth. O man, O honest wordes, which the Author of *Octauia's* Tragedie would imitate; for it was not he (God forbid) in these Verses in the person of *Seneca*; Cap. 4.

Farre better lay I hid: remoued farre
From enuies stormes amidst the Corsicke shores,
Whereas my minde was farre from any iarre,
Fixt on my studies, not on earthly powres:
O what content had I? (For neuer nature,
Mother of all things, Mistris of each creature
Could grant no more) then to behold the heauen,
The Sunnes true motion, and the Planets seuen.

These are better, yea, farre truer then he hath written in his consolatorie booke to *Polybius*, ouer-basely and humbly. And is it imposible that our *Seneca* should write it? Oftentimes haue I doubted it, and almost durst forsweare it. Howsoeuer, he was a man, and happily that writing was enlarged and published by his enemies, and happily they corrupted it: yet note this in *Senecaes* words abouesaid; That there he delighted himselfe in more slighter studies likewise, which I suppose should be Poesie: & amongst them is *Medea*, which I am halfe assured was written in his exile, at such time as *Claudius* conquered Britanie; and therfore made he choice of that argument of *Iason*, that he might intermixe somewhat of the Ocean that was subdued. Is it posible that those verses in the *Chorus* should haue relation to any but *Claudius*?

Spare me, O gods, I doe intreat for grace,
Long let him liue secure that hath subdude.

And againe,

The Seas _____

Enough already O you gods, you haue
Reuengd you on the Seas, now spare the Powre.

Which

Which he applied to *Claudius*, although he were liuing, and will haue the gods to ſpare the god in his Poeticall fiction.

CHAP. VI.

His riches, his granges, his lands, his vſurie.

BVt preſently after he returned from his exile, hee grew a-
Cap. 2. gain into reputation, being both at that time, and before his aduancement in Court plentifully enſtated, for his father had left him rich: neyther oweth he all his wealth to his induſtrie and forwardneſſe. Hereupon to his mother; Thou being the daughter of a family, didſt freely beſtow thy bounty on thy welthy children. And he praiſed her liberalitie the rather, as he ſaith, becauſe ſhe beſtowed it on her wealthy ſons, and not ſuch as were needie. This before he came to Court; but when he liued there he got mightie riches, or rather admitted them which thruſt themſelues vpon him before he ſought them. For he got much by the Princes beneficence; for thus ſpeaketh he vnto *Nero* in our *Tacitus*: Thou (ſaid hee) haſt giuen mee great grace, and innumerable treaſure; ſo that oftentimes I my ſelfe turn it oftentimes by my ſelfe; where is that minde which contented himſelfe with a little? Doth he plant ſuch Gardens, and doth he walke about theſe mannors without the Citie? and is hee ſtored with ſo many acres of land, and with ſuch mightie vſurie? Note Gardens, Mannors, Granges, Fields, and Vſurie, & all theſe bountifully and abundantly. Will you heare *Tacitus* words once more,
Lib. 14. but from another mans mouth, and in another ſenſe: *Senecaes* calumners, ſaith he, accuſe him of diuers crimes; as that he, as yet increaſed his mighty riches, which were raiſed aboue any priuate fortune, that he won and drew the Citizens hearts vnto him, and as it were exceeded the Prince likewiſe in the annuity of his Gardens, and the magnificence of his Mannor houſes. And *Suillus* in the ſame *Tacitus* expreſſeth the meaſure of his riches likewiſe, with what wiſedome, with what precepts of the Philoſophers during theſe foure yeares that he was in the Princes fauour, had hee gotten three thouſand *HSS.* that in Rome, whole Teſtaments and
Lib. 13. Inheritances were taken and got holde on by his cunning and ſearch; that Italy and the Prouinces were exhauſted by his immeſurable

ſurable vſurie. His eſtate amongſt vs ſhould be ſeuentie fiue hundreth thouſand crownes. Theſe riches were almoſt regall, I confeſſe it, but I condemne that which he annexeth, that it was gotten by vnlawfull meanes and deceit. Before he came to Court, as I ſaid, he had a great reuenue, and what wonder is it that he increaſed the ſame in ſo mightie a Court, and ſo great felicity of the Romane ſtate? But hee ſaith likewiſe that Italie and the Prouinces were exhauſted by his vſurie: his meaning is, that he had money at vſe in diuers places, and I ſuſpect it likewiſe in Ægypt. This gather I by his Epiſtle, wherein hee writeth that the Alexandrian Fleete ſuddenly arriued, and that all men ranne vnto the hauen and to the ſhore; but I, ſaith he, in this generall haſtie running of all men, found great pleaſure in my ſlackeneſſe, that being to receiue my Letters from my friends I made not haſt to knowe in what eſtate my affaires ſtood in that place, and what they had brought. For this long time I haue neyther wonne or loſt any thing. He had there his Brokers or Factors, who followed his buſineſſe; it was therefore in ſome great ſtocke of money or in lands. For to haue poſſeſsions beyond the Seas was no new matter in that age wherin he liued, and in ſo great abundance. Verily *Dion* amongſt the cauſes of the warre in Brittaine, reckoneth this vp likewiſe, That when as *Seneca* had vpon great intereſt truſted the Brittaines with foure hundreth *HSS.* which in our reckoning amounteth to the ſum of ten hundreth thouſand crownes: he called in for that whole ſumme of money at one time. Whether he ſpake this truely or no I know not; for euery wayes he was a mortall and profeſſed enemy of our *Seneca*. Yet telleth hee no vntruth, for there likewiſe had hee money. Why now Gardens and houſes of pleaſure? he had diuers, and differently bewtified. *Iuuenall* toucheth it, The Gardens of moſt wealthy *Seneca*. Hee himſelfe likewiſe maketh mention of his houſes; Nomentanum, Albanum, and Baianum, and without queſtion hee had manie. He likewiſe had a houſe within the Citie, which continued the name for many yeares after, and was called *Senecaes* houſe in the Region *P. Victor*. His houſhold-ſtuffe alſo was enuied at, and *Dio* obiecteth, that he had fiue hundreth tables of Cedar with Iuorie feete, all of them alike and equall. This was a great matter if truely great (for this alwaies ought we to be warie in *Dions* obiections) that he had ſo many tables, whereof any one is vſually taxed and priſed at the rate of an ample poſſeſsion: for they muſt

Epiſt. 77.

not haue beene ſo choice and ſo rare; but what if they were not? I denie not but that it was the cuſtome of diſſolute and lauiſh men to haue ſuch: for thus ſpeaketh *Martial* of one of theſe:

A hundreth Mooriſh tables ſtand about,
With Libique teeth, and golden plates do crackle
Vpon our beddes.

For in great banquets they ſet a Table before euery ſeuerall man, (which is elſewhere to be noted) and to this end therefore they had diuers. I doe not therefore ſay I denie or doubt hereof. But becauſe *Seneca* himſelfe toucheth and reprehendeth this madneſſe oftentimes, yea, at ſuch time as he was in Court, and in his olde age, in thoſe bookes of Benefits which he then wrote. What doth he not in his booke of Tranquilitie, about the beginning, openly denie that he tooke no pleaſure in thoſe Tables that were conſpicuous through varietie of ſports. Nor was wont to vſe them? Wonderfull is this impudence, in a matter ſo euident and obiect to the eyes of that age, to diſſemble or to lie ſo openly. I cannot think it; eſpecially if *Dion* report the ſame, or any other to whom *Dion* aſsigneth this office. For in another place haue I noted, that theſe things ſeeme to be deduced and vrged againſt him in ſome inuectiue Oration; and there by the way haue I acquit him of the crime of his riches, which any man may reade if he pleaſe. But rather let him reade *Seneca* himſelfe, who about this time publiſhed his booke of Bleſſed life, in which his proiect is to defend himſelfe from thoſe aſperſions, wherewith his enemies would haue attainted him. O excellent, O wiſe booke, and more allowed in this behalfe was the reproofe, that was the meane to bring it to light.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

His Manners, and first his Abstinence, his Truth, his Safetie, and Pietie.

BVt his very manners refute this obiection of his riches, and iustifie his vse, and not abuse of them. For what hath he offended in pride, excesse, and pompe? Let them tell vs it, and wee will be silent. What was he happily lauish, eyther in his diet or feasting? Let vs heare himselfe professing openly; When as I heard *Attalus* declayming against vices, errours, and the infirmities of life, oftentimes haue I had compassion of mankinde, and haue beleeued that hee was sublimed and raised aboue humane reach. When he beganne to traduce our pleasures, to praise a chaste bodie, a sober table, a pure minde; not onely from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from superfluous, I tooke a liking to temper mine appetite and belly. Of these instructions some haue sithence dwelt with me my *Lucillius*; for I came with a great alacritie to all things. Afterwards being reduced to a ciuill life, I stored vp some few of these my good beginnings. Hereupon for all my life time after, I renounced all Oysters and Mushromes. Euer since for my whole life time I haue abstayned from iniunction; since that time my stomacke hath wanted wine, neyther haue I euer since, vouchsafed to bath my selfe. Where was euer any such frugalitie in any other place, or by what name is it called? And this haue I written of, in my commendation of *Seneca*, so let vs not repeate it heere; now as touching the rest of his life it was both serious and seuere. The Court corrupted him not, neyther inclined he vnto flatterie, a vice almost familiar, and allied to such places. No: hee vnto *Nero*. Suffer me to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine eares, for this is not my custome: I had rather offend thee by truth, then please thee by flatterie. And beeing now readie to die, in *Tacitus* hee willed them to make knowne to the Prince, That his minde was neuer inclined vnto flatteries, and that this was knowne to no man better then to *Nero* who had more often

Epist. 108.

11. *de Commens.*

15. *Annal.* 3. *de Ira.*

often made vse of *Senecaes* libertie then hee had experience of his seruitude. Moreouer, what exaction and examination of his manners and life? Againe he himselfe, I vse this power, and daily examine my selfe when the light is out and my wife is silent, which is now priuie to my custom. I examin the whole day that is past by my selfe, and consider both mine actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let nothing slip: for why should I feare any of mine errours? When as I may say, See that thou doe this no more, for this time I pardon thee. Can the studie of wisedome appeare eyther more greatly or more cleerely? Finally, how often appeareth his pietie and submission towards God? I will set downe one thing that I gathered from him. If thou beleeuest me any waies, when I discouer my most inward affections to thee, I am thus formed in all occurrents, which seeme either difficult or dangerous. I obey not God, but I assent vnto him; I follow him from my heart, and not of necessitie. There shall nothing euer befall mee that I will grieue at, or change my countenance for when it happeneth. I will pay no tribute vnwillingly, and many such like obserued by me in my Manuduction or Phisiologie. Yea, some of that vnstained pietie that *Tertullian* and the Auncients call him Ours. I haue in my Fragments set downe some of his counsailes, let them make vse of them. Furthermore, *Otho Frigensis* affirmed, that *Lucius Seneca* was not onely worthie to be reputed a Philosopher, but also a Christian. And for these his eminent vertues sake, euen in that age there was a great good opinion held of him, yea and they destinated him to the Empire. *Tacitus* plainly writeth that this was set abroach, that the Empire should be deliuered to *Senecaes* hands, as to one that was guiltles, being chosen, by reason of the excellency of his vertues, to the highest dignitie. O Rome thou wert vnworthy of this felicitie; neyther did God respect thee so well otherwise.

Epist. 96.

15. Annal.

If all the people might haue leaue to speake,
What one of them (how desolate soeuer)
Would feare or doubt to honor Seneca
Farre more then Nero.

Iuuenal Satyr. 10.

Yet some there are that doubt of the realitie of his vertues, and thinke them rather words and ostentation. Did he not therefore

in

in his death make it manifeſt how ſlightly hee eſteemed all humane things, how he addicted himſelfe to God?

CHAP. VIII.

His Manfull and Conſtant life, ſet downe out of Tacitus.

AND let vs ſee the commoditie thereof, but from whence ſhould we gather it rather then from *Tacitus*, the moſt faithfulleſt of all other Writers? Beholde, I ſet thee downe his owne wordes: Hereafter followeth the ſlaughter of *Annæus Seneca*, moſt pleaſing to the Prince, not becauſe he had manifeſtly found him guiltie of treaſon, but to the end he might confound him by the ſword, ſince his attempt in poyſoning him, ſo badly ſucceeded. For onely *Natalis* diſcouered no leſſe. That he was ſent to *Seneca* at ſuch time as hee was ſicke to viſite him, and to complaine why he barred *Piſo* of acceſſe vnto him, that it would be better for them if they ſhould exerciſe their friendſhip with familiar entercourſe. And that *Seneca* anſwered, that mutuall diſcourſe and often conference would bee profitable for neyther of them both, yet that his ſafetie depended on *Piſoes* ſecuritie. This was *Granius Siluanus*, the Tribune of the Prætoriall Band, commanded to relate vnto him, and to enquire whether he knew theſe ſpeeches of *Natalis*, and acknowledged his owne anſwers. He eyther by chance or wittingly had returned that day out of Campania, and remained in a houſe of pleaſure of his in the Suburbes, aboue foure miles off. Thither came the Tribune about the euening, and beſet the Village with a troupe of his ſouldiers. There diſcouered he vnto him whilſt hee ſate at ſupper with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other of his friends, what the Emperours commaund was. *Seneca* anſwered, that *Natalis* was ſent vnto him, and that he complained in *Piſoes* behalfe, that he had bin debarred from viſiting him, & that he by reaſon of his infirmity, & loue of his quiet, had excuſed himſelfe. But why hee ſhould preferre a priuate mans ſecuritie before his owne, hee had no cauſe; nor that his minde was inclined to flatterie, and that the ſame was beſt knowne vnto *Nero*, who had

more oftentimes made proofe of *Senecaes* libertie then ſeruice. When as this anſwer was related by the Tribune, in the preſence of *Poppea* and *Tigillinus*, which were inward Counſailors to this mercileſſe Prince, he asked him whether *Seneca* had prepared himſelfe for a voluntarie death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he diſcouered no ſigne of feare, nor appearance of diſmay, eyther in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. *Fabius Ruſticus* reporteth, that he returned not by the ſame way he came, but that he ſtept aſide to *Fennis* the Præfect, and told him what *Cæſar* had commanded, and asked his counſaile whether he ſhould obey him, and that he was aduiſed by him to execute his charge, which was the fatall cowardlineſſe of them all. For both *Siluanus* was one of the Conſpirators, and increaſed their hainous offences, to whoſe reuenge he had conſented; yet ſpared hee both his ſpeech and preſence, and ſent in one of the Centurions to *Seneca*, to ſignifie vnto him the fatall ſentence. He no waies diſmayed hereat, called for the tables of his Teſtament, which being denied him by the Centurion, turning himſelfe towards his friends, hee teſtified vnto them, that ſince it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindneſſe towards him, yet teſtified he, that he left them yet that which of all others he eſteemed moſt worthy, namely, the image of his life, wherof if they were mindfull, they ſhould carrie away the fame of good learning, and of ſo conſtant friendſhip. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to conſtancie now by ſpeeches, now by expoſtulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, where are the precepts of wiſedome? where that premeditated reſolution, which you haue ſtudied for ſo many yeares againſt imminent dangers? For to whom was *Neroes* crueltie vnknowne? Neyther remained there any thing after the murther both of his mother and brother, but to annex the death of his Gouernour and Maſter? When as he had in generall ſaid theſe or ſuch like words, he embraced his wife; and hauing ſomewhat tempered her againſt the preſent feare, he prayeth and intreateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was vertuouſly ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honeſt ſolaces. She contrariwiſe alleaged that her ſelfe was ſentenced to die alſo, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then *Seneca* loath to obſcure her glorie, and louing her intirely, leaſt he ſhould leaue her to the iniuries

iuries of others, whom he ſo deerely loued, ſaid, I haue ſhewed thee the proportions and images of life, but thou hadſt rather haue the glorie of death. I will not enuy thy example. Let the conſtancie be equall in vs both in this ſo ſhort a death, but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. *Seneca* in that his bodie was old and leane, by reaſon of his ſparing diet, and that by this meanes his bloud flowed more ſlowly; cut the veines of his legges and hams likewiſe. And being wearied with cruell torments, leſt by his paine he ſhould weaken his wiues courage, and he by beholding her torments ſhould fall into ſome impatience, he perſwaded her to ſtep aſide into another chamber. And in the laſt moment being no waies diſfurniſhed of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered manie things, which being diſcouered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But *Nero* that had conceiued no priuate hatred againſt *Paulina*, and being affraid leſt the odiouſneſſe of his crueltie ſhould increaſe the more, commanded her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the ſouldiers, her ſlaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and ſtop the bloud, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her conſent. For amongſt the common ſort (who are readieſt to ſpeake the worſt) there wanted not ſome that beleeued, that during the time that ſhee feared that *Nero* was implacable, ſhee ſought to accompanie her husband in the fame of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then ſhe was ouercome with the ſweetneſſe of life, whereunto ſhee added a fewe yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other partes of her bodie were growne ſo pale and diſcoloured, that it eaſily appeared that her vital ſpirits were much ſpent. In the meane while *Seneca* ſeeing the protraction and ſlowneſſe of his death, beſought *Statius Annæus*, a man well approued vnto him, both for his faith in friendſhip, and skill in Phiſicke, to haſt and bring him that poiſon which in times paſt was prouided, and by which they were put to death who were by publike iudgement condemned amongſt the Athenians; and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it, in vaine, by reaſon that his lims were already colde, and his body ſhut vp againſt the force of the venome. At laſt he entered into a Bath of hot water, beſprinckling thoſe his ſlaues that ſtood next about him, ſaying that he offered vp that liquor to *Ioue* the deliuerer: Then put into the Bath,

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and

and ſtifled with the vapour thereof, hee was buried without any ſolemnitie of his Funerall: for ſo had hee ſet it downe in his Will. Euen then when as being very rich and mighty, he diſpoſed of his laſt Will. Hitherto *Tacitus*. Neither will I repent my ſelfe if I inſiſt lightly, and examine and illuſtrate his ſayings: He ſaith, that this ſlaughter of his was moſt pleaſing to the Prince. For of long time he was aggrieued againſt this Maſter & Teacher of his in goodneſſe and equitie, and his intent was to ſhake off that Raine of reuerence once whereby he was reſtrained againſt his will, by cutting him off; yet had he otherwiſe ſworne, as *Suetonius* witneſſeth: Hee compelled *Seneca* his Maſter, ſaith hee, to chuſe his death, although when he oftentimes ſought for a *viaticum* at his hands, and ſurrendred vp all his goods vnto him: hee had ſolemnly ſworne that he was ſuſpected without cauſe, and that he had rather die then that hee would hurt him. He ſwore, that is, he deluded the gods alſo: hee ſaith, When as his intent to poyſon him ſucceeded not: for he had attempted it; for ſo ſaith the ſame *Tacitus* in a former place, Some deliuered poyſon vnto *Seneca* by *Neroes* command, prepared by the handes of one of his free-men, called *Cleonicus*, but that it was auoyded by *Seneca*, by the diſcouerie of his Libertine, or through his owne feare, whilſt he ſuſtained his life with a ſpare diet with wilde apples, and if he were athirſt with running water. He goeth forward: Or knowing of it; as if he had knowledge of the conſpiracie, and the prefixed time. Likewiſe, he returned out of Campania, from ſome Lordſhip of his there. And there truely oftentimes before his death liued he ſolitarie, and in that place wrote many of his Epiſtles to *Lucillius*. Foure miles off, in ſome Mannor of his likewiſe, what was it *Nomentanum*? This did *Xitho Polentinus* write, but vpon meere coniecture, as I thinke. Neither doth *Tacitus* admit it, who ſpeaketh of ſome foure miles off the Citie; but *Nomentum* is at leaſt twelue miles off. No ſignes of feare. Behold a death both worthy of a Philoſopher and a Stoicke, which thoſe things that follow commend. The image of his life: if *Seneca* I pray you were ſo abſurd a fellow, as *Dion* ſpeaketh, ſhould this be ſpoken of his life in the ſhutting vp? Would hee thus dallie and deceiue his friends, and delude his familiars? Sometimes with ſpeech, that is, gently and familiarly, Being hardned againſt preſent feare, I write it not againe raſhly, yet ſome man may doubt, ſhould it not be *Molitam* that ſhe was mollified, hauing relation to his wife?

That

That which followeth ſeemeth to inferre the ſame, when hee requireth her to temper her ſorrow; and that which he annexeth: Thou ſeeſt, ſaith he, the portraiture of life. Theſe, and diuers others are *Senecaes* owne words, or very like vnto them, which were extant and well knowne, as preſently after hee ſaith: his aged bodie. By my reckoning he was ſome threſcore and three, or foure yeares olde. For that he was not elder, *Neroes* wordes to *Seneca* conuince, not ſpoken long time before that in *Tacitus*. But thou art both ripe in yeares, and ſufficient for affaires, and the fruite of them, which thou canſt not truely ſpeake of the elder. Calling his writers about him. O man. O mightie minde? To dictate that when he was a dying that might helpe poſteritie. For it is not to be doubted but that they were ſuch, and meere precepts both of conſtancie and wiſedome. The argument is, becauſe they were publiſhed; which ſhould not be except they had been excellent. And becauſe they were publiſhed, *Tacitus* omits them. O improuidently done? O that we likewiſe had but a touch of theſe Swan-like ſongs. A Bath of hot water: hee meaneth ſome Bathing-tub, and then firſt vſed he colde water when he ſhould vſe it no more. Carried into his Bath; that is, into his Stoue or drie Bath, as I thinke: for hee ſheweth that by the vapour and acrimonie of the heate, he was ſtrangled. Euen then when he was moſt rich and mightie: this is ſomewhat wherin *Tacitus* ſeemeth to carpe at him, yet, if I conceiue him rightly, *Tacitus* meant his funerall, and that he forbad the ſolemnities thereof, but how in that He made his laſt Will. What, would *Nero* haue broken his Teſtament? who happily was appointed heire of the greateſt part thereof, and would ſuffer himſelfe to looſe nothing through negligence. Or doth he touch *Senecaes* parſimonie herein? But dead wordes paſſe not farre. Another man may finde it.

CHAP. IX.

His body, his ſickeneſſes, his forme.

I Haue ended, except it pleaſe you that I write ſomewhat of his bodie: for men delight, if I may ſo ſpeake it, to take notice of the habitations and receptacles of great wits: his bodie from his childehood was but weake. This ſaith he of his Aunt, after he was brought into the Citie. By her

Conſ. ad Hel cap. 16. her pious and motherly care, after I had beene long time ſicke I recouered my health. And in a certaine Epiſtle: Sickneſſe had giuen me a long ſafe conduct, and ſuddenly inuaded me. In what kinde, ſayeſt thou? And not without cauſe doeſt thou aske mee this, ſince that there is not any one that is vnknowne to me. But to one kinde of ſickeneſſe I ſeeme as it were deſtinated; which why I ſhould call by a Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called *Wheoſing* or *Aſtine*. And preſently after he addeth, All the incommodities or dangers of the bodie haue paſt by me. Behold an olde man well exerciſed, when likewiſe being a young man, was exerciſed with Diſtillations and Rhumes, by meanes whereof he ſeemed to be inclined to a conſumption. Himſelfe againe: That thou art troubled with often diſtillations & agues: it grieues me the more, becauſe I haue had proof of that kind of ſickneſſe, which in the beginning I contemned; for at firſt my youth could weare out the iniurie, & oppoſe it ſelfe boldly againſt infirmities, at laſt I was maſterd, and was brought to that paſſe, that I my ſelfe was conſumed by diſtillations. I was brought to an extreame leaneneſſe, and oftentimes had I a minde to ſhorten my daies, but my carefull and louing fathers olde yeares reſtrained me. He writeth expreſly enough of his leaneneſſe and conſumption. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Caligula* was ſo perſwaded by a woman: for *Dio* writeth, When as *Seneca* had worthily and happily handled a certain cauſe in the Senate, that this Prince waxed mad red with anger, who onely would ſeeme to be eloquent, and bethought himſelfe of taking away *Senecaes* life, which he had done if one of his Concubins had not tolde him this, That in vaine prepared he a death for him that was alreadie dying, and was ſpent with a conſumption. He gaue credite to her; and this was the meanes of *Senecaes* ſafetie. So true is that which he (what was a looker on?) wrote. Many mens ſickeneſſe deferred their death, and it was a meanes of their ſecuritie, that they ſeemed readie to die. But till his laſt houre he had but a drie and decayed bodie, why wonder we when either it was thorow his infirmities or his ſtudies? And *Tacitus* likewiſe addeth a third cauſe, That his bodie was attenuated by a ſlender diet. And that it was not bewtifull, *Seneca* himſelfe expreſſeth in another place, That thou requireſt my bookes, I doe not therefore thinke my ſelfe more eloquent, no more then I ſhould iudge my ſelfe faire becauſe thou requireſt my picture. He toucheth that he was not, and that i-

Epiſt. 54.

Epiſt. 78.

Epiſt. 45.

Epiſt. 104.

mage

mage, which is discouered of him by *Fuluius Vrsinus*, sheweth not a countenance worthy that minde; yet confirmed he his bodie, though weake, with more harder exercises, as in tilling the fields, and in digging of Vineyards, whereof he maketh mention in a certaine Epistle of his, and in his naturall Questions, where he called himselfe A diligent digger of Vineyards, and generally likewise of Gardens, which he termeth his cunning. *Lib. 3. cap. 7* *Epist. 112.*

CHAP. X.

Those bookes of his that are extant.

THus of the body onely; neyther had we any fruite by it, but great from his minde, and let vs see them by an *Index*.

His Verses and Poems, which vndoubtedly and plentifully he wrote, he himselfe sheweth that he penned them in his exile: and *Tacitus* then likewise when he was stept in yeares, and liued in Court. For thus do his calumners obiect against him to *Nero*; For they obiected against him that hee got the praise of eloquence to himselfe only, and wrote verses very often, after that he knew that *Nero* was in loue with them. *Lib. 14.*

Orations of Declamations he made many & worthy one, yea, euen in the Senate, besides those which he wrote to the Prince, to be receiued likewise in the Senate; neyther doubt I but that the Edicts vnto the people, and the grauer Epistles were written or Dictated by him.

His booke of Earth-quake, which, as he testifieth, he wrote when he was yong, in the sixt of his Naturall Questions, chap. 4. Thou shalt not want, for he hath handled the same matter againe in the same Questions.

That of Matrimonie, whether it were a booke or an *Epistle* I know not, but S. *Ierome* citeth it against *Iouinian*, *lib.* I.

His History or *Compendium* out of *Lactant.* the 7. and 15. Chap.

His bookes of Superstition was vndoubtedly one of his best ones, S *August.* in his booke *de Ciuitate Dei* praiseth it, and culleth somewhat out of it, and *Tertullian* maketh mention thereof in *Apologetico*.

His Dialogues, which *Fabius* nameth, and no more.

His Morall books, *Lactantius* citeth them in his eleueth booke,

Chap.

Chap. 11. and in other places, and *Seneca* himſelfe in his hundreth and ſixt Epiſtle in the beginning, and his Epiſtle 109. he wrote it in his later time, as it appeareth there. O worthy worke? And it grieues me that it is obſcured.

His bookes of Exhortations: for there were many of them, as may be gathered out of *Lactantius*, and ſee our Fragments. Who thinketh that this likewiſe is not to be numbred amongſt his beſt works? There are other, yet ſuch that thou maiſt not confidently aſcribe to this man, as his bookes of notes, which ſeeme rather to be his fathers. Likewiſe of Cauſes; for ſo an vnknowne Chronicler among the Brittaines teſtifieth; He maketh mention of *Seneca de Cauſis*, wherein he ſaith that *Cato* defined the office of an Orator thus: An Orator is a good man that is, exerciſed in eloquence. But this belongeth to the father alſo, and they are the bookes of Controuerſies; in the firſt booke wherof, and in the very Præface thou ſhalt finde that this of *Catoes* is cited there. and except I forget my ſelfe, thou ſhalt finde it likewiſe in my Fragments, although theſe ſmaller things doe not ſo much ouerſlip me, as I ſuffer them to paſſe by me.

But harke you Sir, make wee no reckoning of his Epiſtles to S. *Paul*?

Thoſe that are now extant are not ſo much worth, nay, it is moſt certaine, that they haue all of them the ſame authour, and that they were written, but by ſome ſcarce learned Clerke in our diſgrace. He trauelleth and attempteth to ſpeak Latin, whoſoeuer it was that was the Author: did they not therefore write one vnto another? [a] S. *Ierome*, [b] S. *Auguſtine*, and Pope *Linus* more ancient then them both auerre it, and it is a paſſiue opinion. And *Iohn* of Salisbury likewiſe confidently writeth, They ſeeme to be fooliſh, who reuerence not him who, as it appeareth, deſerued the familiaritie of the Apoſtle. I therefore dare not wholly reiect and contemne this; it may be there were ſom, but others then theſe, if theſe: I required the iudgement of the beſt Fathers.

[a] *De ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis.*
[b] *Epiſtola* 53 *ad Maced. & de Ciuitate Dei. cap.* 10.
[c] *De paſſione Diui Pauli. Lib.* 8. *Polycar. cap.* 13.

The end of Senecaes *life, written by* Lipſius.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I Place these Bookes amongst the last of his Philosophie, although they haue beene planted in the forefront. But so it is if you consider the time; They were all together written vnder Nero *after* Claudius *death. A certaine argument whereof is, in that in the end of his first Booke hee writes very contemptibly of* Claudius, *and traduceth his slight iudgement: which hee would not haue done had he beene liuing. The Bookes are good; but in faith confused in order and the handling; which a man though circumspect shall hardly expedite: yet will we doe our best. The first Booke beginneth with a complaint of Ingratitude which is vsuall, and yet greatest amongst vices. Therefore saith hee, That he will write of Benefits what their force and propertie is. This handleth he vntill the fift Chapter. Then defineth hee, that a Benefite consisteth not in the matter, but the mind of him that bestoweth it, and hath his weight from him: He diduceth it by examples and arguments vntill the eleuenth Chapter. There proposeth he two members to be intreated of. What Benefits are to be giuen; And how: The first he performeth in the end of the Booke; the other he deferreth till the Booke following.*

CHAP. I.

AMongst the many and manifold errors of such as both rashly and inconsiderately leade their liues, there is nothing for the most part (most worthy *Liberalis,*) that in my iudgement is more hurtfull; than that we neither know how to bestow, or how to receiue Benefits. For it consequently followeth, that being badly lent, they are worse satisfied, and being vn-restored, are too lately complained of; for euen then when they were giuen, euen then were they lost: neither is it to be wondred at, that amongst so many and mightie vices there is no one more frequent than that of Ingratitude. For this in my iudgment proceedeth from diuers causes. The first is, because we make not choice of such (on whom we are to bestow our benefites) as are worthy to partake them; but being to take bonds of any man, we diligently inquire after his lands and moueables: we sow not our seeds in a fruitles and barren ground, and yet without any election we rather betray, than bestow our benefits. Neither can I easily expresse, whether it be more dishoneſt to deny, or redemand a benefit. For such is the nature of this debt, that so much is to be receiued therof, as is willingly

Mens indiscretion in giuing & receiuing benefits maketh ingratitude so frequent.

willingly repaied: but neither to wil, nor to be able to perform a mans promiſe, is moſt loathſome, in this reſpect, becauſe to diſcharge a mans credit, the mind ſufficeth, though the means be deficient: For he reſtoreth a benefit that willingly oweth the ſame. But if there be a fault in them who are ingratefull euen in confeſſion of a fauour, there is alſo ſome defect in vs. By experience wee finde many vngratefull, and make more; becauſe ſome-whiles we are grieuous vpbraiders and exactors: other-whiles full of lenitie in our liberalitie, and ſuch that as ſoone as we haue lent, repent vs of the deed doing: other-whiles complaining of mens faint correſpondence, & accuſing them of ſom fault & offence they do vnto vs, how little ſoeuer it be. Thus corrupt we all thankeſgiuing and remuneration, not only after we haue giuen our benefit, but whileſt we are in giuing of it. For which of vs was content either lightly, or at one time to be required? which of vs (when he but ſuſpected that ſomething would be demanded at his hands) hath not diſdainefully frowned, or turned away his face, or pretended ſome buſines, and by long diſcourſes, and purpoſely-produced ſpeech without head or foot, foreſtalled the occaſion of demanding a fauour, and by diuers ſubtill deuiſes deluded haſty neceſſities, but being cunningly incountred in ſuch ſort as he muſt needly anſwer, hath not either deferred (that is) fearefully denied, or promiſed but difficultly, but with bended browes, and ſtrained and reprochfull words? But no man willingly oweth that, which he receiued not voluntarily, but extorted violently. Can any man be thankefull vnto him, who proudely either reprocheth a benefite, or wrathfully flung it to him, or (being ouer-wearied) gaue it him to the end to auoyde his further trouble? He is deceiued whoſoeuer hopeth to haue a ſatisfaction at his hands, whom hee hath dulled with delay, or tortured with expectation. A benefit is acknowledged according to the intent wherewith it is giuen; and therefore we ought not to giue negligently. For euery one is indebted to himſelfe, for that which he receiueth of a neglectfull debtor. Neither muſt there be ſlackneſſe in our liberalitie, becauſe whereas in all offices the will of the giuer is highly eſteemed, he that hath bin ſlow in benefiting, hath beene long time vnwilling. Neither ought we to beſtow our benefits contumeliouſly; for whereas by nature it is ſo prouided that iniuries leaue a more deepe impreſſion in our minds, than good deſerts: and the laſt are ſodainly forgotten, where the firſt are continually reſerued in memorie, what expecteth he who offendeth, whileſt he obligeth an other? His ſatisfaction and gratuitie is ſufficient if any man doe but pardon his benefit. Neither is there any cauſe why the multitude of vngratefull men ſhould make vs ſlower to deſerue well: For firſt of all, (as I ſaid) we increaſe the ſame: Furthermore, neither are the immortall Gods deterred from their plentifull and ceaſleſſe bounty: notwithſtanding the ſacrilegious & negligent behauiors of men. They vſe their nature, and infuſe their bounty on all things, yea euen on thoſe amongſt the reſt, that vſe the worſt interpretation of their benefits & largeſſe. Let vs follow theſe as our guides, (as farre as our humane frailtie wil permit vs) let vs giue benefits, not lend on vſurie. That man is worthy to be deceiued who thought vpon requital when he preſented his curteſie. But it was ill imployed. Both our children and wiues haue deceiued our hopes, yet do we both bring vp the one and marry the other: and ſo obſtinate are we againſt experiments, that being ouercome in war, & ſhipwrackt by ſea, we giue ouer neither: How much more becommeth it vs to be conſtant in giuing benefits? which, whoſoeuer giueth not, becauſe hee hath not receiued, gaue that he might receiue, & makes the cauſe of the vngratful receiuer iuſtifiable,

A good intent is a kind of ſatisfaction.

The errours of them that giue.

Inforced and extorted fauours are vnthankfworthy.

The multitude of errour ought not to extinguiſh a vertue.

A laudable action muſt be continued without exception.

able, to whom in that ſort at length it is abſurd not to repay, although hee hath power. How many are vnworthie the light, and yet the day riſeth to them? How many complaine that they are borne? Yet nature increaſeth mankinde, and ſuffereth thoſe to enioy life, who loathe to poſſeſſe it. This is the propertie both of a great and good minde, not to follow the fruit of Benefits, but the benefits themſelues, and after the euill to ſearch likewiſe ſome good. What bountie were in this, to profit many, if no man were deceiued? Now is it a Vertue to giue benefits, whereof there is no hope of recompence againe, and of which the fruit is alreadie receiued by a worthie man. So farre ſhould this thing bee from deceiuing vs, or making vs ſlow to performe ſo worthie a thing, that although my hope were vtterly cut off for euer finding a gratefull man, yet had I rather bee exempted from receiuing benefits from any man, than not to beſtow them. Becauſe that hee which giueth not, is more faultie than hee which is vngratefull. I will ſpeake what I thinke: hee that requiteth not a fauour done him, ſinneth more; hee that giueth not, ſooner.

A vertuous man in his good action is not deterred by any occurrent.

CHAP. II.

If thou profuſely wilt thy goods beſtow
On euery vulgar Perſon thou doeſt know,
Full many fauours muſt thou needly loſe,
That one at length thou iuſtly maiſt diſpoſe.

Accius *the Poets ſaying.*

IN the former Verſe thou maieſt iuſtly reprehend both theſe two clauſes; for neither muſt our benefits bee profuſedly laviſhed on euery man, neither can the prodigalitie and largeſſe of any thing bee honeſt: eſpecially that of benefits. For if thou giueſt them without iudgement and diſcretion, they ceaſe to bee benefits, and admit any other name what ſoeuer you will giue them. The ſenſe following is wonderfull, which repaireth the indemnities of many benefits ill imploied and loſt, with one well beſtowed. See, I pray you, whether this bee not more true, and more correſpondent to the greatneſſe of a Benefactor, to exhort him to giue, although hee were aſſured that hee ſhould imploy no one gift well: For that is falſe. That many thinges are to bee loſt, becauſe nothing is loſt; the reaſon is for that hee who looſeth, had numbred it alreadie amongſt his deſperate debts. The reſpect and manner in imploying good deedes is ſimple and plaine, they are only deliuered out; if any one to whom they are truſted reſtore any thing, it is gained, if no man yeeld ſatisfaction there is nothing loſt: I lent the ſame to the only intent to giue it. No man regiſtreth his good deeds in his booke of debtors. Neither is there any exacting Vſurer (how extreme ſoeuer hee bee) that punctually impleadeth his debter on the day and houre of his paiment. An honourable Benefactor neuer thinketh on the good turne he doeth, except hee that hath receiued the ſame, refreſh the memorie thereof by repaying him: Becauſe otherwiſe it ceaſeth to bee a benefit, and becommeth a debt. To beſtow a fauour in hope to receiue an other, is a contemptible and baſe vſurie. How badly ſoeuer thy former fauours haue fallen

The nature of a Benefit is changed by the vſe.

Nothing is loſt that is rightly giuen.

Only ſatisfaction refreſheth memorie in a good Benefactor.

out, yet perſeuer thou in beſtowing vpon others. They are beſt hoarded in the handes of the vngratefull, whom either ſhame, or occaſion, or imitation, may at length faſhion to bee gratefull. Perſeuer continually, and ceaſe not to bee bountifull: Accompliſh that good worke which thou haſt begunne, and performe the dutie of a good man. Releeue this man with thy goodes, an other with thy credit, that man by thy fauour, this with thy good counſailes, and holſome precepts.

CHAP. III.

WIld Beaſts (yea euen they that are moſt ſauadge) acknowledge the good that is done vnto them. Neither is there any liuing creature ſo vntamed and vntractable, that with gentle handling, and carefull nouriſhing, is not made gentle and familiar. Such as haue the keeping and charge of the Lyons, may muffle and handle them without harme or danger. Meat ſo much humbleth the fierceneſſe and haughtie courage of Elephants, that they refuſe no ſeruile and baſe burthens. Finally, all theſe brute beaſts, ſo deficient in vnderſtanding, and eſteeme of the benefites they receiue, at length are tamed and made humble by the frequent and daily acceſſe of the ſame. Is he vngratefull for one good turne? happily he will acknowledge a ſecond. Hath he forgotten two? the third may perhaps bring him to remembrance of all the reſt: Hee looſeth the good that hee doth, that beleeueth that hee hath ouer-quickly loſt the ſame. But hee that perſeuereth in well-doing, and redoubleth his benefits one vpon the necke of the other, exhorteth an acknowledgement from the moſt obdurate and forgetfulleſt receiuer. Hee dare not lift vp his eyes againſt many good turnes. Whither ſo euer hee turneth himſelfe in ſeeking to betray his owne memorie, there let him ſee thee beleager him on euery ſide by thy bountie: The force and properties whereof I will diſcouer vnto thee, if firſt of all thou giue mee licence to expalliate in a word or two, and to touch certaine thinges impertinent to this matter. Why is it that the Ancients haue fained that there are three * Graces, that they are Siſters, hauing their handes in handes? and why are they pictured laughing, yong, and tender in yeares, Virgins, attired in looſe garments, cleare and tranſparent? To this ſome anſwere, That there ought to bee three, becauſe the one of them repreſenteth him that Beſtoweth; the other, him that Receiueth; the other, him that gratifieth and remunerateth the Benefit. Others ſay, that there are three kindes of benefites, the one of thoſe who beſtow the ſame, the other of thoſe that reſtore the ſame, and the third of thoſe that receiue, and therewithall requite good turnes. Of theſe thinges iudge as thou pleaſeſt, the knowledge hereof full little profiteth vs. What meaneth this dance of theirs, in which hand in hand they trip it alwaies in a round? To this intent it is, Becauſe the order and proceſſe of benefits (that paſſe through their handes that giue the ſame) is ſuch, that they returne againe to the giuer, and ſhould wholly looſe the grace of all which they ſhould effect, if euer they ſhould bee interrupted: contrariwiſe, that they alwaies retaine their beautie, when they are vnited and hand-faſted together, and when they are reſtored and acknowledged in their time. Therefore paint they them laughing, Becauſe the countenances of thoſe that

Benefits redoubled animates the moſt vngratefull to ſatisfaction.

* *The Poets faine them to be three Maidens, who (as they ſay) were Daughters of* IVPITER, *and* VENVS, *the Greekes call them* Charites, *and the Latines* Graces. CHRYSIPPVS *opinion.*

that will deſerue well at any mans handes, ſhould be ſmiling and pleaſant, ſuch as theirs is, who are wont to giue or receiue benefits. They paint them yong, becauſe the memorie of benefits ſhould not waxe old. They faine them Virgins; becauſe they are incorruptible, ſincere, holy, and profitable vnto all men; Their garments ſhining, and tranſparent, becauſe good works would be ſeene. Let him that will admire this miracle, inuented by the fabulous Grecians; let him, that liſt, maintaine that they are neceſſarie and profitable: yet is there no man that will iuſtifie, that the names which *Heſiodus* hath giuen them are any waies pertinent to this fable, or that purpoſe; or that knoweth why hee termed the eldeſt of them *Aglaia*; the ſecond *Euphroſine*; and the third *Thalia*. Each one hath thought good to wreſt the interpretation of theſe wordes according to his owne phantaſie, and hath laboured to faſhion them, and conforme them to ſome congruencie of reaſon. Notwithſtanding *Heſiodus* hath giuen theſe yong Maidens that name, which was beſt liking to his humour. *Homer* alſo changed one of their names, and called her *Paſithae*, and ſaith, that ſhee was married and eſpouſed to a huſband, to the end thou ſhouldeſt know that they were no Virgins. I will finde you out an other Poet that deſcribeth them girt, and apparrelled in thicke and groſſe robes. *Mercurie* alſo is painted by them; not for that deuiſe and good diſcourſe giueth any luſtre or eſteeme to benefits, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed the painter to deſcribe them. *Chriſippus* likewiſe (whoſe vnderſtanding is ſo ſharp and ſubtile, and that ſearcheth and ſoundeth the very depth and ſecret of matters, he that pretendeth to ſpeake of good cuſtomes, and conformeth his ſtile to euery mans vnderſtanding) farceth his whole booke with theſe follies, in ſo much as he ſpeaketh very little of the manner of giuing, receiuing, or reſtoring benefits, in ſuch ſort as he mixeth not his fables amidſt his diſcourſe, but rather mixeth his diſcourſe amidſt his fables. For, beſides theſe thinges which *Hecaton* hath written, *Chriſippus* maintaineth, That the three *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter* and *Eurimone*, ſomewhat yonger, but fairer than the *Houres*, for which cauſe they were giuen for companions to the Goddeſſe *Venus*. *Chriſippus* likewiſe maketh a myſterie of the name of the Mother of theſe *Graces*, ſaying; That for this occaſion ſhee was called *Eurimone* (which in Greeke ſignifieth a good patrimonie) becauſe it is the propertie of a great and ample patrimonie to know well how to employ and beſtow benefits; as if it were a matter of cuſtome to giue the name of Mother after that ſhee had children; or as if the Poets aſſigned the true name of all thinges whereof they intreated. For euen as the *Nomen-Clators* or Beadles (whoſe office it is to relate their names that ought to bee ſolicited to purchaſe ſome dignitie) ſometimes make vſe of their boldneſſe, in ſtead of their memorie, and forgetting the proper names of ſuch as they ſhould certifie, forge an other according to their owne phantaſie: So Poets thinke it not pertinent to the matter to ſpeake truth, but either compelled by neceſſitie, or ſurpriſed with affection of conſonancie, command each thing to be termed by that name that beſt beſeemeth the harmonie and cadencie of their Verſes. Neither are they to bee blamed herein, becauſe they enlarge the matter with ſome new deuice of their owne: for the firſt Poet that ſhall ſpeake of them, will giue them what name he pleaſeth. And to proue this to be true, behold this name of *Thalia* (whereof principally all of them make mention) which in *Heſiodus* is one of the three *Graces*, and in *Homer* one of the nine *Muſes*.

Videant opera veſtra bona,

The Poets faine the Sunne had a certaine number of hand-maides, which hee called the Houres. See Ouid.

There were in Rome certaine men whoſe office it was to carrie by heart the names of the Citizens, who during the election of publik officers were alwaies aſſiſtant.

The vanitie of Poets.

CHAP. IIII.

BVt least I should seeme to incurre the same fault my selfe, which I reprehend in others, I will relinquish all these thinges, which are so far from the matter, that they no waies concerne the same; I only pray thee to defend my cause, if any man shall taxe and reprehend me for this, that among the rest I haue not spared to reproue *Chrisippus*, being a man so great, (but yet a Grecian) whose vnderstanding is so acute and subtile, that it oftentimes confoundeth and puzleth it selfe: for euen then when he seemeth to aime at the best, and to affect any thing: hee only pricketh, but pierceth not; toucheth, but teacheth not. And what subtiltie or sharpnesse, I pray you, is herein? Of benefits then we are to intreat, and to set downe an order and direction in this vertue, which chiefly concerneth humane societie: we are to prefixe and set downe a law of liuing, least inconsiderate facilitie in giuing, grow in fauour vnder the colour of benignitie; least this obseruation, whilest it temperateth liberalitie, (which must neither be defectiue nor superfluous) restraine the same wholly. Men are to bee taught to receiue with thankefulnesse, and to restore with the same correspondence, and to procure (in regard of those that oblige them with any benefit) not only to be equall with them in will, but to ouer-come them with greater gratuitie: because that hee who is obliged to acknowledge a good turne, requiteth not the same, except his remuneration exceede the giuers merit. These are to be taught to impute nothing; they to owe more; the one not to vpbraid; the other more and more to acknowledge. To this most honest contention of ouercomming one benefit by an other so doth *Chrisippus* exhort vs, that he saith, that it is to bee feared, least because the *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter*, it be reputed sacriledge to grow vnthankefull for good turnes, and iniurie be thereby offered to so amiable Damosels.

Hee priuily here taxeth the Grecians incostancie

Chrisippus trifling subtilitie.

Teach thou mee somewhat that may make mee more forward to doe good vnto all men, and more thankefull vnto those that haue done mee good offices. Tell vs something whereby the will of those that oblige by their bountie, and of those who are obliged, are answerable, and made competent: so as the benefactors keepe no account or memorie of their good deedes, and those that shall receiue the same, put them not in obliuion, but perpetually remember them. And let vs leaue these follies and toies to Poets, whose proiect is to delight the eare, and to inuent a pleasing fable. But they that will heale mens disfigured and vicious minds, that serue to maintaine faith in humane things, and desire to engraue the memorie of good turnes in the hearts of men; Let them speake seriously, and imploy their vtmost forces: except thou happily thinke that it is possible by a slight and fabulous discourse, and by old wiues tales, that a thing so pernicious, and so much abhominable in the world, (as is the generall abolition of debts, and an acquittance of all good deedes) may be prohibited.

CHAP. V.

Hee returneth to the matter.

BVt as I insist not on those thinges which are of small importance, so is it likewise necessarie that I indeuour my selfe to make this well knowne, that first of all wee ought to learne how much wee are obliged, when wee haue receiued a benefit. One man acknowledgeth himselfe indebted for the money hee hath receiued

ued, another for a Conſulate, another for the office of Prieſthood, another for the gouernment of a Prouince; yet no one of theſe things is properly a benefit, but onely the marke and ſigne of a benefit or merit. A benefit cannot be touched by the hand, but is carried in the heart.

Bountie is not the obiect of the ſenſe, but is engraued in the heart.

There is much difference betwixt the matter of bounty and bounty it ſelfe: For this cauſe neither gold nor ſiluer, (nor any other thing we receiue at our friends hands) is the true and reall benefite, except his will onely that beſtoweth the ſame. The rude and ignorant ſort obſerue only that which is ſeene by the eies, or thruſt into the hands, or which is deliuered them, or they poſſeſſe; and contrariwiſe, they make litle account of that which in realitie of truth they ought moſt to priſe & praiſe alſo. Theſe things which we poſſeſſe, theſe things which we ſee, and wherein our couetouſnes is ſo engaged, are fraile and incertaine: & either fortune, or iniuſtice can take them from vs: but a benefit remaineth, although the matter wherby it is made manifeſt, be loſt and extinguiſhed. Vndoubtedly that thing is well done which no force can defeate or diminiſh. I haue redeemed (ſaieſt thou) my friend from the hands of pirates, and him hath an other enemy ſurprized and put in priſon. Although this enemie hath defrauded and acquited mee of the vſe of this good worke, yet can he not extinguiſh the good worke it ſelfe. I haue ſaued ſome mens children from ſhipwracke, or haue deliuered them from the force of the fire, and theſe hath eyther ſome ſickeneſſe or other caſuall iniurie violently taken from mee. Yet remaineth that without them, which is giuen in them. All thoſe things then which improperly vſurpe the name of Benefites, are but the means and inſtruments, by the which the will of a good friend is expreſſed. The like appeareth in many other things, ſo as it falleth out, that the true thing is in one place, and the ſigne and reſemblance thereof in an other. The Emperour or Chiefetaine of an army giueth a chaine of gold to ſome one ſouldier of his that approued his valew in ſome difficult enterpriſe, morall or ciuill: a Crowne vnto another that firſt ſcaled the enemies wall, or for that he ſaued a Citizens life. I aske you now what precious thing hath this Crowne in it? what is this embroydered gowne or garment which is giuen to Noble-mens children? Theſe enſignes of magiſtracie, the axe and rods, what value are they of? what profiteth the Iudges Tribunall, or his painted Caroch? None of all theſe things are honor, but onely ſignes of honor. In the like manner that which is offered to the eye, is not the good worke or benefit, but onely a luſtre and ſigne of the ſame.

The perpetuitie of a benefite.

CHAP. VI.

What a benefite is, and wherein it conſiſteth.

WHat therefore is a benefit? It is a beneuolent action which cauſeth and yeeldeth pleaſure by that good it communicateth to others, inclined and diſpoſed of it ſelfe, and of her proper motion, to that ſhe doth. A benefit therefore conſiſteth not in that which is either done or giuen, but in the minde of him that either giueth or doeth the pleaſure. And hereby mayeſt thou vnderſtand, that there is a great difference betwixt theſe two, becauſe the beneuolence is alwaies good; but that which is done, or giuen, is neither good nor euill. It is the mind that valueth ſmall things; illuſtrateth and exemplifieth obſcure things; and contrariwiſe, ſetteth light by thoſe things which are moſt eſteemed and precious. Thoſe things which wee deſire and long after moſt, haue a neu-

The minde and heart are they that prize or diſeſteeme things.

a neutrall and indifferent nature, and are neither good nor euill. That which is moſt materially to be conſidered, is, whether the minde that gouerneth them aimeth and impelleth them, from which all things haue their forme. That then which is reckoned, or giuen, is not the benefite, no more than the honor of the Gods dependeth not on thoſe beaſts that are ſacrificed vnto them, (how coſtly and ſumptuouſly ſoeuer they be) but in the pietie and rectitude of thoſe minds which worſhip them. For which cauſe the good and vertuous men, who haue nothing to preſent the gods with but a cake & an earthen veſſell, are held for religious. And contrariwiſe, the worſer ſort are not exempted and acquitted of impietie, although they haue imbrewed the altars with much bloud and ſacrifice.

A comparison to this effect.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth his definition.

IF benefits conſiſted in thoſe things which we receiue, and not in the will wherewith they are giuen: ſo much the more greater ſhould they be, the greater the good turnes are which wee haue receiued. But this is falſe; for ſometime he obligeth vs more that hath giuen a little magnificently; that hath equalled the riches of Kings by his valew and richer mind: that giueth a little, but freely; that forgetteth his owne pouertie and neceſſitie; whileſt he reſpecteth mine; that had not only a will to help me, but a great deſire to fauour me; that when he gaue a benefit, thought that he receiued the ſame; that gaue without hope of recompence, and receiued as though he had not giuen; that not onely ſought occaſion to do good, but laid hold on the opportunitie, whereby he might profit others: Contrariwiſe theſe things which either are extorted from the giuer, or ſeeme to fall from his hands that giueth them: although they ſeeme highly priſed and of great appearance, yet, as I ſaid, they are vnworthy of thankes, becauſe a gift is much more gratefully accepted and reckoned of that commeth from a free and liberall hand, than from a full and rich-fiſted penny-father. It is but a ſmall thing he hath giuen me, but he could not giue me more. But that which the other hath giuen me, is farre more worth: Yet doubted he; yet delayed he when he ſhould giue; yet grumbled he in beſtowing; yet gaue he preſumptuouſly, excuſing himſelfe by many circumſtances, and would not pleaſe him to whom he lent his goods. Finally, that which he gaue mee, was not ſo much to giue it me, as to beſtow it on his ambitious thoughts.

This hath ſome conſonancie with the almes which the widdow and the Publike gaue in the temple.

Arguments of true pietie and vertue.

A ſimilitude of this age if you note it.

CHAP. VIII.

WHen as many men offered many preſents to *Socrates*, each one according to their poſſeſſions and poſſibilities: one of his pooreſt ſchollers, whoſe name was *Aeſchines*, came vnto him, & ſaid; I find nothing worthy thy ſelfe, that I may giue vnto thy ſelfe: and in this one onely kind I find my ſelfe to be poore. That one thing therfore which is only in my poſſeſſion, I offer thee, which is my ſelfe; beſeeching thee to accept of this gift ſuch as it is, and to conſider that they which haue giuen thee many things haue reſerued much more to thēſelues. To this *Socrates* anſwered: Who doubteth but that thou haſt offred me a great preſent, were it

it not that thou valuest and esteemest thy selfe so little, I will therfore take care to restore thy person to thy selfe, better than at this time I receiue him from thee. By this present of his, *Aeschines* exceeded *Alcibiades* (a man as mightie in minde as in meanes) and all the liberalities of all the most richest yoong men of Greece.

CHAP. IX.

THou seest how a good minde findeth matter of liberalitie, euen in the greatest gall and torment of miserie. *Aeschines* (mee thinkes) reasoneth thus in himselfe: Thinke not Fortune, that thou hast preuailed any thing against me in making me poore, be thou neuer so refractarie; yet will I finde a present that is worthie *Socrates*; and since I can not giue any thing that is thine, or thou hast giuen mee, I will giue mine owne, my selfe, and the best of me. You must not thinke that *Aeschines* valewed himselfe basely to himselfe, that knew none more worthie present belides himselfe without himselfe. This ingenious young man found out the meanes, how he might make *Socrates* his, by giuing him what he was. We are not to respect the valew of these things that are giuen, but the vertue of him that giueth. A subtile and politique man willingly giueth audience to those that demand and propose vnreasonable suites, and intending no wayes to helpe indeede, nourisheth their fraudulent hope with deceiptfull wordes. But yet worse is his opinion, that with prowd language, graue and seuere lookes, hath disdainefully set out the summe of his riches. For they that make a shew to respect and reuerence a man on whom Fortune smileth, are the first that detest and seeke to doe him mischiefe; and such notwithstanding, that if they had the power, would themselues doe that which the other did. * Some there are that not priuately and behind their backes, but openly and to their faces haue scorned and mocked at other mens wiues, and yet haue abandoned their owne to those that loued them. There are women likewise, that in these dayes accompt those married men rustique, inhumane, and of froward condition, that wil not suffer their wiues to get vp into their Caroches, and prance through the streets to be gazed at by the passers by. * That man who is not noted for intertaining a Mistris, or for courting his neighbours wife, him doe these Matrons accompt base in condition and heart; base in choice and election, & only worthie to court their baest Chamber-maids. Hence is it, that in these dayes adulterie is reputed the most honestest methode and manner (that is) to wed a woman. Some had rather consent neuer to entertaine marriage, than not to haue such a woman to his wife, that was not debauched from her husband. There is neither measure nor rule in mens expence. They contemne an other mans pouertie, and feare none but their owne: they dread no other euill, they neuer pardon iniurie, they tyrannize ouer the weaker sort, and outrage them by force or feare. For to see Prouinces sacked, the chaire of Iustice sold, and iudgements set to sale to him that will giue most, is not to be wondered at, since it is permitted by the Law of Nations to sell that thou hast bought.

* *In this place* Lipsius *and* Anicetus *obserue a defect which may be coniectured by the small conformitie betweene the antecedent and subsequent reasons.*

* *A sinne more imitated in this age than any vertue.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A notable lesson of an Ethnike for all good Christians.

BVT the subiect whereof I intreate, hath so much distracted and transported me, that it hath carried mee further than I thought. Let vs in such sort indeuour to depart out of this life, that our sins may not seeme to bee rooted and setled in the same. Hereof our Ancestours and Predecessors complained, hereat wee our selues are agrieued; and for this will our Successors sigh, because good customes are abolished, impieties haue preheminence, and humane affaires grow worse and worse, and men leaue no wickednes or sinne vnsought after. And the worst is that these vices doe, and shall remaine in the same place, although they be a little moued here and there, as the Flouds of the Sea, which when the tide commeth, are carried out into the Ocean, and vpon the ebbe are contained a while on the brimme and banke of the riuer. In this time shall adulteries bee more frequent than any other vice, and modestie shall turne loose and Libertine. In an other Age the furie of Banquetting shall flourish, and the vndecent aboundance of Kitchins: the shops wherein so infamously mens Patrimonies are sold and bartered. An other time shall come of immesurable and vnbrideled curiositie in apparrelling the bodie, and painting the face, which externall fuke shewes how foule and filthie the soule is internally. At this time great men abusing their authoritie, shalbe both audacious and insolent. At an other time men shall flesh themselues with publique and priuate cruelties, and in the furious madnesse of ciuill dissention, whereby euery sacred and sanctified thing is prophaned. The time will come wherein drunkennesse shall bee honored, and he shalbe esteemed most vertuous and gallant that hath suckt in the greatest excesse of wine. Vices continue not alwayes in one and the same place, they agree not well together, they change time and place, they vrge and giue chace one to an other. In a word, we may alwayes boldly say thus of our selues, that we are euill, that we haue beene euill, and (vnwillingly I speake it) we alwayes shall be. In all times there will be Murtherers, Tyrants, Thieues, Adulterers, Robbers, Church-breakers, and Traitors, and the least of all these is the vngrateful man, except it be that all these are the children of ingratitude, without which scarcely any euill enterprise hath beene plotted or performed. Beware and esteeme thou this as the most grieuous and greatest of crimes, let him not take hold of thee; & in another man pardon the same as if it were the slightest of all others. For in effect all the iniurie that he did thee consisteth in this, that thou didst loose thy good deed: but comfort thy selfe with this, that thou didst not loose the better part thereof, which is, the honor to haue giuen the same. But euen as we ought to be well aduised, not to employ our fauours on those that will not heartily and freely acknowledge the same, so ought we sometimes to hazard a benefit, although we are out of hope of acknowledgement or satisfaction. And not onely when wee are afraide that they wil be ingrateful, but also then when we shalbe most assured that they haue already bin approoued and knowne for vngratefull. Euen as if I can, I am vndoubtedly bound to restore vnto a father (prouided that it be not with any hazard of mine owne fortunes) his children whom I had saued from a great perill: So likewise ought I to defend a vertuous and worthy man, and second him in the daunger wherein I shall find him, though it be with the losse and expence of mine owne bloud. If likewise by my outcrie I can deliuer a man from the hands of thieues,

Ingratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris.

(al-

(although hee bee vnworthie of any fauour) I ought neuer to repent my ſelfe if by my wordes I haue ſaued a wicked mans life.

CHAP. XI.

LET followeth now that wee declare what ſorts of benefites wee ought to giue, and after what manner wee ought to giue them. Firſt of all let vs giue things neceſſarie, then profitable, thirdly agreable, and permanent. Let vs begin with that which is neceſſarie. For we accompt our ſelues farre more beholding to him that hath giuen vs our life, than to him that enlargeth our honours or inſtructeth vs in vertues. Neuer will he eſteeme it a thing according to the value if he can eaſily ſlight it ouer, and ſay, take it to thee, I want it not, I am contented with mine owne. So doing thou wilt not be obliged to reſtore that which hath bin giuen thee, but thou wilt diſdaine it and caſt it away. But amongſt thoſe things which are neceſſarie ſome hold the firſt place, and they are thoſe without which wee cannot liue. Others hold the ſecond: and they are thoſe without which wee ought not to liue; Others the third, without which wee would not deſerue to liue: The firſt of this note are, to bee deliuered out of the enemies handes, exempted from a tyrants wrath and proſcription, and other perils, which being both diuers and incertaine beleager and beſiege mans life. Which ſo euer of theſe we ſhall haue preuented or cut off, the more greater and terrible it is, the greater thanks ſhall we receiue. For they will bethinke them from what euils we haue deliuered them, and the precedent feare of danger which they haue had, reuiueth their remembrance, and giueth life to the deſert fore-paſt, when they bethink themſelues from how many miſeries they are deliuered. Yet hereby is it not intended if wee ſhould maliciouſly defer or denie our ſuccours to him that is in any danger, to the end that feare ſhould giue a greater waight to our benefit or merit. In the ſecond ranke are thoſe things without which truely we may liue, but liue ſo miſerably, as death were better than the life; of which kind are libertie, modeſtie, and a good mind. In the laſt place we rancke thoſe things, which alliance and parentage, familiar conuerſations, and long vſe, hath made vs alwaies repute and accompt moſt deare and precious: as our Children, our Wiues and houſes, and all theſe things whereunto we haue ſo much addicted and dedicated our hearts and deſires, that we had rather die than diuide our ſelues from their companie. After theſe neceſſarie thinges ſucceede thoſe that are profitable, whoſe nature and argument is far more ample and diuers. Here entreth mony (not ſuperfluous but ſufficient to entertaine an honorable meanes of life) here entreth honour and the good carriage of affaires, to the end to attaine to greater matters. For nothing is more profitable than to be made profitable to a mans owne ſelfe. The reſt is but euen great aboundance and ſuperfluitie which ſpoileth men, and maketh them effeminate. But when we would intend to doe a pleaſure, wee muſt prouide that the opportunitie may make it more pleaſing; that the thing wee intend to preſent bee not common and ordinarie; that few men haue had the like in times paſt, and that as few yet in theſe our daies can match the patterne: and if it be not rich in it ſelfe, at leaſt let the time and place, wherein wee giue the ſame, cauſe it to be more heighly prized. Let vs bethinke our ſelues what preſent wee might make, that might yeeld ſome pleaſure and contentment, that might bee more often-times ſeene and handled, to the end that ſo often as hee ſhould

The neceſſarie.

The profitable.

Profit is firſt to be reſpected in regard of a mans particular.

The agreeable.

ſhould take my preſent into his handes, ſo oftentimes he ſhould haue and hold mee in his remembrance. Wee ought likewiſe to beware that we ſend not vnſeemely preſents; as to a woman, or an old and impotent man, toiles or other neceſſarie inſtruments of hunting; to a Countrie Clowne bookes; or nets to him that is ſtudious and addicted to his booke. Contrariwiſe alſo wee ought to be very circumſpect, leaſt thinking to ſend ſome agreeable preſent, we ſend to euery one ſuch thing as may reproch him of his infirmitie; as wine to a drunken man, and medicines to a ſick man. For this beginneth to reſemble rather an outrage than a preſent, If that which is giuen doe taxe the imperfection of him that receiueth the ſame.

CHAP. XII.

The permanent.

IF it be in our election to beſtow what we liſt, Let vs preſent ſuch thinges as may continue longeſt, to the end that the good which we doe, and gifts wee beſtow, may bee laſting and of long continuance. Becauſe amongſt thoſe that receiue, there are few ſo thankefull, that they remember them of that they haue receiued, except they haue it alwaies in their ſight. And the vngratefull alſo, when the preſent and fauour is alwaies in their eies, are thereby drawne into the memorie thereof, which ſuffereth them not to forget themſelues, but rendreth and redoubleth the memorie of him that gaue the ſame. So much the rather therefore let vs ſeeke out thinges that are of continuance, becauſe we ought neuer to vpbraide a benefit but ſuffer the preſent it ſelfe to quicken and reuiue decaying memorie. More willingly will I giue ſiluer plate than readie monie, more willingly ſtatues, than apparell, and ſuch thinges as in a ſhort time are worne out by vſe. Few there are that remember to giue thanks after they haue pocketted the preſent. Many there are that no longer make eſtimate of a good turne, than whileſt they may make vſe thereof. If therefore it poſſibly might bee ſo, I would not that my gift ſhould be conſummate, or worne out of memorie, my deſire is it ſhould be extant, and of long continuance, and accompanie my friend and liue ioyntly with him. There is no man ſo fooliſh that had neede to bee taught; that hee ſhould not inuite his friend, and preſent him with the publique ſhewes of fencing, and baiting of ſauage beaſts, when as theſe proclaimed ſports haue beene performed and ſhewen, or Sommer ſuites for Winter time, and Winter garments in heate of Sommer; wee neede no more than common ſenſe to make vs know what is fitting and acceptable. Wee muſt reſpect the time, the places, the perſons, becauſe in the moments of time, or occaſion, ſome thinges are gratefull and vngratefull. How much more acceptable is it if we giue that, which the perſon to whom wee giue hath not, than that wherewith he is abundantly ſtored? if we preſent him with that which hee hath long ſought and could not finde, than that which is merchandable and eaſily bought in euery place? Our gifts ought rather to be exquiſite and rare, than pretious and rich, and ſuch and ſo extraordinarie, that he that ſeemeth to haue leaſt want of any thing by reaſon of his abundance, may accept and hold them deare for their raritie and noueltie. Were they but common apples which in a ſhort ſpace by reaſon of their abundance would bee diſpleaſant to the whole world, yet if a man make a preſent of them in their prime ripeneſſe, and when there is a ſcarcitie of them, they will bee farre more acceptable and eſteemed. Theſe

Thinges of continuance liue longeſt in the receiuers memorie.

What diſcretion there ought to be vſed in preſenting.

Raritie, be the preſent neuer ſo ſmall maketh it acceptable.

preſents

preſents likewiſe are not without honor, which either no man elſe hath preſented them with, or we our ſelues haue not giuen to any other.

CHAP. XIII.

WHen as *Alexander* of *Macedon* after his Orientall victories had raiſed his thoughts aboue humane reach; certaine Embaſſadours were ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the Corinthians, to congratulate his victories, and to preſent him with the Title of a free Citizen of Corinth. Which offer of theirs when *Alexander* had ſcornefully derided, one of the Embaſſadours ſaid vnto him: Conſider, noble Prince, that we haue neuer imparted this priuilege of our Citie at any time to any elſe, but thy ſelfe, and inuincible *Hercules*. Which when *Alexander* had heard, hee thankefully entertained the honour they had offered him, ſumptuouſly feaſted, and gratefully embraced the Embaſſadours, conceiuing thus, and contemplating, not what they were who offered them their Citie, but who he was to whom they had firſt preſented the ſame before him. This man who was ſo addicted, and drunken in glorie: (whereof hee neither knew the nature nor the meaſure,) following the traces of *Hercules* and *Liber*, yet not content himſelf to bound his ambition within the limits where they ceaſed, he reſpected what companions in honour the Corinthians had preſented him with; And thereby finding himſelfe to be compared with *Hercules*, he thought that alreadie he was poſſeſſed of heauen, which vaine and fruitleſſe hope hee fooliſhly embraced. For tell me, I pray you, wherein might this yong foole in any thing reſemble or compare himſelfe with *Hercules*, who had but happie temeritie in ſtead of reſolution and value. *Hercules* atchieued no conqueſt for his owne particular intereſt, he trauerſed the whole world, not deſiring poſſeſſions, but reuenging iniuries. What deſire of conqueſt, or affection of profit, could this Enemie of euill men, this Protector of good men, this Pacifier both of Land and Sea in any ſort conceiue or haue? But this man from his yong yeares was a Theefe, a Forager of Countries, the ruine both of his Friends and Enemies, who held it for his chiefeſt happineſſe to bee a terrour to all mortall men; remembring not that not only the moſt cruell beaſts, but alſo the moſt feeble and coward, are redoubted, and feared for their pernicious venome.

The true difference betwixt Hercules *and* Alexander.

CHAP. XIIII.

LEt vs now returne vnto our purpoſe. That benefit which is giuen to euery man, is gratefull to no man. No man will euer thinke that a Tauerner or Hoſtler entertaineth him as a friend. No man ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be inuited by him that furniſheth a feaſt to entertaine a whole Citie. For a man may ſay, what pleaſure hath he done me? he hath fauoured me no otherwiſe than hee would a ſtranger, or an enemie, or the baſeſt fellow, or plaier, he might haue met withall. But hee thought me more worthie or better eſteemed than any other? nothing leſſe: that which hee hath done is but to content his owne humour and infirmitie. If thou deſireſt that thy preſents may be acceptable, make choiſe of ſome rare thing. Who will accompt himſelfe obliged for a curteſie which is done vnto

euery man? Let no man interpret theſe thinges in that nature as if I would reſtraine mens liberalitie, and repreſſe them more than reaſon required. I will not ſo bound the ſame that it may not bee generall, or emploied where a man pleaſeth; yet my deſire is that it ſhould not be extrauagant or miſimploied, but iuſtly intended. A man may ſo ſort his good turnes, and ſo honeſtly diſtribute the ſame, that they who haue receiued them, although they bee many, may ſuppoſe that they are not fauoured in common, but in particular. Let euery man haue ſome familiar note, whereby he that receiueth may coniecture that he is more inwardly reſpected by him that beſtoweth the benefit. Let vs giue him an occaſion to ſay; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but that which was giuen me came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue receiued the ſame preſent which an other man had, yet I more ſpeedily and readily than he, where as hee long before had merited the ſame. Some there are that haue had the ſame fauours, yet not deliuered with the ſame gratulatorie ſpeeches, nor preſented with the like curteſie from the Benefactor. This man receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was beſought to accept the ſame. Such a man receiued a rich preſent; tis true: but hee could more eaſily giue recompence; for being as hee is a man of many yeares, and without heires, he promiſeth great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I receiued is of more eſteeme, becauſe that which he hath giuen me is without all hope of reſtitution. Euen as a Curtizan ſo diuideth her ſelfe amongſt many, that each one hath a particular inſinuation & proofe to be more fauoured than the reſt: So he that deſireth that his curteſies ſhould be eſteemed, ought to bethinke him, not only in what ſort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how euery one may haue ſomething whereby he may thinke that he is preferred before the reſt. For mine owne part I deſire not to reſtraine any man from diſtributing his liberalities as him liſteth: the more and greater his largeſſe is, the more honourable and praiſe-worthy they be; yet wiſh I notwithſtanding that his bountie ſhould be bounded with iudgment. For theſe thinges that are giuen raſhly and without conſideration, are neuer well reputed or accompted of. For this cauſe if any man ſhould thinke that in commanding this, I would by this meanes baniſh and exterminate liberalitie, and ſhould not afford the ſame limits large enough; Vndoubtedly hee hath made but little vſe and receiued leſſe profit of theſe my inſtructions. For is there any vertue that I haue more prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appertaineth theſe exhortations and inſtructions more than to me, who by liberalitie would eſtabliſh and aſſure a firme commerce and ſocietie amongſt men?

Meanes to faſhion men to acceptance and gratuitie.

CHAP. XV.

Reaſon & iudgement ought to accompanie liberalitie: prodigalitie extinguiſheth it.

HAppily thou wilt enquire how farre Bountie ought to be limited, for that it is certaine, that action or deſigne of the ſoule can be decent or honeſt, although it hath had his originall from a iuſt will, but that whoſe waight and iuſt meaſure is transformed into vertue? To this I anſwere, that here I only pretend, that liberalitie ought not to be prodigall or miſimploied. Then is it that a man ſhould be glad to haue receiued a good turne, (yea willingly, and with open handes:) when reaſon and iudgement hath addreſſed it to their handes, who are worthy of the ſame, when by temeritie of fortune, or by heat of courage, it is not vnprouided

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and disfurnished of good counsaile, and when a man may take pleasure to shew it to the world, and professe himselfe to be the Author. Wilt thou esteeme that for a benefit which thou hast receiued from such a mans handes, whom thou art ashamed to name? Contrariwise, how much more agreeable are those good turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted in our memories, (from whence they are inseparable) when they content vs, and make our thoughts more pleasing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue receiued? *Crispus Pasienus* was accustomed to say, that he more esteemed other mens iudgments, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and annexed this example; *I had rather* (said he) *haue* AVGVSTVS *iudgement, yet loue I well* CLAVDIVS *bountie*. But for mine owne part, I thinke that no man ought to desire a benefit at his handes, whose iudgement is deficient and idle. What then? should not that which *Claudius* gaue be receiued? why not? but in such manner as if thou hadst receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou mightest imagine might sodainly become a misfortune. But why saiest thou should wee separate those thinges which are so vnited? because wee cannot call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done and giuen with heartinesse and deliberation. A great summe of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a will grounded on reason, is a treasure, but no benefit.

Finally, there are many thinges which wee may receiue, and yet not bee obliged for them.

The end of the first Booke of Benefits.

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The end of the first Booke of Benefits.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE assumeth and intreateth of an other part, How Benefits are to bee giuen. Hee giueth many precepts hereupon; that wee bestow them willingly, speedily, and without dubitation. That some thinges are to bee giuen openly, other some thinges secretly. Then what they are which are hurtfull, if they be not giuen, although they be demanded, and yet not dishoneſt, and such as may breede future infamie. Then that the persons ought to be esteemed both of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, that both of them may be decent. An other part of the booke: How he that receiueth should behaue himselfe, from whom he receiueth, and how, especially gratefully. By occasion he decideth what it is that maketh men vngratefull: Pride, Auarice, Enuie: Finally, in many wordes he disputeth of gratitude, and proueth that it consisteth on will, where as wealth and meanes wanteth.

CHAP. I.

LET vs looke into and examine that (most worthie *Liberalis*) which as yet remaineth of the first; that is to say: In what manner wee ought to bestow a benefit. To the better performance whereof I shall in my opinion set downe the most expedite way and meanes. So let vs giue as we would receiue a good turne. But aboue all thinges what we doe, let vs doe willingly, speedily, and without hesitation or doubting: Vngratefull is that benefit that hath long time stuck betwixt his fingers that giueth the same, that a man seemeth hardly to part withall; and deliuereth in such sort, as if he had robbed himselfe of it. Yea if wee cannot giue so soone as we would, and that we are enforced to delay our benefit, let vs striue at leastwise by all the meanes possible, that it be not supposed, that we haue hung long time in deliberation or suspition, whether we should giue or no: Hee that doubteth, is next to him that denieth, and deserueth no thankes for the same.

He that delaieth or dallieth in his bountie, looseth his gift & merit.

For ſince in a benefit there is nothing more agreeable than the will of him that giueth the ſame, hee that in delaying giueth vs to vnderſtand that hee giueth againſt his will, in effect giueth nothing, but rather knew not how to keepe it from his clutches, that drew it from his handes. Diuers there are that are bountifull for ſhame ſake: but thoſe pleaſures that are readily beſtowed, that are giuen before they are demanded, that are vnattended by any delay (except it bee the modeſtie of him that receiueth the ſame) are farre more agreeable. Firſt of all it behoueth vs to preuent euery mans deſire, and afterwards to follow the ſame. But the beſt is to preuent and preſent our fauours before they be ſought after. And for that an honeſt man bluſheth alwaies for modeſtie when he demandeth any thing, whoſoeuer he be that remitteth and excuſeth him of this torment, redoubleth and multiplieth the pleaſure. He receiued not gratis, that receiued when hee demanded. Becauſe (according to the opinion of the graueſt Authors and our Anceſtors) there is nothing that coſts ſo much, as that which is bought with praiers. Men would more ſparingly tender their vowes vnto the gods, if they ſhould doe it openly; and rather deſire wee in ſecret to pray and performe our vowes vnto them, becauſe our deſire is that our thoughts ſhould be only knowne vnto them.

Willingneſſe and preuention are the ſignes of a free and liberall minde, delay and dilatum of a ſuſpitious and niggardly heart.

Yes, grace that is purchaſed by praiers.

CHAP. II.

THe wordes are diſtaſtfull, and full of diſturbance, for a man of honour (with abaſhed and abaſed looke) to ſay, I beſeech you. Labour thou then to excuſe thy friend herein, and whomſoeuer elſe thou intendeſt to oblige vnto thee by thy bountie. How forwardly ſoeuer a man giue, that giueth after he is intreated, let him know this leſſon, that hee giueth too late. Indeauour therefore to diuine and fore-ſee euery mans will; and when thou vnderſtandeſt the ſame, diſcharge him of the grieuous neceſſitie of asking. Know thou that that benefit is moſt pleaſing, and of longeſt perpetuitie in mans memorie, That comes vnſought for and vndemanded. And if happily thou haſt not had the oportunitie to preuent his neceſſitie, yet at leaſtwiſe intercept the reaſons and motiues which hee ſhould vſe in requeſting thy curteſie: thou oughteſt to make him beleeue by thy readineſſe and forwardneſſe, that thou hadſt a deſire to doe him friendſhip before hee demanded the ſame. And as meate which is preſented a ſicke man in due ſeaſon profiteth him much; And ſimple water being giuen in time of neceſſitie, is ſometimes of as much worth & value as a medicine: euen ſo a pleaſure although it be but little and ſmall in value, if it be freely and fitly giuen, if it be done in due time, and fitting to the occaſion, valueth and commendeth it ſelfe the more, and ſurmounteth the eſtimate and worth of a rich and precious preſent, which hath beene long time deuiſed and dreamt vpon. It is not to bee doubted, but that hee who ſo readily diſtributed his largeſſe, performed the ſame as willingly. And therefore with ioyfulneſſe fulfilleth he that he intended, and thereby giueth teſtimonie of his good minde.

Vrbanitie in a Heathen inimitable by Chriſtians, as the Chriſtian world is carried in theſe daies.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THe immeſurable ſilence of ſome, and their ſlownes in ſpeech (the firſt-borne-breed of ſullennes and ſottiſh grauitie) hath made many men looſe their benefits, notwithſtanding their great worth and valew. For although they promiſe with their tongues, they deny in the carriage of their eyes. How farre better were it to accompany good workes with good words, and to giue credite to the good office thou doeſt with familiar and curteous language? Challenge him that requireth aught at thy hands, for this cauſe, that hee hath deferred ſo long time to make vſe of thee, in forming againſt him this familiar quarrell: I am much diſpleaſed with thee, for that thou haſt not acquainted me ſooner with that which thou deſireſt at my hands, for that thou haſt vſed too many ceremonies and circumſtances in requiring my helpe; for that thou haſt imployed a third meanes for that which thou mighteſt haue commaunded thy ſelfe: For mine owne part, I hold my ſelfe moſt happy and contented, that thou haſt ſought to make proofe of the good affection I beare thee. From hence forth if thou be preſſed with any neceſſitie, commaund and claime what ſoeuer is mine as thine owne: Let this one error paſſe, I pardon thy ruſticitie. Hereby ſhalt thou make him eſteem and valew thy noble mind more, than all that hee came to claime at thy hands, how precious ſoeuer it be. Then doth the benefactors vertue moſt manifeſtly appeare, then is his bountie remarkeable, when as the other paſſing from him, ſhall depart muttering to himſelfe: Great hath beene my gaines this day; It more contents mee that I haue found him ſuch a man, than if the benefite had beene redoubled vnto me by any other way, for to a mind ſuch as this is I ſhall neuer yeeld retribution or condigne ſatisfaction.

Termes befitting a liberall mind.

CHAP. IIII.

BVt many there be, that by the bitterneſſe of their words, and the crabbednesſe of their lookes, make their fauours odious, by vſing ſuch ſpeech, and expreſſing ſuch pride, that it repenteth him that demaunded the curteſie, that hee hath obtained it. It falleth out oftentimes likewiſe, that after the promiſe made, there are ſome delayes and procraſtinations: yet is there not any thing more loathſome and diſtaſtefull, than when a grace is once graunted, to be inforced to go and redemaund it againe. The fauours wee intend, ought not to bee deferred, which coſt more ſometimes in their recouerie than in their promiſe. This man muſt thou beſeech to put his Lord in remembrance, that man to receiue the fauour for thee; thus one ſimple gift (by paſſing thorow many mens hands) is diminiſhed and leſſened very much, and hee hath leaſt ſatisfaction that hath made promiſe thereof. For they, whom afterwards we muſt importune, get the better part of the thankes. If therefore thou wilt haue thy giftes to be acceptable and gratefull, thou muſt procure that they paſſe thorow their handes that ſought the ſame vntouched and intire, and (as they ſay) without any diduction. Let no man intercept, let no man detaine them; there is no man that in that which thou art to giue, can purchaſe any credit, but that he impaireth and diminiſheth thine.

The errours of thoſe that giue after an euill manner.

A loſt curteſie to receiue after much craning.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Refusall is better than vncertaintie.

THere is nothing more tedious and irksome to a man, than to hang long in suspence. There are some that had rather that the hopes of their pretensions were scantled, than delayed. And many there are (too fowly possessed of this vice) that with a depraued ambition protract and deferre those things they haue alreadie promised, to no other end, but to encrease the number of those that solicite and sue to them. Such are these ministers of kingly maiesty, who take delight in the admiration, which other men conceiue of their greatnesse and pompe, who thinke themselues disabled in their power, if by many delayes and longer procrastinations they make not euery man vnderstand how powerfull and graced they bee. They performe nothing speedily, they dispatch nothing at once. Their iniuries are headlong and sodaine, their benefits silly and slow. Wherefore thinke that most true which the Comicke Poet saith:

A patterne of a prowd Courtier.

Do'st thou not so much of thy thankes diminish,
As thou delay'st thy benefite to finish?

From thence arise those complaints which ingenious sorrow expresseth, *Do speedily, if thou wilt doe any thing*; and *nothing is more deare. I had rather thou shouldest haue vtterly denyed me*. Such maner of discourse vse they at that time that are wearied with a long delay, which maketh them alreadie contemne and hate the good, which they heartily expected. Can they for this be esteemed vngratefull? Euen as that crueltie is the greatest that bringeth out and protracteth the paine, and to dispatch a man of life quickely, is in some occasions a kind and sort of mercy, (because in the end the last torment draweth with it selfe the remainder of it selfe, and the time precedent, is the greatest part of the punishment that succeedeth:) so the lesse time I am held in suspence, the greater thankes owe I for the fauour I receiue. The expectation of things, how good and honest soeuer they be, is both tedious and displeasant: and where as there are many benefits which are a totall remedy to some instant necessity; he that suffereth the indigent either to be tortured by delay, whom forthwith he could dispatch, or maketh him languish in expectation, and grow forlorne before he compasse the fauour, abuseth his owne benefit, and laies violent hands on his owne good worke. All true liberalitie is addressed and expedite, and it is the propertie of him that doth willingly, to doe quickely. He that giueth later than he should doe, and wearieth out both time and occasion, before he assist and succor the indigent, witnesseth by his actions, that he had neuer a will to succor him. And by this meanes looseth hee in one benefit two most important things, that is to say, time, and the argument of his friendly intention and will, because to wil a thing ouer-late, is not to will it at all.

True liberalitie is impatient of delay.

Bis dat qui cito dat.

CHAP. VI.

A fit similitude.

IN all affaires (*Liberalis*) that which importeth most, is the maner and fashion of speaking or doing any thing. Celeritie hath done much, Delay hath defrauded more. Euen as in weapons of all sorts, the edge and point both of the one and of the other, are of the same force and keenenesse as the rest are; but there is a great difference

difference in them, if they be inforced by a brawnie and forcible arme, or managed by a faint and feeble arme. It is one and the same sword, that sleightly raceth and rudely pierceth thorow: that which most importeth, is the strength of the arme that gouerneth it. The like may be said of that which a man giueth; the onely difference is, in the manner of giuing. O how precious, and how sweete a thing is it, to encounter with a Benefactor, that consenteth not to be clawed with acclamations and thankes-giuings! and that as soone as hee bestoweth a beneuolence, forgetteth the same! for to reproue him to whome thou arte most beneficiall, and to intermix iniuries and outrages with curtesies and good turnes, is no lesse than madnesse. Benefits therefore are not to be exasperated or intermedled with any distaste or misliking. Though happily thou hast something that thou hast reason to reprehend him in, reserue it till an other time more proper and conuenient.

The maner of giuing maketh the gift either plausible or distastefull.

CHAP. VII.

FABIVS VERRVCOSVS called that disgracefull curtesie, which was presented by a niggardly hand, Grauelly and stale bread; which a hungrie man must of necessitie take, yet can hardly eate. *Tiberius Cæsar* being requested by *Marcus Allius* (who had been *Prætor*) to discharge him of those many debts, wherein hee was engaged: *Cæsar* commaunded him to set downe the names of all his creditors. This is not properly to giue, but to summon them to whom he owed any thing to composition. As soone as hee had receiued the register of their number, he wrote a schedule wherein he commaunded to pay his prodigall nephews debt, and gaue it to him, and therewithall so bitter and contumelious a reprehension, as the poore man was so much dismayed, that hee neither knew that hee had receiued any money for his creditors, from the Emperours hands; or any fauour for himselfe: He deliuered him from his Creditors, but obliged not him vnto himselfe. Some motiue there was that guided *Tiberius* herein; and in my iudgement, that he did, was to the end, that no man should importune him more in such like requests; and this happily was an effectuall way, thorow the shame and reproofe of one man to represse the disordinate desires of couetousnesse in all other men. Yet hee that giueth a benefit, must absolutely follow a farre different way.

Inforced curtesie hath no merite.

He excuseth Tiberius in some sort.

CHAP. VIII.

BY any meanes procure thou, that whatsoeuer thou intendest to giue, may be adorned with all that which either may make thy gift more acceptable, or better receiued: for otherwise thou dost no good worke, but disclose and reprehend an hidden error. And that I may expresse by the way (in my iudgement) what my opinion is herein, me thinkes it is a thing ill-beseeming a Prince, to giue a fauour with an affront and infamie: neuertheless, for all this *Tiberius* could neuer by this manner of dealing flie that whith hee feared: for many others came afterwards and besought him in the same sort, and for the same relieue as *Allius* did, all whome he commanded to informe the Senate, in what maner they had spent that money

ney they had borrowed, and thereupon gaue them certaine ſummes of mony. This is no liberalitie, but a cenſure; this is no ſuccour, but a principall tribute. Becauſe that cannot be eſteemed a good worke, which I cannot call to memorie without bluſhing, and diſgrace: I am ſent to the Iudge, to obtaine that which I required, I was inforced to ſuffer a criminall proces.

CHAP. IX.

The two-fold manner of employing benefits.

THe Wiſe men therefore, and ſuch as are Authors of Wiſedome, aduiſe, that ſome benefites are to be giuen openly, otherſome ſecretly. Thoſe are openly to be giuen, which may honour and magnifie him that receiueth them, ſuch as are Militarie preſents and dignities, and whatſoeuer other gift, which the more publike and notorious it is, the more honorable it becommeth. Againe, thoſe gifts, which neither promote nor aduance a mans fortune, nor augment his reputation, but onely ſuccour his infirmitie, his neceſſitie, and ignominy: muſt be giuen ſo ſecretly, that hee onely may take notice thereof that hath the benefite and aſſiſtance thereby. And ſometimes alſo we ought to deceiue him that wee intend to relieue, in ſuch a ſort as our gift may come vnto his hands, and yet he ignorant from whom he receiued the ſame.

CHAP. X.

He proueth by example that fauors are to be done in ſecret.

ARceſilaus (as it is reported) being aduertized, that a poore friend of his (who concealed his neceſſities, as much as in him lay) was fallen ſicke, and yet notwithſtanding would not diſcouer the pouertie he indured in his ſickeneſſe; bethought him that he ſhould not doe amiſſe, to relieue him ſecretly. For which cauſe, vnder colour to come and viſite him, hee left a bagge full of money vnder the ſicke mans pillow; to the end that the poore ſoule (being more baſhfull than wiſe) might rather thinke that hee had found that which hee deſired, than that hee receiued it as a benefite. What then? ſhould hee not know (ſaieſt thou) from whom the fauour came? No. At the firſt let him bee ignorant thereof, ſith the not knowing thereof is a better part of the good worke. Afterwards I will doe him many other pleaſures, I will giue him ſo many other things, that in the end hee ſhall perceiue who was the firſt Author of them: Finally, hee ſhall not know that he hath receiued, and I ſhall vnderſtand that I haue giuen. Mee thinkes thou telleſt me, that this is nothing. I anſwer thee, That it is inſufficient, if ſo it be, that by thy good worke thou ſeekeſt intereſt and praiſe: but if thou deſireſt to doe it in that kinde, that it may be more and better profitable to him that receiueth the ſame, thou wouldeſt content thy ſelfe to bee a witneſſe, that thou thy ſelfe diddeſt it. Becauſe thou ſeemeſt not to take pleaſure in doing thy good worke, but deſireſt to make it knowne, that thou haſt done the ſame: I will (ſaieſt thou) that hee know that I did him the good turne. This is to ſeeke out a debtor. But my deſire is (ſaieſt thou) that hee ſhould knowe it. Tell mee why? If it bee more profitable for him that receiueth

ceiueth the benefite, not to know whence it commeth; if it be more honeſt, and more agreeable that he know it not, : wilt thou not in this point be of our opinion? I will that hee know it. Thou wouldſt not then ſaue a mans life if the night were darke. I deny not but that vpon ſome iuſt occaſion it may bee lawfull for a man to take ſome contentment in his thankefulneſſe that hath receiued a benefit. But if then when it is needefull to aſſiſt and ſuccor our friend, we perceiue that he ſhould receiue ſome diſgrace thereby, if the good that wee doe him, ſhall ſort to his indignitie, except it be done ſecretly: We ought not to inſinuate or make knowne our good turnes. Were it anſwerable to honeſtie to tell him that it was I that haue giuen it him? whereas by the preciſe and principall precepts I am forbidden at any time to vpbraid him, or to refreſh the memorie of my fauour done vnto him: For this is an inuiolable lawe betwixt him that giueth, and him that receiueth, that the one ought incontinently to forget the good he hath done, and the other ought to haue a continuall remembrance of that which he hath receiued. There is nothing that more tyreth and trauaileth a good mind, than to be oftentimes reproched and vpbraided with thoſe pleaſures which haue beene ſhewen him.

Doe your charitie ſecretly, that you may be rewarded openly.

An inuiolable lawe in doing good.

CHAP. XI.

IT contenteth me much to make a publique narration of that exclamation which a certaine Roman vſed, who had been ſaued by one of *Cæſars* friends (during the time of the proſcriptions of the Triumuirate) who being vnable any further to indure his pride, moſt manfully cried out thus; Redeliuer me I pray thee to *Cæſar*, and the power of Iuſtice: How long wilt thou reproach and vpbraide mee ſaying, I haue ſaued thee, I haue deliuered thee from death? If I forget not my ſelfe, I muſt confeſſe that thou gaueſt mee life; but if I remember mee of thy often reproches, I can not conceiue but that thou haſt giuen mee death. I owe thee nothing; if thou haſt ſaued me to no other end, but to make an oſtentation of thy vanitie. How long wilt thou lead me about for a ſpectacle to men, and a torture to my ſelfe? how long will it be ere thou ſuffer me to forget my hard fortune? Had I beene led in triumph by the enemy, it had beene but one dayes miſerable ſpectacle. Neuer ought wee to diſcloſe that which wee haue giuen: hee that vpbraideth a curteſie redemaundeth it. Wee muſt not importune, we ought neuer to refreſh the memorie of a former pleaſure, but by ſeconding it by another. Neither ought we to diſcloſe it vnto others. Let him that hath done the good office, conceale it: let him that hath receiued the ſame, diſcloſe it. Otherwiſe it may be ſaid vnto him as it was to one who publiquely vaunted and boaſted of the pleaſures hee had done. Happily (ſaid hee that had receiued the gift) thou wilt deny but that thou haſt receiued againe that which thou gaueſt mee; And as the other asked him when? Hee anſwered; Many times, and in many places: As if hee ſhould ſay; As oftentimes, and in as many places as thou haſt vaunted thereof vainely; what neede hadſt thou to ſpeake it? or vſurpe vpon an other mans office? An other man might haue done it more honeſtly, who reckoning vp the good hee hath receiued at thy hands, might praiſe thee in diuers things, which thou canſt not, or doeſt not diſcouer. At leaſtwiſe thou wilt ſay of mee, that I am vngratefull, if concea-

Secrecie muſt accompany benefits.

concealing thine owne bountie and deſert, I make it not knowne who haue receiued the ſame. But this ought not to be; but rather, if any ſhould relate before thee, what good thou haſt done me, and the euill I commit, in not confeſſing thy goodnes, thou oughteſt preſently to make this anſwer. *Truly he is moſt worthy of farre greater benefites, which I know that I haue better will, than power to performe.* Which ſpeech wee ought to vtter, not with flattering diſſimulation, or fained pretence, or as ſome men doe, who make a ſhew to reiect that which they would faine draw vnto them. Briefly, we ought to vſe all kinde of ſweetneſſe and curteſie, as much as in vs lieth. The husbandman ſhould looſe all his labour, if after hee hath caſt his corne into the ground, he make no more reckoning of that which hee hath ſowed. The corne cannot come to maturitie without much manuring and regard, nothing can bring forth fruit, if from the beginning to the end it be not labored and handled with due induſtrie. The ſame condition is of all benefites. Can there be a greater care, and more circumſpect diligence in this world, than that which the parents haue ouer their children? and yet their pains ſhould be loſt, if ſo be they ſhould abandon them in their infancie: if their deuoire and paternall pietie ſhould not nouriſh them long, and tenderly protect that vnto the end which Nature hath recommended vnto them. All other benefites are of the ſelfe ſame condition; except thou helpeſt them, thou looſeſt them. It is a ſmall matter to haue giuen them. Wee muſt likewiſe nouriſh them. If thou wilt haue them thankefull who are obliged vnto thee, thou muſt not onely giue them bountifully, but loue them heartily. But eſpecially (as I ſaid) let vs haue a care that we offend not their eares; admonition is tedious, reproach ingendreth hatred. There is nothing ſo much to bee auoyded in giuing a benefite, as for a man to ſhew him ſelfe proud. Whereto ſerueth an arrogant and diſdainefull looke? to what end are ſwelling and reprochfull words? Thine owne good workes will ſufficiently praiſe thee: wee ought to alien from vs all vaine boaſting. The actions will expreſſe themſelues when wee are ſilent. That which a man giueth proudly, is not onely diſpleaſant, but alſo odious.

Bounty muſt be accompanied with loue and charitie.

Pride maketh charitie nothing.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar gaue *Pompeius Pennus* his life (if it may be ſaid, that hee giueth life that taketh it not away.) Afterwards, when he had abſolued him, and the other humbled himſelfe to giue thankes; *Cæſar* preſented him his left foote to kiſſe. They that pretend to excuſe him, and deny that it was done by way of inſolence, ſay, that hee did it but to ſhew his gilded Buskins; or rather, or more rightly, his buskins of gold, enchaced and enriched with precious pearles. In ſo doing, what outrage might there be? What euill was it for a man (although in former times he had beene Conſul) to kiſſe gold and pearle, ſince no better place might bee found more ſeemely and honeſt in *Cæſars* perſon for him to kiſſe? A man only borne to change and reduce the manners of an abſolute and free State into ſeruitude, worſe than that of the *Perſians*: he thought it a ſmall matter that an old Senator, who in times paſt had been graced with ſo many and great honours, ſhould in the preſence of Princes in ſubmiſſiue ſort lie proſtrate before him, after the manner of a vanquiſhed Enemie before the feete of the Conqueror.

Inſolence of great fortune.

Homer hath alwayes ſome body to ſhoulder his errours.

Conqueror. This was he that indeuoured to finde ſomething out more baſer than the knee, whereby he might ſubiect and ſuppreſſe the libertie of Rome. Is not this to treade the Maieſtie of a Common-weale vnder foot? Yea with a left foot will ſome men ſay (and very anſwerable to the purpoſe.) For he had not ſhewed himſelfe vilainouſly furious and inſolent enough, to haue taken his faire buskins to aſſiſt and ſit in iudgement vpon the life of one who had beene a Conſull, if the Emperour had not alſo thruſt his ſtuds and golden buttons into a Senators mouth.

CHAP. XIII.

O Pride of great fortune! O pernicious folly! O how happie is hee that is not conſtrained to receiue any pleaſure at thy handes! O how well art thou inſtructed to conuert each benefit into iniurie! How much art thou delighted in outrage and exceſſe! O how ill doe all things beſeeme them! O how highlie raiſeſt thou thy ſelfe, to abaſe thy ſelfe more lowly! O how approueſt thou, that thou acknowledgeſt not thoſe goods wherein thou takeſt ſo much pride! Thou corrupteſt whatſoeuer thou giueſt. I would aske thee therefore for what cauſe thou thus forgetteſt thy ſelfe? what peruerteth both thy lookes and the habit of thy countenance? hadſt thou rather goe masked than ſhew thy face open? moſt pleaſing are thoſe curteſies which are giuen with a kinde, ſmiling, and pleaſing countenance, which when my Superiour gaue me, he exulted not ouer me; but as much as in him lay ſhewed me all the benignitie & fauour that he could imagine, and abaſing himſelfe ſo farre as to equall himſelfe with me, he diſclothed his gifts of all kinde of pompe, he obſerued a fit time, wherein rather hee might helpe me vpon occaſion, than in neceſſitie. In one and the ſame ſort, in my iudgement, wee may perſwade theſe men that they looſe not their benefits through inſolence, if we ſhall proue vnto them that their benefits do not therefore ſeeme more great, becauſe they haue been giuen with inſolent and tumultuous ſpeeches; and that they themſelues cannot for ſo doing ſeeme greater in any mans eies; and that the greatneſſe of pride is but vaine, and ſuch, as that it draweth the thinges of moſt eſteeme into hatred and contempt.

CHAP. XIIII.

SOme thinges there are which proue ſo harmefull and preiudiciall to thoſe that receiue the ſame, that to denie them, and not to giue them, proueth to be fauour and benefit. This ſay I, becauſe we ought rather to intend the profit, than the affection and will of thoſe that require our fauours. For oft-times we wiſh and labour for thoſe thinges that are damageable vnto vs. Neither can wee iudge how harmefull it is, becauſe our affection blindeth and perturbeth our iudgement; but when the deſire is pacified and allaid, when that ardent impreſſion and impulſion of the minde (which exileth from it ſelfe all good counſaile) is extinguiſhed and abated, then abhorre we thoſe pernicious Authors of thoſe vnhappie and euill gifts. Euen as to ſicke men wee denie water, and to thoſe that are melancholie and loath their liues, a knife; or to ſuch as are in loue, all that which

Diſcretion in benuolence.

their inflamed and ardent affection, or rather desperation, doteth after. So ought we to persever diligently and humbly in denying and refusing all that which may doe much harme to those who miserably and blindly demaund it at our hands. Furthermore, it importeth everie man to haue a care and obseruation, not onely of the beginning of his gifts, but of the end and issue also, which they ought to haue; and so procure, that they may be such things, that not onely giue content in the receiuing, but delight also when they are receiued. Many there are that say, *I know that this will not be profitable vnto him, but what shall I doe? He entreateth me, and I cannot denie his suit: let him looke vnto it, he shall complaine of himselfe, and not of me.* Thou abusest thy selfe, and art deceiued: it is of thee and none other (and that iustly) he will complaine, as soone as he shall recouer his senses and perfect wits; and that passion which perturbed and inflamed his mind, remitteth and ceaseth. And why should hee not hate such a man who assisted him to his damage and danger? To condescend vnto his request that asketh that which will be harmefull vnto him, is a cruell bountie, and a pleasing and affable hatred: Let vs giue such things as may please more and more by their vse, and that may neuer breede any damage. I will not giue money which in my knowledge shall be giuen vnto a harlot, because I desire not to be partaker in any dishoneſt action, or in euill counsell. If I can, I will at leastwise retyre him; if not, I will not boulster or further his sinne. Whether it be choller that transporteth him farther than becommeth him, or heat of ambition misleadeth him from the secureſt course, I will not so farre forget my selfe, that hereafter he may say, *He hath killed me with kindnesse.* Oftentimes there is verie little difference betwixt a friends gift and an enemies wishes and execution. All the mischiefe an enemie can wish vs, the fooliſh affection of a friend may bring vs: There is nothing more absurd (and yet this oftentimes falleth out) than not to know a difference betwixt hate and fauour.

Limitations in bountie.

CHAP. XV.

LEt vs neuer giue any thing that may redound to our disgrace and domage. And since the greateſt friendship we can intend to any man, is to make him equall with our selues, and suffer him in euerie sort and ioyntly to enioy our goods and fortunes; so ought we equally to aduise him to the good and honour of vs both. I will giue vnto him in his neceſſitie, yet in such manner and measure, that I will shunne mine owne miserie: if I see him in danger of life, I will succour him; prouided alwaies, that I be ascertained of mine owne securitie: except I shall be the ransome of some great man, or some affaire of greater importance. I will do no good turne that I would be ashamed to aske: I will not greaten that which is of small value; neither will I consent, that such a thing, which in it selfe is of much worth, should be receiued with little estimation: For euen as he looseth the grace and remuneration of his good worke, that registreth the same in the booke of his accompts; so he that sheweth how great the pleasure is which he hath done, priseth not, but reprocheth and dispraiseth his pleasure he hath done. Let euerie man haue a respect to his facultie and forces, least either wee giue more or succour lesse than is answerable to our abilities. Let vs also haue a respect and esteeme of the person and qualitie of him to whom wee giue;

Proximus vnuſquiſque ſibi.

Respect of persons.

giue; becauſe there are ſome gifts that are of leſſe value than the greatneſſe of him that giueth the ſame requireth; and other-ſome which are not anſwerable to the merit of him that receiueth the ſame. Conferre therefore and compare with thy ſelfe the conditions of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, and examine the qualities of that which is giuen (whether it be little or much) in reſpect of him that giueth the ſame; and whether likewiſe thy preſent be too little for him that receiueth, or whether he be incapable of ſo much.

CHAP. XVI.

THat furious and outragious *Alexander* (who neuer ſetled his thoughts but on great and mightie enterpriſes) fooliſhly gaue a Citie to a certaine follower of his; who meaſuring his owne vnworthineſſe, and deſirous to diſcharge himſelfe of the enuie hee might incurre, by receiuing ſo great a benefit, came vnto *Alexander*, and told him, That neither in fortune or condition he deſerued ſo much. To whom *Alexander* anſwered: I reſpect not what becommeth thee to receiue, but that which in honor becommeth me to giue: A ſpeech that in appearance was both kingly and heroicall, but in effect moſt fond and fooliſh. For all thoſe things which are a mans owne, become not other men to receiue or accept; but it importeth vs to conſider what that is which is giuen; to whom, when, why, in what place, and other circumſtances, without which thou canſt not iuſtifie thine action. O proud and inſolent creature! If it becommeth not him to receiue this thy gift, as little befitteth it thee to giue the ſame. There ought to be a difference and proportion both of perſons and dignities, as whereas there is a meaſure in vertues euery wayes, as greatly ſinneth he that exceedeth, as he that giueth too little. And although this beſeemeth thee, and thy fortune hath rayſed thee ſo high, that thy royall gifts are no leſſe than Cities (which with how greater mind mightſt thou not haue taken, than lauiſhly diſtributed) yet is there ſome more leſſe, than that thou ſhouldeſt hide and burie a Citie in their boſomes.

Alexanders *indiſcretion in giuing is the cauſe why he is taxed in this place.*

Circumſtances in giuing.

CHAP. XVII.

DIOGENES the Cinique required a talent at *Antigonus* hands, and being repulſed by him, beſought a penny: To which he anſwered, That it was too little for a * Cinique to aske, or a King to giue. This was but a bare and idle cauill: For hereby found he out an inuention to giue neither: in the penny he reſpected and had reference to his Kingly maieſtie; in the talent to the Cinique: whereas he might haue giuen a penny as to a Cinique, and a talent as he was a King. I muſt needly graunt, that there are ſome things of ſo great value, that they ſhould not be giuen vnto a Cinique, yet is there nothing likewiſe ſo little, that a liberall and courteous King cannot honeſtly giue. But if thou aske my opinion herein, I cannot but allow *Antigonus* action: For it is an intolerable error in thoſe who make profeſſion to contemne money, afterwards to beg it ſhamefully. Thou haſt proclaimed open warre againſt wealth and riches, thou haſt publikely proteſted thy hatred againſt money: This habit haſt thou taken on thee,

* *Although theſe Pagans had not a perfect knowledge of the vertue of wilfull pouertie, yet had they ſome reſemblance and ſmacke thereof, and in particular there was a Sect of them called Ciniques, that were of this profeſſion, amongſt whom this* Diogenes *was one that required this almes at* Antigonus *hands.*

thee, and this needly must thou personate. Vnworthily and wickedly shalt thou doe to hunt and haunt after money, vnder pretence of so laudable a pouertie and necessitie as thou professest. It concerneth each man therefore to haue as great a regard and respect of himselfe, as of him to whom he would doe a pleasure. I will vse our friend *Chrysippus* similitude of the play at ball, which vndoubtedly falleth either through his default that serueth the same, or his that receiueth it: Then doth the ball keepe his due course, when as betwixt the hands of both the gamesters, it fitly flyeth to and fro, being serued by the one, and reinforced backe againe by the other: yet ought a good Tennis-player to serue either easily or strongly, according as he perceiueth his companion to be further or neerer off him. The same reason is there in good deedes: for if they be not answerably applyed to the person of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, they will neuer slip from the hands of the one, or come into the possession of the other, according as they ought to doe. If we passe the time with an exercised and cunning gamester, we will strike the ball more boldly and stiffely: for on which side soeuer it is bandied, an expedite and nimble hand will returne and strike it backe. Contrariwise, if wee play with a nouice and young learner, we neither will strike it so stiffely, nor leuell it so strongly; but seruing and striking it gently, we will giue the ball to his hand; and if he rebandie it backe, we returne it as gently. The same manner must wee obserue in doing our good workes: Let vs teach some how to receiue them, and iudge it a sufficient recompence, if they endeuor themselues to be thankfull; if they are, if they will be thankefull. For oftentimes wee make them vngratefull, and helpe to keepe them so, as if our good turnes were euery way so great, that there might not be a thankefulnesse which might in any sort equall them. The same pretend those malicious gamesters, that deceiue and chase their contrarie partie here and there, to the spoyle of the game, which cannot be maintained and continue, except there be consent and conformitie betwixt them both. There are diuers of so peruerse and diuellish a nature, so proud, and imputatiue in that they bestow, that they had rather loose that which they lent, than to seeme that they haue receiued the same. Were it not a more better and friendly course to suffer them to acquit their deuoir towards vs, and to fauor and succour them, when they would acknowledge the goods which they haue receiued at our hands? To take all in good part, and at such time as they should onely giue thankes in words, to giue them as fauorable audience as if they satisfied vs, and to allow that he who findeth himselfe obliged to vs, should haue the meanes to recompence vs? That Vsurer is commonly hardly thought of, if he exact his debts rudely. He likewise is worse thought of, if then when his money is tendered him, he will not receiue it, but deferreth to admit the payment. A benefit is as worthily receiued backe againe when it is returned, as it is giuen honestly, when it is vndemaunded. The best well-doer is he, that hath done a courtesie freely, and neuer sought requitall, that tooke a pleasure when as any man could freely repay that which he had friendly lent and giuen, and vtterly forgotten, and that receiueth not as a returne of his fauor, but as a grace and remuneration.

There must be a proportion in good workes betwixt the giuer and the receiuer

The conditions of a perfect and absolute well-giuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Here beginneth the proofe, that we ought not receiue at euerie mans hands.

SOme there are that not onely giue a benefit proudly, but alſo receiue it diſdainefully, which ought to be auoided. But now let vs paſſe ouer to that other part, and entreat therein, how men ſhould behaue themſelues in receiuing benefites. Whatſoeuer act of vertue conſiſteth on two perſons, exacteth as much from the one, as from the other: when as thou haſt diligently examined what the father ought to be, thou ſhalt find it no leſſe difficultie to conceiue what the ſonne ought to be. There are ſome duties belonging to the husband, and ſome alſo that appertaine vnto the wife. Theſe deſerue one and the ſame rule and meaſure, which (as *Hecaton* ſayth) is very hard to obſerue and keepe. A hard matter is it to performe that which honeſtie commandeth, yea that alſo which neereſt approacheth honeſtie: For we are not onely tied to performe the ſame, but to performe it with reaſon. She it is that muſt be our guide in the way we are to hold. The things of ſmalleſt moment, and thoſe of greateſt importance, are to be gouerned by her counſaile: and as ſhe counſaileth, ſo ought we to giue. And firſt of all ſhe will aduiſe vs this, That we ought not to receiue a fauour at euery mans hands. From whom then ſhall we receiue? To anſwere thee in a word; It is from thoſe to whom wee would haue giuen. For more carefully ought wee to make choice of thoſe from whom wee would receiue, than of thoſe to whom we would giue: For leaſt many inconueniences happen (which are wont to follow) know this, that it is a grieuous torment to be indebted and obliged to him, to whom thou wouldeſt owe nothing. And contrariwiſe, it is a thing moſt pleaſing and agreeable, to haue receiued a benefit at his hands, whom although he ſhould offer thee hard meaſure, thou couldeſt both loue and affect: But the greateſt miſerie for a good and ſhamefaſt man is to loue and to be obliged to ſuch a man as he can neither fancie nor fauour. Here muſt I needly and oftentimes aduertiſe thee, that I ſpeake not of thoſe truly wiſe and vertuous men, which take pleaſure in that which they ought to doe, and are Lords of their owne mindes; that prefixe ſuch Lawes vnto themſelues as beſt liketh them; and hauing prefixed them, keepe them: but of theſe imperfect men, that are willing to follow vertue, whoſe affections and paſſions are forcibly impelled to obey reaſon. I ought then to make an eſpeciall election and choiſe of him from whom I would receiue a pleaſure; and it concerneth me much more carefully to chuſe and diligently ſeeke out ſuch a one to whom I will impart my benefit, than ſuch a one to whom I will truſt my money: becauſe that to the one I am not bound to reſtore any more than I haue receiued, and hauing repayed my debt, I am acquited and diſcharged out of his bookes: but to the other I muſt repay more than I haue receiued, and hauing recompenced the good he hath done me, yet is not this my entire obligation: the friendſhip muſt continue and flouriſh betweene vs. For after I haue remunerated his kindneſſe, I am tied to renew and refreſh it againe: And aboue all things the law of friendſhip admoniſheth me, That I receiue not a kindneſſe from any that is vnworthie. Such is the right, ſuch is the ſacred law of Benefits (from whence friendſhip taketh his originall.) It is not alwaies in our choice (as *Hecaton* ſayth) to refuſe a pleaſure, and to ſay I will not accept it: We ought ſometimes to receiue a benefit againſt our mindes. A Tyrant will giue thee ſomewhat; and ſo cruell and outragious is he, that if thou refu-

Reaſon is the guide and diſpoſer of liberalitie.

ſeſt his preſent, he will account it no leſſe than an iniurie and indignitie: To this wilt thou ſay, ſhall I not accept the ſame? make reckoning that this King is a Theefe, and a Pirate, (ſince in minde he is no better than a Theefe, or a Pirate) what ſhall I doe in this caſe? I ſee that he is vnworthy that I ſhould owe him any thing. To this I anſwere then, when I ſay that thou art to make thy choiſe of him, to whom thou wilt be obliged, it is not intended in a caſe of ſo great violence and feare; becauſe where theſe preuaile, election periſheth: but if thou bee at thine owne choiſe, if thou haſt libertie to elect what thou liſteſt, then haſt thou meanes to make vſe of that which beſt pleaſeth thee. But if the neceſſitie of occaſion reſtraine thy election, know this, that thou doeſt not receiue, but obay: no man is obliged in receiuing a thing which hee cannot refuſe; if thou deſireſt to know, if I would haue that thou giueſt mee, bring to paſſe that I may refuſe what thou offereſt mee: But hee gaue thee thy life: it skilleth not what the thing is which is giuen, but whether hee that gaue, and he that receiued the gift, gaue and receiued the ſame willingly. Thou art not therefore my defender, becauſe thou haſt ſaued mee. Poyſon ſometimes hath beene a medicine, and yet for all that it is not numbred amongſt thoſe thinges that are holſome. Some thinges there are, which although they profit vs much, yet they oblige vs not.

CHAP. XIX.

A Certaine man that came with a reſolution to kill a Tyrant, gaue him a ſtroke whereby hee opened him a dangerous impoſtume. For this the Tyrant gaue him no thankes, although by wounding him hee had healed him of a ſickneſſe, whereon his Phyſitions durſt not lay their handes. Thou ſeeſt there is no great moment in the thing it ſelfe, becauſe hee ſeemed not to haue giuen a benefit, who with an euill intention procured his profit. Fortune it was that wrought the good, and from the man it was the iniurie came: we haue beheld a Lyon in the Amphitheater, who calling to memorie one of thoſe who had beene condemned to fight againſt wild beaſts (becauſe in times paſt he had beene his Gouernour) protected him from the furie of the reſt. Shall wee not then ſay that the ſuccours which the Lyon gaue was a benefit? No; Becauſe he neither had will to doe it, neither did it to the intent to doe good. Wee are to repute and ranck him with this beaſt, who attempted to cut off the Tyrants life. Both this gaue life, and the other alſo, but neither this nor that a benefit; becauſe it is no benefit, or good worke, which I am inforced to receiue. It is no benefit that maketh mee indebted to him I would not. Firſt muſt thou giue mee the freedome and power of my ſelfe, and next the benefit.

CHAP. XX.

MEn haue oft-times debated and diſputed of *Marcus Brutus*, whether he ought to accept a grace, and receiue a pardon at *Iulius Cæſars* handes, who in his iudgement deſerued not to breath or liue. What reaſon moued *Brutus* to conſpire and kill him, I will expreſſe and handle in an other place. For mine owne part, although

though I esteemed *Brutus* in all other thinges a wise and vertuous man, yet me seemeth that in this he committed a great errour, and neglected the Doctrine of the Stoickes; who either feared the name of a King, (whereas the best and most happiest estate of a Citie is to liue vnder a iust and vertuous Prince) or hoped that libertie would bee had there where so great a reward was prefixed to those that commanded, and those that serued; or imagined that such a Citie as this might repossesse her ancient honour, and former lustre, when vertue and the primitiue Lawes were either abolished, or wholly extinguished; Or that Iustice, Right, and Law, should be inuiolably obserued in such a place, where he had seene so many thousand men at shocke and battell, not to the intent to discerne whether they were to obay and serue, but to resolue them vnder whom they ought to serue and obay. O how great obliuion possessed this man! how much forgot he both the nature of affaires, and the state of his Citie! to suppose that by the death of one man there should not some other start vp after him, that would vsurpe ouer the common-weale; whereas after so many Kings slaughtered, either by the sword, or by lightning, they grew Vassalls and Subjects to a tyrannous * *Tarquine*; yet ought he to haue accepted his life, and yet for all this notwithstanding was he not obliged to repute and esteeme him as his Father, for that iniuriously and against all right he had vsurped the authoritie, to giue him his life: For he saued him not, who slew him not, neither gaue hee him life, but dismissed him from dying.

* *This was the seuenth and last King of the Romanes, called (and that iustly) by the name of* Tarquine *the proud. He died a banished man out of his Countrey, and depriued of his Kingdome.*

CHAP. XXI.

THis rather, and more rightly, may be drawne into some question, what a poore captiue should doe, when as a man prostituted in body, infamous and dishoneſt in speech, offereth to pay downe the price of his ransome? Shall I suffer my selfe to be redeemed by so impure and base a wretch? and againe, when I am discharged, what thankes shall I returne him? Shall I liue with an impudent and scurrilous fellow? shall I not liue with him that hath redeemed mee? no truly, for herein thus standeth my opinion. Euen from any such a one would I receiue the money which I would employ for my redemption, yet so would I receiue it as money vpon interest, not as an act of curtesie. I will repay him his money, and if after that I shall finde him in any danger, or pressed by necessitie, I will relieue his wants, preuent his danger, yet contract no such friendship with him, as should bee correspondent betwixt men of equall vertue. Neither will I reckon him for such a one as hath saued my life, but make accompt of him as an vsurer, to whom I know I must repay back againe that which I haue borrowed. Contrariwise, if there bee some worthy and vertuous person, from whom I should receiue a curtesie, yet ought I not receiue the same, if I knew that thereby hee should incurre any detriment, because that I am assured that he is addressed (though it be to his owne hinderance, nay which is more, to the hazard of his life) to doe me a pleasure. I vnderstand that he is resolued (knowing me to bee accused of a capitall crime) to pleade my cause, and to vndertake my defence, though it be to his disgrace, and the displeasure of his Prince. I should shew my selfe an enemie vnto him (if indeuouring himselfe to vnder-goe danger for my sake.) I should not performe that which is most easie for mee to accomplish, that is, to entertaine the damage my selfe, without his detriment or danger.

danger. Here *Hecaton* ſetteth downe an example (which is no waies anſwerable to the purpoſe) of *Archelaus*, who would not receiue a certaine ſumme of money which was offered him by a yong man, who was ſubiect to the gouernment of his Father, becauſe hee would not offend the couetous and niggardly parent. What did *Archelaus* herein that was worthy praiſe? Is it becauſe hee would not receiue that which was ſtollen from his Father? Is it becauſe hee would not entertaine the gift, leaſt he ſhould be tied to recompence, and reſtore it againe? What modeſtie or vertue vſed he in not accepting other mens monie? But leauing this, if it be neceſſarie to ſet downe an example of a generous mind, let vs make vſe of *Græcinus Iulius*, a man of rare vertue; whom *Caius Cæſar* put to death for this cauſe only; in that he was a better and honeſter man, than any one ought to be, who ſhould liue with and vnder a Tyrant. This man, at ſuch time as he receiued a certaine quantitie of money from the hands of his friends (who contributed and leuied the ſame to defray the charge and expence of thoſe publique playes which he prepared) refuſed a great ſumme of money which * *Fabius Perſicus* ſent vnto him. His friends which reſpected not him that ſent the money, but only the money that was ſent, reproued him, becauſe he would not accept the ſame. *Will you* (ſaid he) *haue me receiue a benefit from ſuch a man, whom I would not pledge, although he offered me the cup?* And when as [a] *Rebillus* (one who ſometimes had beene Conſull, yet of no leſſe infamie) had ſent him a greater ſumme of money, and inſtantly intreated him to command his ſeruants to receiue the ſame. *I pray you* (ſaid he) *pardon me, for* PERSICVS *offered me the ſame, and yet I accepted it not.* [b] Whether is this to receiue preſents, or to examine the receiuers?

* *This* Fabius Perſicus *was Conſul vnder* Tiberius, *a man of great note in Rome.*

a *This* Rebillus *was Conſul vnder* Iulius Cæſar, *and* Auguſtus Cæſar, *who died in his Conſulſhip.*

b *Here vndoubtedly ſome reaſons are deficient whence groweth this queſtion, as may be gathered by the little conformitie it hath with that which goeth before. See* Pincianus *vpon this place.*

CHAP. XXII.

WHen as we determine to receiue any thing, let vs receiue it with a gladſome countenance, expreſſing thereby the pleaſure which we take, and manifeſting to the Benefactor how thankefully wee accept the ſame to the end that hee may gather the preſent fruit of his good worke. For it is a iuſt cauſe of gladneſſe to ſee a mans friend contented; and more iuſt to bee the cauſe of his contentment. Let vs make it knowne vnto him that his preſents were very pleaſing vnto vs, let vs expreſſe the affections of our will, not only in his owne hearing, but in euery place whereſoeuer we be. For he that receiueth a good turne with gladſome acceptance, hath alreadie ſatisfied the firſt paiment of the requitall.

CHAP. XXIII.

He that couertly deſireth to receiue a kindneſſe hath but an euill intention.

SOme there are that will not receiue but in ſecret, they admit not witneſſes of the good which is done vnto them. Beleeue thou that ſuch men haue very bad and baſe minds: Euen as he that doeth a good turne, ought not to publiſh the ſame, or make it knowne, but in as much as hee knoweth that hee that receiueth the ſame will conceiue a contentment thereby: ſo hee alſo that receiueth the ſame ought to make it publiquely knowne. Receiue not that which thou art aſhamed to owe. Some there are that ſecretly, and in corners, and by whiſperings

rings in the eare, giue thankes for the good they haue receiued: This is not modeſtie and ſhamefaſtneſſe, but an vndoubted ſigne of their will and intent to denie the benefit. Hee that giueth thankes in ſecret, and admitteth no witneſſes of the good he hath receiued, is vngratefull. Some there are that will borrow money, prouided that it be not in their owne names, neither certified by obligation, nor ſigned by witneſſes. They that will not that any man ſhould haue notice of the good is done vnto them, reſemble ſuch men. They are affraid to make it knowne, to the intent they may bee thought rather to haue obtained the ſame by their owne vertue, than by an other mans liberalitie and aſſiſtance. Such as theſe are, are leaſt officious vnto thoſe by whom they hold their liues and dignities, and whileſt they feare to be eſteemed for ſuch as are bounden and obliged to their Benefactors, they vndergoe a more grieuous imputation, and are iuſtly called vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SOme other there are that detract and ſcandalize their benefactors, and of theſe there are ſome, whom it were better to offend curriſhly, than befriend curteouſly. For ſhewing themſelues openly to be our mortall enemies, they pretend theroby to make men thinke that they are obliged to vs in nothing. There is nothing that more carefully wee ought to intend, than this, that the memorie of thoſe who haue in any ſort ſuccoured vs, bee not at any time extinguiſhed in vs, we muſt from time to time renew and refreſh it. He cannot giue thankes, that forgetteth what he hath receiued; and he that carrieth a good turne in memorie hath alreadie ſatisfied it: neither ought we to receiue a curteſie nicely, neither ſubmiſſly or humbly: for if in receiuing a man ſhew himſelfe cold and negligent, (whereas the benefit that commeth laſt, is the moſt pleaſing and acceptable) what will hee doe afterward when hee ſheweth himſelfe ſo cold in the greateſt heate of that which he hath receiued? An other receiueth diſdainfully, as if he ſaid, *I had no neede, but ſince thou ſo farre preſſeſt me, I will doe what thou requireſt.* An other receiueth ſo careleſly that he leaueth his benefactour in ſuſpence, whether hee ſaw or felt what was giuen him. An other ſcarce moueth his lips, and proueth more vngratefull than if hee had held his peace, That waight ſhould our wordes haue as the greatneſſe of our benefit requireth, and boldly ſhould we ſay; *Thou haſt obliged me more than thou thinkeſt.* For there is no man that is not contented to heare his curteſies amplified, and made great by good reports: *Thou canſt not imagine how great the pleaſure is thou haſt done me, yet hope I to make it knowne vnto thee, how much more I priſe thy good turne, than thou eſteemeſt.* He that burdeneth himſelfe with that which he hath receiued, is inſtantly gratefull as if he ſaid thus. So much eſteeme I the benefit which I haue receiued at your handes, that I ſhall neuer haue the meanes to make you ſatisfaction, at leaſtwiſe I will publiſh this in all companies, that if I requite it not before I die, it ſhall only bee for this cauſe that I want meanes to make requitall.

An admonition againſt the vice of ingratitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

This Furnius was surnamed Caius, and was Consul in Rome in the yere 1226

FVRNIVS neuer wonne *Augustus Cæsars* heart more, or knew better by any meanes to make him his owne (whereby he might compasse all that which hee demaunded at his hands) than at that time, when (hauing obtained his fathers pardon, who had beene a partie in *Antonius* action) he said vnto him: *Onely this one iniurie* (Great CAESAR) *haue I receiued at thy hands, which is, that by thy meanes I liue, and by thy meanes I die, without gratefull acknowledgement of that thankes I owe thee.* What mind may be more thankefull than his, who in no sort satisfieth himselfe with his owne thankefulnesse, but vtterly despaireth to equall the good he hath receiued? By these and such like speeches let vs so endeuor, that our will be not restrained or hidden, but be apparant and manifest euerie way. And although silence obscure our wordes, yet if we be so affected as we ought to be, our interior thoughts will appeare in our outward countenance. He that will be thankefull, no sooner receiueth the courtesie, but conceiueth and bethinketh him how he may make requitall. *Chrisippus* saith, That he that accepteth any friendship, resembleth him that is addressed and readie to runne for a wager, and standeth in the List, expecting the signall, whereupon hee might speedily set forward. And truely, he that receiueth, had need to be a swift footman and a great competitor, to the intent he may ouertake his benefactor, who began the race before him.

CHAP. XXVI.

Three principall causes of ingratitude, selfe-opinion, couetousnesse, and enuie.

LEt vs now consider and examine what most of all maketh men vngratefull. Truely it is either an ouer-weening of our selues, and an ingrafted error in men to admire and applaud both themselues and their actions, or else it is couetousnesse or enuie. Let vs begin with the first. There is no man but is a partiall and fauourable judge of himselfe: And thence it is, that he supposeth that hee hath deserued all things, and if any thing be giuen him, he receiueth it as a debt or dutie; and moreouer, supposeth himselfe to be disgraced, and vnder-valued. He gaue me this (saith he) but how late? But with how much trauaile and entreatie? How many more things might I haue obtained in the meane while, had I but fawned on such a man? or attended that? Or had I intended mine owne profit? I lookt not for this, I am numbred amongst the baser sort: Supposed he that my value and merit deserued so little? More honestly had hee dealt with me, had he presented me nothing at all.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ten thousand English Crownes by our computation.

CNEVS LENTVLVS the Augur, whose wealth and riches no man could equall, before that his Franklins waxing wealthie and great, made him seeme poore, and in the wayning (for this man saw foure thousand *Sestertiæ* of his owne; and fitly said I so, for he did no more than see them) was as shallow in wit, as base in mind

mind and courage. For although he were as couetous as Couetouſneſſe it ſelfe, yet ſooner vented he his money than his words; ſo weake and wanting was he in vttering what he ſhould. This man being obliged to *Auguſtus* for all his aduancement and fortunes (to whoſe ſeruice he had brought nothing but diſtreſſed beggerie, vnder the title of Nobilitie) hauing obtained the gouernment in the Citie (both for the fauour he had with the Emperour, and the money held in his owne poſſeſſion) was wont oftentimes to complaine himſelfe vnto *Cæſar*, That he had retyred him from his ſtudies, and that he had not giuen him ſo much as he himſelfe had loſt by giuing vp his ſtudie of eloquence. And yet amongſt other graces, *Auguſtus* had done this for him, that he had deliuered him from other mens ſcornes, and his owne fruitleſſe labour. *But Couetouſneſſe conſenteth not that a man ſhould be thankfull: For vnbridled hope is neuer ſatisfied with that which is giuen. The more wee haue, the more wee couet; and couetouſneſſe engaged amidſt a heape and multitude of riches, is more incenſed and forward. Euen as the force of a flame is a thouſand times more fiercer, the more violent and greater the fire is from whence it blazeth: So ambition ſuffereth not a man to reſt vpon the meaſure of that honor which heretofore he would haue beene aſhamed to haue wiſhed for. No man giueth thankes for being aduanced to a Tribuneſhip, but complaineth, that he is not preferred to the dignitie of a Prætor: Neither doth this ſuffice him, but that he muſt needs be Conſull: Neither will the Conſulate content him, except he poſſeſſe it more than once. Ambition ſtill preſſeth forward, and vnderſtandeth not her owne felicitie, becauſe ſhee reſpecteth not whence ſhee came, but whither ſhe is addreſſed. Of all theſe vices which hinder our gratuitie, the moſt importunate and vehement is Enuie, which tormenteth and vexeth vs with compariſons of this nature: He beſtowed thus much on me, but more vpon him, and more ſpeedily alſo. Finally, the enuious man negotiateth no mans buſineſſe, but fauoureth himſelfe againſt all men.

*This agreeth with S. Gregories ſaying, and that of the Poet, Creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit.

The endleſſe deſire of man is neuer glutted nor ſatisfied.

CHAP. XXVIII.

HOw much more wiſely and vertuouſly were it done, to engreaten and dignifie a good turne receiued, and to conſider and know, that no man is euer ſo well eſteemed by another, as he eſteemeth and prizeth himſelfe. I ſhould haue receiued farre more; but it was not for his eaſe to giue mee more: his liberalitie was to extend to more than my ſelfe. This is but a beginning: Let vs take it in good part, and vrge on his to further fauors, by ſhewing our ſelues thankefull for the good we haue receiued: He hath done but a little, but he will doe it often: He hath preferred that man before me, and me alſo hath he preferred before many others. This man cannot equall me either in vertue or honeſtie, yet in his carriage and actions he hath ſomething more pleaſing than is in me. By complaining my ſelfe I ſhall neuer be held worthie of a greater good, but ſhall rather ſhew, that I am vnworthie of that which I haue alreadie receiued. There was more courteſie done to thoſe lewd fellowes: What is this to the purpoſe? How ſeldome is Fortune bountifull with judgement? We daily complaine, that men that are leaſt vertuous are moſt fortunate. Oft times the hayle and tempeſt that ouer-paſſed the lands of a wicked and vngodly man, hath beat downe the corne of the beſt and vprighteſt men. Each man (as in all other things,

Remedies againſt the errors of thoſe that receiue vnthankfully.

thinges, ſo in friendſhip) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit ſo fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugne and detract; there is no curteſie ſo ſcanted and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplifie. Thou ſhalt neuer want a ſubiect or cauſe to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worſer ſide.

CHAP. XXIX.

SEe, I pray you, how ſome men (yea, euen thoſe who make a profeſſion of wiſedome) haue vniuſtly cenſured, and vnindifferently eſteemed the goods, and thoſe graces which they haue beſtowed vpon vs. They complaine becauſe wee equall not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in ſwiftneſſe, Birds in lightneſſe, Bulls in force. They complaine that beaſts haue ſubſtantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fairer haire, the Beare a thicker skinne, the Beuer a ſofter. They complaine that Dogges ouer-come vs in ſmelling, that Eagles in ſeeing, that Crowes in out-liuing, and many other beaſts in facilitie of ſwimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that ſome properties ſhould bee vnited in one and the ſame creature (as that ſwiftneſſe of bodie ſhould be matched with mightineſſe in ſtrength) they ſuppoſe themſelues iniured, becauſe man was not compoſed of theſe diuers and diſſident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, becauſe they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue, and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of thinges to come: yea and ſo farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they ſcarcely temper themſelues from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of ſo many and ſo mightie benefits which we haue receiued at their handes, and to yeeld them thankes, for that it hath pleaſed them to alot vs a ſecond place in this moſt beautifull houſe, and to make vs Lords of all earthly thinges? Is there any compariſon betwixt vs and thoſe beaſts, whereof wee haue the ſoueraignetie? All whatſoeuer nature denieth vs, ſhee cannot conueniently beſtow vpon vs. And therefore whoſoeuer thou art that doeſt ſo vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bethinke thee how great bleſſings our ſoueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beaſts more forcible than our ſelues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our ſubiection? how farre more ſwifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is ſecured and exempted from our ſtrokes and power. So many vertues haue we receiued, ſo many arts, and in concluſion, ſuch a minde and ſpirit, that in that very * inſtant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attaineth the ſame, and more ſwifter than the ſtarres fore-ſeeth long before the courſe and motion they are to obſerue and hold in time to come. Finally, ſuch a plentie of fruit, ſuch ſtore of wealth, and ſuch abundance of thinges heaped one vpon an other. Although thou take a view of all thinges, and becauſe thou findeſt no one thing intire which thou hadeſt rather bee, pick out ſuch ſeuerall thinges as thou wouldeſt wiſh to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou haſt well waighed the louing kindneſſe of nature, thou ſhalt bee forced to confeſſe, that thou wert her darling: And ſo is it indeede. The immortall Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greateſt honour that could bee giuen) they

Theſe will be the better vnderſtood if wee note that which Galen ſaith, in the beginning of his Treatiſe de vſu partium, where he ſaith, That thoſe creatures whom nature endowed with forces to defend themſelues from their Enemies, are not endowed with ſwiftneſſe to flie, as it appeareth in the Elephant. And contrariwiſe to thoſe ſhee hath denied forces to defend themſelues, them hath ſhee prouided of ſwiftneſſe to flie from their contrarie, as for example the Hart and Hare.

** It is not intended that the ſame thing which the ſoule deſireth ſhould preſently come to hand, but that by the meanes, and ſemblance, which is ſodainly formed in the ſoule, it may enioy and vſe the ſame in ſome manner.*

they haue placed vs next vnto themselues. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

CHAP. XXX.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) haue I thought necessarie to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits when we were discoursing on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great and worthie the requiting, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whome will hee confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoeuer therefore giueth instructions of thankfulnesse vnto men, negotiateth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpurueyed of nothing, and freed from the desire of affecting or coueting any thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thankelesse mind vpon his owne weakenesse or pouertie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou listest, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoeuer, because that he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same.

He answereth to a secret obiection

CHAP. XXXI.

IN my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoickes place amongst their extraordinarie Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulnesse, and vprightnesse, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate an act, yet may he be thankfull euen with his will and heart. As oft as any one compasseth and obtaineth his purpose, so often he reapeth the fruit of his labor. What purposeth he that bestoweth a benefit? To profit him to whom he giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If he hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with joy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it beene no benefit, but a bargaine. Well hath he sayled that hath attained the Hauen whereunto he shaped his course. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: He that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thankfully; if it be well taken, he hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit

Hee disputeth whether an interior thanks-giuing is sufficient to satisfie a benefit receiued.

whoſe propertie is to thinke no wayes of remuneration. That which I receiued, if I accepted and entertained the ſame with the like good affection as it was giuen me, I haue requited it: otherwiſe the thing that of it ſelfe is beſt, were in worſt caſe. To the end I ſhould be thankefull, I am ſent to Fortune: if I cannot ſatisfie for want of her ſuccour, my good minde ſhall ſatisfie a good minde. What then? Shall I not endeuor my ſelfe to the vttermoſt to make recompence? Shall I not ſeeke opportunitie of time and matter, and labour to fill the boſome of him, at whoſe hands I haue receiued any thing? Yes. But yet the world went ill with good doing, if a man might not be thankfull, euen with emptie hands.

CHAP. XXXII.

That is Chriſippus.

An obiection & ſimilitude againſt the precedent Paradox of the Stoicks.

HE that receiueth a good turne (ſayth he) although he hath taken it with neuer ſo thankfull a mind, yet hath hee not conſummated and performed his dutie: for there is a part which remaineth, which is of reſtitution. As at a Tennis-play it is ſomewhat to receiue the ball cunningly and diligently; but he is not tearmed a good gameſter, except he be ſuch a one as returneth and ſtriketh backe the ſame as fitly and readily, as it was ſerued to him. This example is farre different and impertinent: And why? becauſe the praiſe hereof is in the motion and agilitie of the bodie, not in the mind. And therefore it is requiſite, that the whole ſhould be layd forth at large, where the eye muſt be judge. Yet will I not for all that denie him to be a good gameſter that receiueth the ball as he ought to doe, though he ſtrike it not againe, ſo the fault bee not in himſelfe. But although (ſayth he) there be nothing deficient in the art of him that playeth, becauſe he hath performed a part, and can likewiſe performe that part which he hath not done, yet is the game it ſelfe imperfect, which is conſummated in taking and returning the ball backe againe by turnes. * I will no longer refell this; let vs ſuppoſe it to be ſo; let ſomewhat be deficient in the game, and not in the gameſter: So in this alſo, whereof wee diſpute, there wanteth ſomewhat in reſpect of the thing that was giuen, to which ſome condigne ſatisfaction is due, although in reſpect of the mind there be nothing deficient. a He that hath gotten a mind anſwerable to his owne, hath performed as much as in him lyeth that which he would.

* *Here he reſolueth this queſtion by Chriſippus one example.*

a *The bountifull minde that is ſeconded by a thankefull and gratefull minde, hath for his owne part all that which is to be deſired by him.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

HE hath giuen me a benefit, and I haue accepted it no otherwiſe than he himſelfe would haue it receiued: Now hath he the thing that he ſought, and the onely thing that he ſought, I am gratefull. After this there remaineth the vſe of me, and ſome profit from a gratefull man. This is not the remnant of an imperfect dutie, but an in-come and acceſſion to a perfect one. *Phidias* maketh an Image: the fruit of his art and knowledge is one thing, the commoditie of his workemanſhip and labour another: The propertie of his art is to haue made the Statue, but of the workemanſhip to haue made it with profit. *Phidias* hath perfited his worke, although he hath not ſold it: A three-fold profit reapeth he by his worke;

worke; the one in his conſcience and conceit, and this he receiueth as ſoone as his worke is finiſhed; the other of his fame; the third of his profit, which ſhall accrue vnto him either by fauour, or by ſale, or by ſome other meanes. So the firſt fruit of a benefit is the conſcience and contentment a man conceiueth, that he hath well finiſhed the ſame; the ſecond is of reputation; the third of thoſe things which may be made reciprocall one vnto another. When as therefore a benefit is thankefully accepted, hee that beſtowed it, hath alreadie receiued recompence, but not ſatisfaction as yet: I therefore owe that which is without the benefit, and in receiuing it kindly and thankfully, I haue ſatisfied the ſame.

Grateſull acceptance is a kinde of ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

WHat then? (ſaith he) hath he requited a fauor that hath done nothing? He hath done much, he hath repaied good will with as great good will, and (which is a certaine ſigne of friendſhip) he hath done it with an equall affection. Moreouer, a debt is ſatisfied one way, and a benefit another. Thou art not to expect that I will ſhew thee my payment. This affaire is managed from will to will. That which I ſay vnto thee ſhall not ſeeme harſh and diſtaſtfull to thee, although at firſt it fight againſt thine opinion, if thou conforme thy ſelfe vnto me, and imagine that there are more things than wordes. There are a great number of things without name, which we note not by their proper titles, but ſuch as are both forraine and borrowed: We call the foot whereon we walke, a foot; the foot of a Bed, the foot of a Hanging, and the foot of a Verſe: We call by the name of Dog, both a Hound, a Fiſh, and a Star: For we haue not words enow to giue a proper name vnto euery thing; and therefore when wee haue neede we borrow. Fortitude is a vertue that contemneth juſt dangers: or it is a Science to repell perils, or to know how to ſuſtaine them, or how to prouoke them: yet ſay wee, that a Fencer is a ſtout man, and a wicked ſlaue, whome raſhneſſe hath animated and enforced to contempt of death. Parſimonie is a Science to auoid extraordinarie expence, or an art to vſe a mans eſtate and ſubſtance moderately; and yet we call him a very ſparing man, which is of a niggardly and pinching mind, whereas notwithſtanding there is infinite oddes betweene moderation and niggardize. Theſe are of diuers natures, and yet for want of words we are enforced to call both the one and the other a Sparer; and him likewiſe ſtrong who deſpiſeth caſualties with reaſon, as that other alſo, who runnes headlong vpon dangers without judgement. So a benefit, as wee haue ſaid, is a bounteous action, and that very thing which is giuen by that action, as money, a houſe, a garment; the name of them both is all one, but the vertue and power of them farre different.

Confirmations of the precedent Paradox.

A benefite not only ſignifyeth a bounteous action, but the thing whatſoeuer that is bountifully beſtowed.

CHAP. XXXV.

GIue eare therefore, and thou ſhalt preſently perceiue, that I ſay nothing that is contrarie to thy opinion. That benefit or good turne which is finiſhed in the doing of it, is requited, if we take it thankfully. But for that other which is contained in the thing, we haue not yet requited it, but we intend to requite it: we haue

* *A Stoicall opinion.*

ſatisfied good will with good will, and we owe ſtill a thing for a thing. Therefore, although we ſay, that he hath giuen thankes that hath willingly receiued a benefit, yet will wee him that hath receiued to reſtore ſome ſuch like thing as he hath receiued. Some of the things we ſpeake doe differ from common cuſtome, and afterwards another way they grow in vſe and cuſtome againe. Wee denie, that a wiſe man receiueth any wrong, and yet the man that ſtriketh him with his fiſt, ſhall be condemned of injurie and wrong doing. We denie, that a foole hath any goods of his owne, and yet if a man ſteale any thing from a foole, we will condemne him of felonie. * We ſay that all fooles be mad, and yet we cure them not all by *Eleborus*. Euen vnto thoſe very men whome wee tearme mad we commit both Suffrages and Iuriſdiction. So likewiſe ſay wee that he hath requited a good turne that hath receiued it with a good minde; but yet neuertheleſſe wee leaue him ſtill in debt, to make recompence euen when he hath requited. Our ſo ſaying is an exhortation, and not a remitting of the good turne. Let vs not feare, neither (being depreſſed with an intolerable burthen) let vs faint in mind. Goods are giuen me; my good name is defended, my miſerie is taken from me, I enjoy life and libertie, deerer than life: And how ſhall I requite theſe things? When will the day come that I may ſhew him my good will againe? This is the day wherein he hath ſhewed his. Take vp the good turne, embrace it and be glad, make account that thou oweſt not that which thou haſt receiued, but that which thou mayeſt requite. Thou ſhalt not aduenture on ſo great a thing, as that miſchance may make thee vnthankfull. I will propoſe no difficultie vnto thee: be of good courage, ſhrinke not for feare of paines and long ſeruitude: I delay thee not, it may be done with things that thou haſt alreadie. Thou ſhalt neuer be thankefull except thou be inſtantly: What wilt thou therefore doe? Muſt thou take armes? Perchance thou muſt: Muſt thou ſayle ouer ſeas? Likely yes: and euen then alſo when the ſtormes threaten thee with ſhipwracke. But wilt thou reſtore a benefit? Take it thankefully, and thou haſt requited it; not ſo as thou ſhouldſt thinke that thou haſt payed the ſame, but ſo as thou mayeſt owe it with the more hearts-eaſe.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

LV-

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE discourseth of vngratefull men, what they be, and whether they are to be punished, or called before the Iudge. He denieth it by a curious disputation, and addeth, that their punishment is in hatred, infamie, and in the minde it selfe. Afterwards vpon occasion hee debateth whether a Lord should be gratefull to his slaue? Or receiue a benefit at his handes? He affirmeth; and this very plentifully, because in those daies there was often vse of seruants. Hereunto he annexeth; whether the Sonne giueth his Father a benefit? He disputeth on both sides, but affirmeth the affirmatiue.

CHAP. I.

NOT to render thankes for benefits receiued (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) is both lothsome in it selfe, and hatefull in all mens opinion. And therefore such as are themselues vngratefull, complaine of vngratefull men: and so are we fashioned and addressed to the contrarie of that we ought to doe, that there are some who become our Capitall enemies, not only after benefits receiued, but for the very fauours they receiue. I cannot denie but that this hapneth vnto some by reason of the corruption of their nature: to many, because that the interposition of time extinguisheth the remembrance. For those thinges that were fresh in memorie with them, while they were newly done, doe in processe of time weare out of remembrance. Concerning which sort of men, I know that thou and I haue otherwhiles disputed, whereas thou maintainedst that it were better to call them forgetfull than vngratefull. Shall he therefore be excused of ingratitude because he hath forgotten, when as no man can forget, except he be vngratefull? There are many sorts of vngratefull men, as there are of Theeues and Murtherers, whose fault is one, but in the parts there is great varietie. Ingratefull is he who denieth that hee hath receiued a good turne, which hath beene done him:

That which is complained of by all men, is exercised by most men.

He termeth all sinne equall, according to the doctrine of the Stoickes, but all the Fathers and Christian religion teacheth otherwise.

him: Ingratefull is he that diſſembleth: Ingratefull is he that maketh not reſtitution: and the moſt vngratefull of all is he, that forgetteth a fauour hath beene ſhewen him. For they, although they requite not, yet are they indebted, and ſome certaine impreſſion of the good turne (hoarded vp in their corrupt conſciences) is extant with them. And vpon ſome cauſe they may at length diſpoſe themſelues to gratuitie, if either ſhame ſhall put them in minde, or ſome ſodaine deſire to proceede honourably: ſuch as for a time is wont to awaken it ſelfe in men of the worſt diſpoſition, if any eaſie occaſion ſhould inuite them. But neuer can hee become thankefull who hath forgotten the whole benefit. And whether thinkeſt thou him worſer, in whom the thankes of a good turne is loſt, or him in whom the very remembrance periſheth? Faultie are thoſe eies that feare the light, but blind are they that ſee not at all. Not to reuerence and loue ones Parents is impietie, and not to acknowledge them is madneſſe. Who is more vngratefull than hee, who hauing receiued ſuch a curteſie as hee ought to treaſure vp in the formoſt part of his memorie, and continually meditate thereon, hath laid it ſo farre a-ſide, and neglected it, that he groweth wholly ignorant thereof? It appeareth that he neuer bethought him of reſtitution, that ſuffered obliuion ſo farre to vſurpe vpon him.

CHAP. II.

IN a word, to the requiting of a good turne there needeth vertue, time, abilitie, and fauourable fortune. Hee that remembreth a friend is thankefull without expence: Hee that performeth not this (which to atchieue neither requireth labour, nor charge, nor felicitie) hath no couert or patronage to conceale himſelfe in. For neuer meant he to be thankefull, who caſt a benefit ſo farre from him, that it neither ſuruiued in his ſight, nor his remembrance. Euen as thoſe things which are in vſe, and are managed and handled daily, are neuer in danger of ſoile or ruſting; and thoſe which are out of ſight, and vſe (ſo as they haue lien by, as vnneceſſarie) doe gather ſoile by continuance of time: So that which frequent cogitation exerciſeth and reneweth, is neuer wrought out of memorie, which looſeth and forgetteth nothing, but that, which ſhee reſpecteth and looketh not back vnto verie often.

An apt compariſon.

CHAP. III.

BEſides this cauſe there are other alſo, which ſometimes conceale the greateſt merits from vs. The firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of all others, is this; that being alwaies continually buſied with new deſires, we haue an eie and regard, not to that we haue, but what we require, intentiue, not on that which is in our preſent poſſeſſion, but on that wee affect and fancie moſt. For whatſoeuer is at our command, is baſe and contemptible. Whence it followeth, that as ſoone as the deſire of new thinges hath made that light which wee haue receiued, the Author alſo thereof is ſlenderly reſpected. So long as thoſe thinges which a great Lord hath giuen vs, haue beene pleaſing and well-liking vnto vs, we haue loued and courted him, and confeſſed openly that our ſtate was founded and raiſed by him,

Beſides forgetfulneſſe, hee ſetteth downe other cauſes of ingratitude.

him; but if any new ambition assault vs; if our minde fall into admiration of other thinges, and earnestly affect the same, (as the manner of mortall men is, after great things to desire greater) we straight-waies forget that which in times past we called a benefit: we neither respect or looke into those thinges, which haue aduanced vs before others, but those things only wherein other men haue had the fortune to out-strip vs. But it is impossible for any man, both to repine and enuie, and to be thankefull: for to enuie, is the propertie of a complaining and discontented man, but to giue thankes is the propertie of him that is well pleased. The second cause of ingratitude is, because none of vs make any accompt, but of that present time which speedily passeth and fleeteth before our eies; and few or none are they that cast back their minds to thinke on things past. By meanes hereof it falls out, that Schoole-masters, and their good deedes, are buried in obliuion, because we wholly loose the remembrance of our infancie. Hereby it commeth to passe, that wee forget all those thinges which are bestowed vpon vs in our youth, because we neuer thinke vpon the same. No man accompteth that which he hath beene, as it were a thing past, but as a thing lost. Thus the desire and apprehension of thinges to come, defaceth the memorie of thinges past.

CHAP. IIII.

The remembrance of kindnesse receiued, ought to be numbred amongst the greatest pleasures.

IN this place must I giue testimonie of the Epicures vpright iudgement, who continually complaineth, for that we are ingratefull in regard of things past, for that we recall not to memorie whatsoeuer benefits we haue receiued, neither number them amongst pleasures, when as there is none more certaine contentment, than that which cannot any more be taken from vs. The goods and pleasures that are present are not as yet wholly assured; some casualtie may intercept and cut them off. Those thinges that are to come, are vncertaine and doubtfull: That which is past is laid a-side amongst those thinges that are in safetie. How then can any man acknowledge the good that is done him, who hath forgotten the whole course of his life? The apprehension and consideration of things present, and the memorie of thinges past, maketh a man gratefull; He that attributeth most to Hope, yeeldeth least to Memorie.

CHAP. V.

EVen as (my *Liberalis*) there are certaine thinges which being once apprehended, continue still in memorie; and some thinges that to know them, it is not sufficient to haue learned them, (for the science of them is forgotten, except it bee continued) I meane Geometrie, and the course of Cœlestiall thinges, and of such which by their subtiltie doe easily slip out of our memories: So the greatnesse of some benefits suffer them not to bee forgotten. Some lesser and more in number, and diuers in time, are easily buried in obliuion; Because, as I said, we handle them not often, neither willingly acknowledge what we owe vnto euerie man. Hearken what speeches sutors and suppliants vse: There is not any of them, but saith, that hee will for euer keepe in minde the fauour done him;

euery

euery man proteſteth and voweth himſelfe to be at commandement, and if any more ſubmiſſiue ſpeech, whereby he may engage himſelfe, may be found out, he ſpareth it not. But within a little while after, thoſe Gallants eſteeme their former wordes as too baſe and illiberall: and finally, they grow to that point (which as I ſuppoſe euery one the lewdeſt, and moſt vngratefulleſt attaineth vnto) that is, to forget the ſame. For euen as vngratefull is hee that forgetteth, as he is gratefull that remembreth him of a benefit.

CHAP. VI.

YEt the queſtion is whether this ſo hatefull vice ſhould bee left vnpuniſhed? and whether this law which is exerciſed in declamatorie Schooles, ſhould be ratified alſo in the Citie, whereby a man may call an ingratefull man in queſtion? Sure it ſeemeth a matter worthie the cenſure of juſtice, in all mens iudgements. Why not? ſince certaine Cities alſo, haue reproched other Cities for the loanes and fauours they haue done them, and redemand from poſteritie that which they haue lent to their predeceſſours. Our Anceſtors, thoſe mightie and vertuous men, required ſatisfaction only from their enemies; as for their benefits, they gaue them with a great minde, and loſt them with as great. There is not any Nation in the world, except the *Medes*, that haue thought fit to impleade an ingratefull man, or call him in queſtion. And this is a great reaſon why none ſhould be granted, becauſe by mutuall conſent we puniſh miſdeeds; and for Murther, Witchcraft, Paricide, and breach of Religion, haue here and there enacted diuers puniſhments, and in all places ſome: but this moſt frequent crime is no where puniſhed, and euery where improued. Neither abſolue we the ſame: but whereas the iudgement of a thing vncertaine is difficult, wee haue only condemned it with hatred, and left it amongſt thoſe thinges which we referre to the iuſtice and iudgement of the Gods.

He concludeth the negatiue part.
He approueth that which be concluded.

CHAP. VII.

BVt many reaſons offer themſelues vnto mee, whereby it appeareth that this errour and crime is not puniſhable by Law. Firſt of all, the better part of the benefit ſhould periſh, if a man ſhould haue an action allowed him, as hee hath for lending money, or for bargaines of hyring, and letting out. For this is the greateſt grace of a benefit, that we haue giuen it, although we ſhould looſe it, that we haue referred all to the curteſie of the receiuers. If I arreſt him, and call him before the Iudge, it beginneth to bee a debt, and not a benefit. Againe, whereas it is a moſt commendable thing to requite, it ceaſeth to be honeſt, if it be of neceſſitie. For no man will commend a thankefull perſon, more than him that hath reſtored a thing which was committed him to keepe, or diſcharged his debt without being ſued. Thus corrupt and deface wee two thinges (than which in humane life there is nothing more worthie) that is to ſay, a gratefull man, and a bountifull giuer. For what honour, I pray you, ſhall hee haue in this, if hee giueth not a benefit, but lendeth it? or in that, if hee requite, not becauſe hee will, but becauſe hee muſt of neceſſitie? It is no glorious thing to bee gratefull.

Reaſons to approue that ingratitude is not puniſhable by Law.

gratefull, except it be a matter vnpunishable to be vngratefull: moreouer, this inconuenience would ensue, that all Courts would scarcely serue, and suffice this one law only: who is he that might not sue? who is he that might not bee sued? all men prise and praise their owne doings, all men enlarge those thinges they haue employed vpon others, be they neuer so little. Besides, whatsoeuer thinges fall into knowledge of the Iudges, may bee comprehended by them without giuing them infinite licence and libertie. And therefore the condition of a good cause seemeth to be better if it be restored to a Iudge, than if it bee remitted to compromise, because the Iudge is bound vnto an order, and hath his certaine bounds limited him, which he may not exceede; But the Vmpieres conscience being free and tied to no termes, may both adde, and take away, and order the sentence, not as law and iustice counsaileth, but according as humanitie and pittie shall moue. An action of ingratitude would not oblige the Iudge, but set him at libertie to rule thinges as he listed. For it is not certaine what a benefit is; againe, how great soeuer it bee, it were much to the matter how fauourably the Iudge would construe it. No law defineth what an vnthankefull person is. Oft-times he that hath restored as much as he hath receiued, is vnthankefull, and hee that hath not requited, is thankefull. There bee some matters also which some vnskilfull Iudge may dismisse the Court of, as in cases where the parties confesse a deede, or no deede, where the opening of the euidence dispatcheth all doubts. But when as Reason must giue iudgment betweene two persons which debate, there ought our vnderstanding to vse coniecture and diuination: and when as a thing which only wisedome ought to determine, falleth in controuersie, a man cannot (in that case) take a Iudge of the number of those whom the Prætor chooseth, and such a one as is inrolled in the Register of the Iudges; because he hath the rents and riches which a Romaine Knight ought to haue.

The Romaine Prætor was wont to commit some affaires of importance to bee determined by a certaine number of chosen men, selected out of the order of Knights.

CHAP. VIII.

THis thing therefore seemed not to bee very vnmeete to bee made a matter in law, but that no man could be found to be a competent Iudge in the case; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider throughly what puzzell and difficultie hee should finde who should enter into the ouer-ruling of such cases. Some one hath giuen a great summe of money; but such a one as is rich; but such a one as shall not feele the want thereof. Another hath giuen, but with the hazard of forgoing his whole inheritance. The summes are a-like, but the benefit is not the same: Yea, let vs adde yet further; This man laid downe money for him that was adjudged a slaue vnto his creditour; but where hee had it at home lying by him. That other gaue as much; but hee tooke it vp vpon interest; or borrowed it with much intreatie; or deepely indangered himselfe to him that lent it. Thinkest thou that there was no difference betwixt him that bestowed his benefit at his ease, and that other that borrowed to giue the same? Some thinges are made great in time, and not the greatest. It is a benefit to giue a possession whose fertilitie may ease the dearth of corne; one loafe of bread in time of scarcitie is a benefit. It is a benefit to giue whole Regions, through which many Riuers may runne able to beare ships. It is a benefit to those that are dried vp with thirst, and scarce able to draw them breath through their dried

dried jawes to ſhew them a fountaine: who ſhall diſtinguiſh theſe one from an other? who ſhall waigh them throughly? hard is the determination of that caſe, which requireth the force of a thing, and not the thing it ſelfe. Although they be the ſame, yet being differently giuen, they waigh not alike. This man did me a good turne, but he did it vnwillingly; but hee complained that he gaue it, but he beheld me more proudly than he was accuſtomed, but he gaue it ſo late, that it had beene better for me if he had quickly denied me. How can a Iudge make an eſtimate of theſe thinges? whereas the ſpeech, the doubt, and the countenance of a man may deſtroy the grace of his merit?

CHAP. IX.

WHat ſhall wee ſay of ſome thinges, which becauſe they are much deſired, are held for benefits? and of others, which are not eſteemed by the common ſort, for ſuch, although they are greater then they ſeeme. Thou calleſt it a benefit to haue giuen a man the freedome of a moſt rich and wealthy Citie, to haue made a man a Knight, and to haue placed him on the * fourteenth ſcaffold, deſtinated for the Romaine Knights, to behold the plaies and publique ſpectacles? and to haue defended him vpon an indictment of life and death: but what thinke you of it to haue giuen a man good counſaile? to haue hindered him from executing a wicked enterpriſe? to haue wrung the ſword out of his hand, where-with hee would haue ſlaine himſelfe? to haue comforted him in his ſorrow by holeſome counſailes? and to haue brought him back to the fellowſhip of life, from his willfull ſeeking and longing to accompanie his deceaſed friends in death: what thinke you it to be, to ſit by a ſick-mans bed, and ſince his euill came by fits and at certaine houres, to haue waighted a fit time to giue him meate? and to haue bathed his veines with wine when he fainted? to haue brought him a Phiſitian euen then when hee exſpected to die? who is hee that can iuſtly value theſe thinges? what Iudge ſhall he be that ſhall command theſe benefits to be recompenced with the like? Some man perchance hath giuen thee a houſe, but I haue foretold thee that thine owne is falling downe on thy head. Hee hath giuen thee a patrimonie: but I a planck to floate vpon, and ſaue thy life in ſhipwrack. He hath fought and hath beene wounded for thy cauſe: but I haue giuen thee thy life by my ſilence on the rack. Whereas a benefit is giuen one way, and recompenced an other: it is a hard matter to make them equall.

* *Theſe degrees or places of Knight-hood amongſt the Romaines were not obtained by antiquitie, but diligence and fauor: ſo may you gather from our Author here, and from* Iuſtus Lipſius, lib. de Amphitheatro cap. 14.

CHAP. X.

FVrthermore, there is no day limited for recompencing a good turne, as there is for money lent: he therefore that hath not as yet requited, may requite. For tell me in what time may a man diſcouer an other to bee vngratefull? The greateſt benefits haue no probation at all, they for the moſt part are hidden in the conſciences of two. Shall wee bring the world to that paſſe that wee may not doe a good turne without teſtimonie? What puniſhment then ſhall we deſtinate for the vnthankefull? ſhall we prefixe one for all, where the benefits are different? or vnequall puniſhments, either greater or leſſer, according to each mans benefit?

nefite? Goe to then, let the penaltie bee pecuniarie: why? Some benefits concerne life and are more greater, than life; what penaltie will you pronounce against them? leſſe than the benefit? that were not indifferent: equall, and ſo capitall? what more inhumane, than that the iſſue of benefits ſhould bee bloudie?

CHAP. XI.

CErtaine priuiledges (ſaith he) are giuen vnto Parents. And as there is an extraordinarie conſideration had of theſe, ſo is it reaſonable alſo that a reſpect ſhould be had of other benefits. We haue hallowed and ſacred the condition of Parents, becauſe it was expedient that children ſhould be bred and brought vp. They were to be encouraged to this trauell, becauſe they were to vnder-goe an vncertaine fortune. It could not be ſaid vnto them, which is ſpoken vnto thoſe that giue benefits. *Be warie in thy choice to whom thou giueſt: If thou haſt beene once deceiued, ſeeke out hence-forward ſuch a one as is worthie of thy benefits, and ſuccour him.* In breeding and bringing vp children, the Parents iudgement preuaileth little, all that they may doe is but to wiſh well, and hope the beſt. Therefore that they might the more willingly aduenture this chance, it was reaſon that ſome prerogatiue ſhould be giuen them. Againe, the caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe with Parents, for they both doe and will beſtow benefits vpon their children, although they haue done neuer ſo much for them alreadie: and it is not to bee feared that they will belie themſelues in giuing: In others it ought to bee examined, not only whether they haue receiued, but alſo whether they haue giuen. But the merits of theſe conſiſt in their confeſſion; and becauſe it is requiſite for youth to be ruled, we haue conſtituted, as it were, certaine domeſticall Magiſtrates ouer them, vnder whoſe gouernement they ſhould bee reſtrained. Againe, the benefits of all Parents was equall and alike, and therefore it might be valued after one rate, but the reſt were diuers, vnlike, and infinite oddes was betweene them, and therefore could they fall vnder no compaſſe of Law; ſo that it was more fitting to let them all alone, than to make them all equall.

CHAP. XII.

SOme thinges coſt the giuers much; and ſome are much worth to the receiuers, and yet ſtand the giuers in nothing. Certaine curteſies are done to friends, ſome to ſtrangers, and (although the gift be one) yet is it better imploied on him that then thou beganſt to know, when thou vndertookeſt to ſuccour him. This man giueth ſuccours; that ornament; theſe other conſolations. Thou ſhalt finde ſome that imagine nothing more pleaſing in this world, or more great and agreeable, than to haue a friend that may ſuccour, and to whom hee may diſcouer his miſeries and calamities. Againe, you ſhall finde ſome man more jelous of his Honour, than his Securitie, and other ſome that ſuppoſe themſelues more indebted to him, by whoſe meanes they may liue in repoſe, than to him by whoſe meanes they might liue in ſome honor and eſtimation. Theſe things therefore would fall out greater or leſſer, according as the Iudges minde were bent to the one, or to

As the qualities of benefits are diuers: ſo alſo are they diuerſly eſteemed by thoſe that receiue them.

to the other. Beſides I chooſe my ſelfe a creditor: I often-times receiue a benefit at his handes, from whom I would not; and ſometimes I am obliged ere I know thereof. What wilt thou doe? wilt thou call him vngratefull that had a good turne caſt vpon him before hee knew it, and if hee had knowne thereof would not haue receiued it? and wilt thou not terme him vnthankefull which howſoeuer he receiued thy good turne, in no ſort requited it?

CHAP. XIII.

SOme man hath done mee a friendſhip, and afterwards the ſame man hath offered me an injurie. Whether am I tied by one curteſie to ſuffer all injuries? or ſhall I be acquit, as if I had acknowledged the ſame, becauſe hee hath defaced his former benefit by his ſucceeding injurie? how then canſt thou determine whether the pleaſure he hath receiued be greater, or the outrage that is afterwards offered him? The day would faile me if I ſhould attempt to proſecute euery difficultie. Wee (ſaith hee) make men ſlower to doe good, when wee challenge not the things that are giuen, but ſuffer the deniers to eſcape vnpuniſhed. But you muſt bethinke your ſelfe of this alſo on the contrarie part, that men will bee much loather to receiue benefits, if they ſhould ſtand in perill of proceſſe thereby, and if their innocence be no waies aſſured. Moreouer, by this meanes we our ſelues ſhall become loather to doe men good, for no man willingly giueth vnto thoſe, who are vnwilling to receiue. But whoſoeuer is prouoked to pleaſure others of his owne good nature, and for the worthineſſe of the thing it ſelfe, will giue willingly alſo euen vnto ſuch as ſhall thinke themſelues no more beholding to him than they liſt: For the glorie of that office is diminiſhed, which carrieth a promiſe with it.

If vngratefull receiuers ſhould be puniſhed, few would entertaine benefits.

CHAP. XIIII.

SO ſhall there be fewer benefits; yea but they ſhall be truer. And what harme is it to haue the raſhneſſe of benefiting reſtrained? For this euen intended they that conſtituted no law for the ſame: that we ſhould more circumſpectly giue, and carefully chooſe thoſe on whom wee beſtowed our fauours. Conſider diligently to whom thou giueſt, ſo ſhall there be no ſuing, ſo ſhall there be no calling backe or repetition. Thou art deceiued if thou thinke that any Iudge can helpe thee. There is no Law that is able to ſet thee cleare againe. Only haue thou an eie to the thankefulneſſe of the receiuer. By theſe meanes benefits hold their authoritie, and are magnificent: thou defileſt them if thou make them a matter of law: In debt it is a moſt iuſtifiable ſpeech, and anſwerable to the law of all Nations, to ſay, *Pay that which thou oweſt.* But this is the fouleſt word in benefiting that can be, to ſay, *Pay*: For what ſhall he pay? He oweth his Life, his Greatneſſe, his Honours, the aſſurance of his Fortune, his Health. The greateſt things cannot be requited. At leaſtwiſe (ſaith he) let him repay ſomewhat of like value. This is it that I ſaid, that the eſtimation of ſo noble a thing ſhould periſh, if we make a merchandize of benefits. The minde is not to be incited to Auarice, to Proceſſe,

ceſſe, or Debate: he runneth into theſe things of his owne accord. Let vs withſtand them as much as we can, and cut off the occaſions of complaining.

CHAP. XV.

I Would to God we could perſwade them not to receiue againe the mony they had lent, ſaue only of ſuch as were willing to repay. Would to God the buyers were neuer obliged to the ſellers by any promiſe, nor bargaines and couenants were ratified vnder hand and ſeale; but that faith ſhould rather keepe them, and a minde obſeruing equitie. But men haue preferred profit before honeſtie, and had rather inforce others to be faithfull, than behold them faithfull. Witneſſes are emploied, both on the one and the other ſide. This man lendeth his money vpon intereſt to many, whom he cauſeth to be bound by publique inſtruments. That other is not contented with ſureties, except he haue a pawne in hand. O loathſome confeſſion of humane fraud, and publique wickednesſe. Our ſeales are more ſet by than our ſoules. To what purpoſe are theſe Worſhipfull men called to record? why ſet they to their handes? namely, leaſt hee ſhould denie that which he had receiued. Thinkeſt thou theſe men to bee vpright, and that they would maintaine a truth? yea, but if they themſelues would inſtantly borrow money of any man, they cannot get it, except they be obliged after the ſame manner. Had it not beene more honeſtie to let ſome paſſe with the breach of their credit, than that all men ſhould be miſtruſted of vnthankefulneſſe, and perfidiouſneſſe. Auarice wanteth but one only thing, which is, That we ſhould doe no man good without ſuretiſhip. It is the propertie of a generous and magnificent minde to helpe and profit others; he that giueth benefits, imitateth the Gods; he that redemandeth them, is as the Vſurers. Why then abaſe wee our ſelues to thoſe vileſt ſort of rake-hells, by reſembling them?

He reprehendeth the little faith and double dealing of men.

CHAP. XVI.

BVt if no action be liable againſt an vngratefull perſon, the number of the vngratefull will bee the more? nay rather they will bee the leſſe; for men will bee more aduiſed in beſtowing their benefits. Againe, it is not expedient to haue it knowne to the world, what a number of vnthankefull perſons there be: For the multitude of offenders will take away the ſhame of the deed, and a common crime will ceaſe to be accompted a reproch: Is there almoſt any woman in theſe daies that is aſhamed of diuorce, ſince the time that certaine of the noble Ladies, and Gentle-women, haue made accompt of their yeares, not by the number of Conſuls, but by the number of their huſbands; and depart from them to bee married, and are married to bee diuorced? So long as diuorce was rare, ſo long was it feared, but after that few or no marriages were continued without diuorce, the often hearing of it taught them to vſe it. Is any woman now a-daies aſhamed of whordome, ſince the world is growne to that paſſe, that few take a huſband but to cloake their whoredomes? Chaſtitie is an argument of deformitie, where ſhall a man finde a woman ſo miſerable, or ſo loathſome, that will

The multitude of offendors cloudeth and maketh the crime leſſe odious.

I pray God these Pagan errors together with diuorce bee not crept into England.

content her selfe with one paire of adulterers? except shee haue for euery houre one, and yet the day is not long enough to suffice all, except shee bee carried to one friend, and dine with an other, nay shee doteth, and is too much of the old stampe, that knowes not that the keeping of one Lemman is good wedlocke. Like as the shame of these faults is vanished at this day, since the sinne beganne to get large scope, so shalt thou make the thankelesse sort both more and more bold, if they may once beginne to number themselues.

CHAP. XVII.

WHat then? shall the thankelesse person escape vnpunished? what then? shall he be vnchasticed that hath no pietie? the malicious, the couetous, hee that followeth and feedeth his owne desires, hee that delighteth in crueltie? Thinkest thou that they shall be vnpunished which are so hatefull? or supposest thou that any punishment is more grieuous than publique hatred? It is a punishment that he dare not take a good turne at any mans handes, that hee dare not doe a good turne to any, that he is a gazing-stock to all men, or at leastwise supposeth himselfe to be so, and that he hath lost the vnderstanding of the thing that was singularly good, and singularly sweet. Callest thou him vnhappie that wanteth his eye-sight? or him whose eares are deafned by the meanes of sickenesse? and doest thou not accompt him wretched, that hath lost the force of benefits? He feareth the Gods, who are witnesses against all vngratefull men, the knowledge he hath how he is entercepted and excluded from benefiting, or doing curtesies, burneth and vexeth him inwardly: finally, this very punishment is great enough for him, that (as I said before) hee cannot reape the fruit and enjoy so pleasant a thing. But he that is delighted, and contented in that he hath receiued a good turne, enjoyeth equall and perpetuall pleasure, and rejoyceth in beholding the mind of him that gaue, and not the thing was giuen. A good turne continually delighteth a thankefull man, an vngratefull man but once. Besides this, let either of their liues bee compared with other. The one is alwaies sad and sorrowfull, and walketh like a cheater, and fraudulent person, who respecteth not the dutie hee oweth to his Parents which begot him, nor of those friends that bred him vp, nor of those Masters which instructed him. The other is alwaies joyfull and merrie, expecting an occasion to yeeld satisfaction, and conceiuing a great ioy in this very affection, not seeking meanes to make that appeare lesse which he hath receiued, but how hee may satisfie more fully and honorably, not only his Parents and Friends, but also other persons of meaner reckoning. For although hee hath receiued a benefit at his bond-mans hands, he considereth not from whom, but what he hath receiued.

The punishment of ingratitude is contempt of all men.

The miserie of an vngratefull receiuer.

CHAP. XVIII.

ALthough it be a question amongst some (amongst whom *Hecaton* is one) whether a bond-man can benefit his Master or no. For there are some that distinguish after this manner. That certaine thinges are benefits; certaine, duties; and certaine, seruices. They say that we ought to call that a benefit which we receiue from a strange,

ſtranger, and we terme him a ſtranger that is not borne to doe vs any pleaſure, except he pleaſe: They name that, dutie, which appertaineth properly to a Sonne, a Wife, and thoſe perſons who are prouoked by alliance, and tied by offices, to aſſiſt. They terme that, ſeruice, which belongeth to a ſlaue or bond-man, who is brought to this exigent by the condition of his fortune, ſo that he cannot in any ſort challenge his Superiour for any thing, whatſoeuer hee hath done vnto him. This notwithſtanding whoſoeuer denieth, that bond-men may not ſometimes doe their Maſters a good turne, is ignorant of the Law of Nature, for it concerneth vs to conſider, of what minde he is that giueth the benefit, not of what ſtate or calling. Vertue hideth her ſelfe from no man, ſhee entertaineth and accepteth all men, ſhee inuiteth all, Gentlemen, Francklins, Bond-men, Kings, and baniſhed Men; ſhee chooſeth neither houſe nor reuenue, but is contented with the bare name. For what ſafeguard ſhould there be againſt caſualties, or what great thing could the minde promiſe it ſelfe, if fortune could change a certaine and ſetled vertue? if the bond-man giueth not a benefit to his Maſter, neither doth any Subject to his King, nor Souldier to his Captaine, for what skilleth it, in what ſtate of ſubiection a man be, if he be vnder one which is Soueraigne? For if neceſſitie, and feare of extremitie doe barre a bond-man from attaining the name of deſert, the ſame alſo will barre him that is vnder a King, or a Captaine, who haue the like power ouer him, although it be vnder a different Title: but men gratifie their Kings, and giue benefits to their Captaines, therefore ſlaues may doe curteſies to their Maſters: A bond-man may be juſt, valiant, and couragious; *Ergo*, he may alſo giue a benefit. For this proceedeth only from vertue, and ſo may bond-men giue their Maſters benefits, as they haue often times made them their benefits. There is no doubt but that a bond-man may doe a curteſie to any man, why then may he not giue fauour and pleaſure to his owne Maſter?

He reproueth this opinion and proueth the contrarie.

CHAP. XIX.

BEcauſe (ſaith he) hee cannot become his Maſters creditor, if hee ſhould giue him his money; yet otherwiſe he daily obligeth his Maſter vnto him: he followeth him in his iournies, he miniſtreth vnto him in his ſickneſſes, hee reuerenceth him with great care, and labour: yet all theſe (which would bee thought benefits if an other ſhould doe them) are but ſeruices as long as a bond-man doeth them: For that is a benefit (and is only rightly ſo called) that a man doeth, who was at libertie not to doe it. But a bond-man hath not the power of refuſall, thus giueth he, and lendeth he nothing, but is only obedient to that which is commanded him: neither can hee boaſt of his doing, becauſe he could not refuſe to doe the ſame. Euen vnder theſe termes will I conquer thee, and confute thy opinion, and ſo farre will I plead the bond-mans cauſe, that in diuers acts he ſhall be eſteemed free. Meane while, I pray you tell me, if I ſhew you a ſlaue fighting couragiouſly without feare of death, in defence of his Maſters life, and without reſpect of his owne, wounded with infinite blowes, yet ſuffering his bloud to ſtreame from his deepe wounds, euen to the laſt and vttermoſt drops, to the end that his Maſter in the meane time may finde an opportunitie to eſcape, purchaſing the meanes by his owne death, to winne ſo much time as

Obiections againſt the aboue ſaid reaſons.

All good offices in a ſlaue are but duties and no benefits.

he may,to ſaue his Maſters life: Wouldeſt thou denie that he did his Maſter a friendſhip,becauſe he is his bond-man? If I ſhew thee one,that by no tyrannicall premiſes could be corrupted,or threats terrified, or torments feared,to bewray his Maſters ſecrets; but as much as in him lay,remoued all ſuſpicions that were ſurmiſed,and employed all his forces to expreſſe his faith: wouldeſt thou denie (becauſe he was a bond-man) that he did his Maſter a good turne? See rather,if it be not ſo much the greater kindnes, as the example of vertue is rather in bond-men; & conſequently,ſo much the more worthy thanks: for that whereas ſuperiority is commonly hated, and all conſtraint eſteemed grieuous, yet the loue of ſome one toward his Maſter, hath ſurmounted the common hatred of bondage. So then,for that cauſe it ceaſeth not to be a benefite becauſe it proceeded from a bond-man: but therefore is it greater, becauſe bondage it ſelfe could not deterre him from doing the ſame.

CHAP. XX.

HEe is deceiued, whoſoeuer thinketh that ſeruitude taketh poſſeſſion ouer the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are bred and ſubiect to their Maſters, but the minde is priuiledged in it ſelfe; it is ſo free and reſtleſſe, that it cannot be reſtrained in this priſon, wherein it is incloſed: it cannot be held from vſing his forces,& performing great matters,& paſſing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celeſtiall Gods. It is the body therefore that Fortune hath ſubmitted to the Maſter, This bought he,this ſelleth he: that interior part cannot be bought or ſold,or ſuffer ſeruitude. Whatſoeuer iſſueth from that is free: for neyther can we command them all things, neyther can our bond-men be compelled to obey vs in all things: they are not bound to execute that which ſhall be preiudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to aſſiſt any wicked and inſolent action.

CHAP. XXI.

He yeeldeth a direct anſwer to the former reply.

THere are certaine things which the lawes neither command,nor forbid to be done: in theſe hath a bond-man matter of benefite. As long as he doth that which his Maſter may iuſtly command him to do, it is called and is ſeruice; when more then is neceſſary for a ſeruant to doe, a benefite: when it paſſeth into the affection of a friend, it ceaſeth to be called a ſeruice. There are certaine things which a Maſter is bound to furniſh his ſeruant with,namely,with meate,and drinke,and rayment: but no man will call this a benefite. But if he haue giuen him all that he would,if he haue nouriſhed him as a free-man, if he haue inſtructed him in the liberall ſciences: this ought to be called a benefite. The ſame contrariwiſe may be ſaid in the perſon of a bond-man: whatſoeuer it be that exceedeth the duty and rule of a bond-mans ſeruice,it is not done of awe and command, but voluntarily and willingly, is a benefite,prouided alwayes, that it be ſuch, that it may merrit the name, when another forraine perſon ſhall do it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Bondman (as *Chryſippus* ſaith) is a perpetuall hireling, now euen as he giueth a benefit, when he performeth more then that daies worke to which he was hired; ſo when as the bond-man (by reaſon of the loue and affection hee beareth his Maſter) ſurpaſſeth the termes of his miſerable fortune, and performeth ſome extraordinarie and braue enterpriſe, which might bee held honorable in one more happily borne, and ſurmounteth the hope and expectation of his Maſter, then is it a benefit, which is found in his owne houſe. Seemeth it a matter iuſt and indifferent to thee, that if wee bee diſpleaſed with thoſe that doe leſſe then their dutie, we ſhould not be thankefull vnto them, that performe more then either they ſhould or are accuſtomed? wilt thou know when it is no benefit? then it is, when it may be ſaid, what if he would not doe it? But when he performeth that which he might lawfully refuſe, it is praiſe-worthie in him that he had a will to doe it. A benefit and an injurie are contraries. The ſlaue may pleaſure his Maſter, if he may receiue an injurie at his hands: And yet there is an expreſſe Iudge appointed to heare the complaint of bond-men againſt their Maſters, who may contrarie and repreſſe their crueltie, luſt, and hard dealing, and chaſtiſe the couetouſneſſe of thoſe Lords, who refuſe to allow their ſlaues ordinarie food, and neceſſarie garments. What then? doth the Maſter receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? ye, a man, from a man: To conclude, he hath done that which was in his power, hee hath giuen his Maſter a benefit; it is in thy choice whether thou wilt receiue it from a bond-man. But who is ſo great whom fortune may not compell to ſtand in need euen of the baſeſt and pooreſt of his people? Now will I relate many and different examples of benefits, and ſome alſo contrarie to one another. Some one ſlaue hath ſaued his Maſters life, another alſo gaue him his death. An other hath deliuered his Maſter at the inſtant when he ſhould die, and (if this be but a ſmall matter) by looſing his owne life hath ſaued his Maſters. There haue beene ſome that haue helped their deaths, and others that haue preſerued them by beguiling them.

CHAP. XXIII.

CLAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS in the eighteenth Booke of his *Chronickes* reporteth, that when the Citie *Grumentum* was beleagred, and brought into a deſperate eſtate and extreme miſerie: that two ſlaues fled vnto the Enemies camp, and performed an action worthie their labour and perill: For after the Citie was taken, and the victorious enemie ranged and reuelled euerie where, theſe two ſlaues (who knew all the by-waies) were the firſt that ſet forward to make bootie of that houſe wherein they had ſerued. And hauing ſurpriſed their Miſtris, they rudely droue her before them: And being demanded what woman ſhee was: they anſwered that it was their Miſtris, who had in times paſt moſt cruelly handled them, and that they dragged her out, to bring her to her death: and by this pollicie hauing gotten her out of the Citie, they carefully hid her: But afterwards when the Roman Souldiers were ſatisfied

with pillage, and reduced to their former diſcipline and manners, theſe ſlaues likewiſe returned to their former ſeruitude, and gaue their Miſtreſſe her wonted libertie. In acknowledgement whereof ſhee preſently ſet them both at libertie, and was not aſhamed to receiue her life at their handes, ouer whom ſhee had abſolute power both of life and death: Could ſhee haue more cauſe of contentment than hereby? for had ſhee beene otherwiſe preſerued, ſhee had but receiued an ordinarie curteſie and vulgar clemencie, (which is many times vſuall amongſt Souldiers) but being preſerued after this manner, it was a noble Storie, and an euerlaſting example, to both the Cities. In ſo great confuſion of the ſurpriſed Citie, when euery one minded his particular ſafetie, all fled from her, except her owne fugitiues. And they to expreſſe with what minde and intention they practiſed their former flight; fled from the Conquerors, to the Captiue; pretending the countenance of Murtherers, which was the greateſt point in that benefit. So much thought they it better to ſeeme Murtherers of their Miſtreſſe, leſt than that ſhee ſhould haue beene murthered indeede: It is not beleeue me, it is not I tell you, the act of a ſeruile minde, to buy a noble action by the fame and opinion they gaine of their wickedneſſe: *Caius Vettius* the Prætor of the Marſes, was led vnto his death; his bond-man drew the ſword of that very Souldier that dragged him, and firſt of all ſlew his Maſter, and afterwards (it is time, ſaith he, to enfranchiſe and deliuer my ſelfe, ſince now alreadie I haue ſet my Maſter at libertie) at one ſtroke thruſt himſelfe through. Shew me any man that hath preſerued his Maſter more magnificently.

See Lipſius *notes, why this Tranſlation is vſed contrarie to the originall.*

CHAP. XXIIII.

CÆSAR beſieged * *Corſinium*, and *Domitius* was ſhut vp in the ſame, who conſidering his danger, commanded a ſlaue of his (who was practiſed in Phiſique) to giue him poiſon: And perceiuing that by all meanes he ſought occaſion not to doe it, *Why delayeſt thou* (ſaith he) *as if all this were in thy power? armed, I intreat thee, to yeeld me death.* Hereupon his ſlaue promiſed to performe it, and gaue him a harmeleſſe potion to drinke vp, wherewith being laid a-ſleepe, hee came vnto his ſonne and ſaid. *Command me to be kept in ſure hold, till by the euent thou vnderſtandeſt, whether I haue giuen thy Father poiſon or no.* DOMITIVS liued, and was ſaued by *Cæſar*; but yet his bond-man had ſaued him firſt.

* *The Romanes now call it,* Campe del Santo Pelino.

CHAP. XXV.

DVring the time of the ciuill Warres, a bond-man hid his Maſter who was proſcribed, and hauing fitted his rings on his fingers, and put on his garment, he preſented himſelfe to the Sergeants, and told them that hee required no fauour at their handes, but that they boldly might performe that which they were commanded; and therewithall held out his necke for them to hew off. How great a mans part was this for a ſlaue to be willing to die for his Maſter in ſuch a time, as it were rare fidelitie not to wiſh his Maſters death? in publique crueltie to bee found gentle? in publique perfidiouſneſſe faithfull? when great rewards were publiſhed

liſhed for euery one that would betray, to deſire death as the reward of his fidelitie?

CHAP. XXVI.

I Will not ouerſlip the examples of our Age: vnder *Tiberius Cæſar* there was an ordinarie licence, and almoſt a publique rage in appeaching and accuſing, which (farre more grieuous than any ciuill Warre) conſumed and deſtroied both the Senate and Nobilitie. Exceptions were taken againſt drunken mens wordes, and thinges ſpoken in jeſt were cenſured in earneſt: nothing was ſecure, and all occaſion of crueltie was pleaſing; neither now expected men what their penaltie ſhould be who were accuſed, where all were puniſhed after the ſame ſort. In that time *Paulus* who had beene a Prætor before-times, ſupped at a certaine banquet, hauing on his finger a rich ſtone, whereon was engrauen the Image of the Emperour *Tiberius*: I ſhould play the foole too much if I ſhould ſeeke for ſome more cleanely words to expreſſe vnto you, how hee tooke the chamber-pot: This was preſently obſerued by *Maro* (who was one of the Spies, and moſt noted informers of that time.) But his ſlaue (againſt whom this treaſon was plotted) ſecretly ſtole away the ring from his Maſters finger who was drunke: and when as *Maro* afterwards would take witneſſe of thoſe that were at the banquet, how *Paulus* had handled his members (not to be named without modeſtie) with the Emperours Image, and importuning them to ſubſcribe to that accuſation, the ſlaue ſhewed before all the companie, that his Maſters ring was on his finger. Whoſoeuer ſhall tearme this man a ſlaue, he ſhould alſo call that other Spie an honeſt gueſt.

CHAP. XXVII.

VNder *Auguſtus Cæſar*, mens words were not as yet dangerous vnto them; yet beganne they alreadie to diſpleaſe: *Rufus* a Senator, as hee ſate at ſupper, wiſhed that *Cæſar* might not returne in ſaferie and health from that progreſſe hee then intended; and added this further-more, That all the Bulls and Calues of the Countrie deſired no leſſe: Some there were that diligently obſerued his words: The next morning, as ſoone as it was day, a ſeruant and bond-man of his, that had attended at his feete, reported vnto him thoſe words he had ſpoken in his drunkenneſſe the night before, and counſailed him preſently to goe and ſeeke out *Cæſar*, and to bee his owne firſt accuſer. According to this his counſaile his Maſter met *Cæſar* at his firſt comming downe. And when he had ſworne vnto him that he was not well in his wits ouer night, and wiſhed that the euill he had vttered might fall vpon him, and vpon his children, and beſought *Cæſar* that he would pardon him, and receiue him into his fauor againe: After that the Emperour had aſſured him that hee would willingly doe it; *no man will beleeue*, ſaid RVFVS, *that thou haſt admitted mee againe into thy fauour, except thou giue mee ſomewhat*, and thereupon hee required no ſmall ſumme of money, at reconciled *Cæſars* hands, and obtained the ſame, who therewithall ſaid vnto him. *For mine owne ſake I will endeuour neuer to bee angrie with thee*

without

without an occaſion. Caesar behaued himſelfe honeſtly in pardoning him, and beſides annexed this liberality to his clemencie. Whoſoeuer ſhall heare this example reported, he muſt needly praiſe *Cæſar*, but it muſt be after he hath praiſed the bond-man. Except you meane that I ſhould ſhow you that he was made free for this ſeruice he did. He was ſo; but not without ranſome, for *Cæſar* had payed the money for his freedome.

CHAP. XXVIII.

After ſo many examples, is there any doubt but that a Maſter may ſometimes receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? why ſhould the perſon rather leſſen the dignitie of a thing, then the thing ennoble the perſon? All men haue the ſame beginnings, and the ſame original; no man is more noble then another, except it be ſuch an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to good Arts. They that ſet forth their Pedigrees, and their anceſtors in a long row, interlined with many branches of collaterall deſcents on the forefront of their houſes, are rather noted then noble: we haue all of vs but one parent, which is the world, whether it be by famous, or bare deſcent; euery man conueyes his firſt pedigree from it. There is no cauſe why theſe ſhould deceiue thee, who when they reckon vp their anceſtors: where ſoeuer ſome noble name faileth them, they preſently faine a god. Deſpiſe no man, though his pedigree be worne out of remembrance, and hee ſmally furthered by vnfriendly fortune, whether our predeceſſors were freemen, or bond, or forrainers. Couragiouſly aduance ye your mindes; and whatſoeuer baſeneſſe lieth in the way, leape ye ouer it. Great nobilitie attendeth for you at the laſt. Why with pride are we lifted vp vnto ſo great vanitie, that from ſeruants we diſdaine to receiue benefits; and looke vpon their ſort, forgetting deſerts? Doeſt thou call any one a ſeruant, thou being a ſeruant of luſt and of gluttonie, and of an adultereſſe, yea a common ſlaue of adultereſſes? Calleſt thou any one a ſeruant? Whither now art thou dragged by theſe groomes, who beare about this thy litter? Whether do theſe in liuery-cloaks, who counterfeit a ſouldier-like, and no vulgar attire indeed? Whither, I ſay, doe theſe carrie thee abroad? to the doore of ſome doore-keeper, to the gardens of ſome, who doth not indeed beare office in ordinarie. And yet denieſt thou, that a benefit can bee giuen to thee by thy ſeruant, to whom it is a benefit to haue a kiſſe from the ſeruant of another man? What ſo great diſcord of minde is this? At the ſame time thou deſpiſeſt and reuerenceſt ſeruants. Within doores thou art imperious and out-ragious, baſe abroad; and as well contemned, as contemning. For neuer doe any more abaſe their minds, then they who wickedly lift them vp: and none are more readie to treade vpon other men, then they who haue learned to proffer reproch, by receiuing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

These things were to be ſpoken to repreſſe the inſolencie of men depending vpon fortune, and to approue the right of a benefit to be giuen by a ſeruant, that alſo it might be approued to be giuen by a ſon. For it is in queſtion, whether children at any time can giue greater benefits to their parents, then they haue receiued. This is granted, that many children haue beene greater, and more mightie then their

their parents, as alſo better and more vertuous then they: which being true; It may be alſo that they haue done more for them that bred them; whereas both their fortune was greater, and their will better: But whatſoeuer it be (ſaith he) that the ſonne giueth the father, it is leſſe then his father hath done for him, becauſe of duty he oweth this power of giuing to his father. So as hee can neuer properly be ouercome in benefits who hath giuen another the meanes to exceed him in the ſame. For ſome things take their beginning from others, and yet they are greater then their beginnings, neither is any thing therfore greater then that from whence it had his beginning, for that it could not haue growne to that greatnes except it had begun. There is almoſt nothing but far exceedeth his firſt originall. Seedes and graines are the cauſes of all that which groweth in this world; yet are they the leaſt parts of thoſe things which come of them. Looke vpon the *Rhine*, looke vpon *Euphrates*, finally doe but obſerue all other riuers ſo renouned, and what are they if you eſtimate them by their head-ſprings from whence they flow? whatſoeuer they be feared for, wherein ſoeuer they be renouned, they haue purchaſed it in their courſe and progreſſe. Take away rootes and the Forreſts will neuer grow nor ouerſpread, neither ſhall the toppes of the mountaines be couered with woods. Looke vpon theſe Timber-trees, whether you regard their great height, or their wonderfull ſolidity and broad ſpreading of their branches, how ſmall a thing, in compariſon of theſe, is that which the roote in ſmall and tender ſpreadings comprehendeth. The Temples are builded vpon their foundations, as alſo theſe great walles of *Rome*, are, and yet that which was firſt laide to ſuſtaine this whole worke, lies hidden vnder earth. The like falleth out in all other things. The greatneſſe that they attaine vnto in time, doth alwaies obſcure their beginnings. I could not haue attained to any thing, if the benifite of my parents had not gone before; yet followeth it not for all this, that that which I haue obtayned is leſſe then that ſame which gaue mee the meanes to acquire it: Except my nurſe had ſuckled mee in infancie, I could haue performed none of thoſe things, which I haue ſithence acted by my counſell and valour, neither ſhould I haue obtained this dignitie and honour, which I haue riſen vnto by ciuill and militarie demerit: but wilt thou for this cauſe more prize my nurſes firſt endeuours, then the great actes I haue atchieued by my ſo many vertuous attempts. And then what difference wilt thou find herein, conſidering that I could not encreaſe in honor, without the tender care of my nurſe, no leſſe then without my fathers benefit?

CHAP. XXX.

BVt if I owe wholly to my beginning, whatſoeuer I more can do, thinke you that neither my father is my true beginning, nor my Grand-father indeed. For alwaies there will be ſomewhat more ancient, from which the originall of the neareſt originall may deſcend. But no man is ſaid to owe more to them that are vnknowne, and to anceſtors which haue beene before memorie of man, then to a father. But, I owe more, if my father, becauſe he hath begotten me, owneth this very thing vnto his anceſtors. Whatſoeuer I haue done for my father, how great ſoeuer it be, it is nothing to be eſteemed in reſpect of the benefit he hath done me, for I had not bin, had he not begotten me. And by the ſame reaſon, if any man hath healed my father, being ſicke and readie to die, I ſhould be able to doe nothing for him

him that were not to be esteemed lesse, then the benefit he did vnto my father: for had he not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But see if this carie not a more likelyhood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should be esteemed as mine own, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt finde it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preserued and kept my Father aliue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honour, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably atchieued; but also haue giuen him an assured meanes to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his handes an easie meanes to obtayne much honour and glorie: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatsoeuer mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authority, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell me now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is altogether so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed only to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen me that which is common to me, with bruite beasts, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot eyther breed or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: in so doing likewise I haue surmounted thy benefit, because I know what I giue, and thou that which thou receiuedst: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or with my pleasure, when seeing it is so much more estimable to be able to retain and conserue life, then to receiue the same, by how much it is lesse dreadfull and terrible to die, then to apprehend the feare and conceit of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

A Christian doctrine from a Heathen Stock.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou wert in danger of death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfite life: thou hast engendred mee depriued of reason and iudgement, and no otherwise but to be a burthen to others armes. Wilt thou know how small a benefite it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast mee forth, then in that case it had beene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefit that can be, except other things accompany it, that must prosecute the beginning of this benefite and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this onely is thine, that I liue. If thou imputest vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boastest thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou imputest to me such a good, which is common as well to wormes and flies, as to me. Moreouer, not to vaunt of any other thing, but onely in that I haue endeuoured my selfe to learne the liberall sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue

discreetly

discreetly by this means, thou hast in this receiued a greater benefite then thou gauest mee. For thou gauest mee vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou maist reioyce that euer thou begotest me.

CHAP. XXXII.

MY father nourished me, if I doe no lesse for him, herein I am more beneficiall vnto him, because he not onely conceiueth ioy, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, & greater pleasure and contentment he receiueth in my good will, then he doth in the gift it selfe. The meate which he gaue me, onely nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so far aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiualrie, he should grow famous in forraine countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so by his lustre dispelled the obscurity and cloudie darkenesse of his base birth: hath he not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vnestimable benefit vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne *Ariston* and *Grillus*, had it not beene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their sons? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniscus* his name from obliuion and death. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but, in that their children eternized their memories, by their own famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his sonnes greatnesse was scarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefit, or *Agrippa* the son to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuons buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and were neuer equalled by any after? Whether did *Octauius* giue his son *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefit, or the Emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in som sort obscured the benefit of *Octauius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, he had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in security & peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleeue the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom obliuion had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreouer, we enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? And although the examples of those which hitherto I haue related, do not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpasse the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet Nature may make vs see, that hereafter, which hath not as yet beene seene by the ages fore-passed. If one onely benefit cannot surmount the greatnesse of parents deserts, it may be that many put together may out-strip them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SCipio then but a boy, in a certaine battell set spurs to his horse, and charging the enemie, saued his fathers life: And is it but a small matter, when, to make good the place where his father fought, he contemned so many dangers, that he pressed so many great Captaines, that he brake through as many oppolites as he found before him: in the first seruice that euer he had seene, and being as yet but a raw souldier, he set forward and charged before the oldest seruitors, and performed many valorous actions, farre exceeding the forces of his age? Adde hereunto, that he defended his father, being accused of a capitall crime, and deliuered him from the conspiracy of his mighty enemies, that he gaue him a second and third consulate, and other honours also, which they who before time haue beene Consuls, might wish and craue for: and seeing him poore, gaue him those goods which he had gotten by right of warre, and that which a man who maketh profession of armes esteemeth most honourable also: hee enriched him with those spoyles which he had gotten from his enemies. If this as yet seeme but little vnto thee, thou mayst adde the Prouinces which he gaue him, and the gouernments and extraordinary charges, which were afterwards continued vnto him by his meanes. Adde further, that after he had razed so many great cities, how this braue man (the defender & founder of the Roman Empire, that was to be extended from the East vnto the West, without a Riual) enobled him the more, who was already noble. Say that he was *Scipios* father, yet vndoubtedly the common and ordinary good that parents doe in begetting children, hath beene farre surmounted by *Scipios* incomparable piety and vertue, who I know not whether he brought the Citie more defence or honor.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

THen if these examples seeme little vnto thee; admit that some man hath deliuered his father from torments, suppose that hee himselfe hath suffered the same to deliuer him. For thou maiest dilate and extend the childrens benefits as farre as thou wilt. Wheras contrariwise the fathers benefit in procreation is not only simple and easie, but further not voluntarie also in him that giueth: what needs we so many words? The father hath giuen being to those, to whom hee knoweth not, whether he hath giuen being or no, wherin he hath his wife a consort and partaker, wherein he respecteth the law of his Countrie, the praise and reward of Parents, the perpetuitie of his house and familie, and all things rather then him to whom he gaue the same: what if any one (hauing obtained wisedome) hath informed and instructed his father therein, shall wee now grow in question whether he hath giuen any thing greater then he receiued? Considering that hee hath giuen his father a happie life, hauing receiued at his fathers hands but a badde life only; but saith hee, it is the fathers benefit whatsoeuer thou doest, or whatsoeuer thou canst returne vnto him againe. So is it the benefit of my Master, if I haue profited in liberall studies: and yet we may transcend and surpasse those goods, we haue receiued from those, who haue taught vs, as we also doe their benefits, who haue taught vs to reade, and to know our first elements. And although without them no man can learne any thing, yet all

Lex Pappia, or Poppea.

all that which he hath afterwards learned is not the inferiour to the ſame: There is a great difference betwixt the firſt and the greateſt things: neither therefore are the firſt comparable to the greateſt, becauſe without the firſt the greateſt cannot bee.

CHAP. XXXV.

IT is time now, if I may ſo terme it, to produce ſome peeces of our owne coine. He that hath beſtowed ſuch a benefit, aboue which there may be ſomewhat found better, may bee ouer-come in benefits: The Father gaue life vnto his Sonne, but there is ſomething better then life, ſo the father may be ouercome in a benefit by the ſonne, becauſe the ſonne may giue ſome thing better and greater then the father. Furthermore, hee that hath giuen life to an other man, if once or twice he were deliuered by the ſame man from death, he hath receiued a greater benefit then that which he gaue; ſo the father hath giuen life; but if he be oft-times deliuered from the perill of death by his ſonne, hee ſhall receiue a greater benefit then he gaue him. He that hath receiued a good turne, the more he needeth that which he hath receiued, he hath receiued the greater goodnes: but he that liueth, hath more want of life, then he that is not borne (as of whom he cannot properly ſay, to haue neede of any thing.) The father therefore hath receiued a greater good turne, if he hath receiued life at his ſonnes hands, then the ſonne from the father, in that he is borne: But the parents benefits cannot be ſurmounted by theſe good offices, the child performeth vnto him, why? becauſe he hath receiued his life from his father, which had hee not receiued hee could not haue giuen a benefit. This is then but common to the father, and all thoſe who haue at any time giuen life to any man. For had they not receiued life, they could not haue returned beneficiall gratitude: Therefore greater ſatisfaction is not intended to the Phyſitian, though the Phyſitian likewiſe is wont to giue life; nor to the Mariner though hee hath ſaued from ſhipwrack, ſo that a man may ſurmount the benefits both of the one and the other, who hath by any meanes ſaued our lifes; and conſequently then the benefits of our parents may be alſo exceeded: if any man hath done mee a good turne which ſerueth me to no vſe, except it be aſſiſted and ſeconded by the fauours of diuers other perſons, and if afterwards I haue done him an other courteſie, that hath no neede of other mens aſſiſtance, I haue giuen a greater good turne then that which I haue receiued: The father hath giuen life to his child, which he ſhould looſe inſtantly, were it not ſuſtained by diuers other ſuccours: But if the ſonne hath ſaued his fathers life, he hath giuen him ſuch a life, as hath no neede of any other aſſiſtance to ſuſtaine it ſelfe of it ſelfe, *Ergo* the father receiuing life at his ſonnes hands, receiueth a greater benefit, then that was which the father hath giuen him.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Note the authors prudence.

THese things destroy not the reuerence which is due vnto parents, neither make they their children to become worse vnto them, but rather better: for vertue is of a glorious and noble disposition, and deserueth to out-strip the formost. The pietie and affection of children will be more forward, if they may hope to surmount the kindnesse and fauour their parents haue done them. If this should happen to parents willing and glad of the same (because in many things it is for our owne good to be ouer-come) whence can wee imagine to ensue so acceptable a contention, whence so great happinesse to parents, as to confesse that they cannot equall their childrens benefits? If we be not thus minded, we giue our children meanes to excuse themselues, and we shall make them more slow and retchlesse in acknowledging their fathers benefits, whereas we ought to excite them the more, and say vnto them, *Doe this worthy children.* An honest contention is raised betwixt parents and their children, to know which of them hath giuen the greatest benefits, or who hath receiued the most. The fathers haue not therefore preuailed, because they haue giuen the first. Take heart yong men worthy your selues, take heede you loose not your courage to ouer-come those who desire no other thing then to bee ouer-come: You want no Captaines to vndertake so braue a conflict, and to encourage you to follow them, who command you but to goe the same course for to obtaine these victories, which they haue often gained against their parents.

CHAP. XXXVII.

ÆNEAS ouer-came his father in curtesie, for his father carried him in his armes when hee was an Infant (a waight neither dangerous nor heauie) wher the other bare him on his shoulders, loden with age, through the midst of the armed enemie, and through the falling ruines of his Citie, at such time as the deuout old man embraced betwixt his armes his domestique Gods, and the sacred Reliques of his house, loding his sonnes shoulders with more then his owne person, yet went hee onward with much adoe: carrying him through the flames and ruines of the Citie (what is it not, but the pietie and loue of a sonne may preserue) and bringing him out of all danger, ranked him afterwards amongst the Gods, and placed him in the number of those first founders of the Roman Empire, to be honored and reuerenced with them. The yong men of *Sicily* ouer-came and surmounted their fathers. For at such time as Mount *Ætna* was so highly enflamed, that it vomited fire vpon the Cities and neighbouring Plaines, and had consumed the greater part of the Isle, they caried their fathers thence vpon their backs: It is beleeued that the fire miraculously separated and diuided it selfe, and that the flames retiring themselues on both sides, opened a large passage to suffer those vertuous yong men to trauell through it, to the end that without danger they might safely performe their great attempt: *Antigonus* sonne also ouer-came in this kinde, who when as in a great battell he had discomfited his enemie, transferred the treasures & wealth of the conquest, to his father, and with it gaue him the Empire of *Cipres*. This

Two yong men of Sicily the one called Amphinomus, the other Anapus.

is

is a Kingdome in minde to refuse gouernement, when it is in thy hands. *Titus Manlius* a so ouer-came his Lordly and Imperious father; who although hee had beene driuen out of his fathers house for a time, and sent into the Country, because in his youth hee was somewhat hard in apprehension, yet came hee to the Tribune of the people (who had adioyned his father to appeare in person to answere to a capitall crime) and asking him what time of appearance, he had assigned his father. The Tribune hoping that hee would betray his hated father, supposing that hee had done herein a thankefull office for the yong man, he suffered him to see, (amongst other crimes he accused him of) how hee had banished and driuen him out of his house: which when the yong man discouered, getting him alone in a secret place, he drew his dagger which he had hidden in his bosome, and said; *Except thou sweare to reuoke this personall adiournment of my fathers, I will thrust thee through with this weapon: It lyeth in thy power to choose which of these two waies, my father shall haue no accuser.* The Tribune swore and kept touch with him: but hee made it knowne in an assembly of the Roman people, why he had desisted from this accusation. It had not beene possible for any other man to haue ouer-ruled the Tribune after this manner, and to escape vnpunished.

See Cicero 3. *de Officijs, and* Liuie *in his* 7. *Booke, as touching this* Manlius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

DIuers examples might I produce of many other memorable children, who haue deliuered their parents from danger, that from a base degree haue raised them to high estate, and from the meanest and ignoblest race of men, haue giuen them eternall and indefinite honors: It cannot be expressed by any force of words or facultie of wit, how great a worke it is, how praise worthy, and how perdurable and lasting in mens memorie; iustly to be able to say, thus much I haue obeied my parents: I haue fulfilled their commandements in what soeuer it were, either right, or wrong; I haue shewed my selfe obseruant and submissiue, in this only thing I haue beene wilfull, that I would not be ouer-come by them in benefits: Fight valiantly therefore, I pray you yong men, and though you were defeated, yet reinforce the fight anew. These that ouer-come shall be happie. They that shall bee ouer-come shall bee no lesse blessed; what person can euer receiue more honor? then that yong man, who may say vnto himselfe (for it is not lawfull for him to say it to an other) I haue ouer-come my father in well-doing? Is there any old man more happie, then he that may vaunt in all places, and before the whole world, that he hath beene ouer-come by his sonne in well-doing and benefiting? What greater happinesse is there for a man so to yeeld vnto himselfe?

The end of the third Booke.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handled curious matters for the most part, but (according to his vsuall custome) intermixed with those that are profitable. Hee demandeth whether a benefit or fauour may be simplie in it selfe desired? He proueth the affirmatiue against the Epicures, who measured all things by their profit. Amongst other arguments he teacheth by this, that the Gods also giue benefits, which he proueth very amply against those that deny the Gods. Then he remoueth some obiections, which seeme to teach, that profit is common in benefitting. And so he commeth to thanke-giuing, and sheweth that it is only to be yeelded in regard of honestie, not of profit. Then he demandeth whether a benefit is to bee giuen to him whom thou knowest will be vngratefull: he distinguisheth in this point, and partly affirmeth, and partly denieth.

CHAP. I.

OF all those things (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) whereof we haue entreated, there is nothing so necessarie to be knowne, or (as *Salust* saith) more carefully to bee taught, then that which is now in hand; namely, whether to giue a benefit, and to restore the like, be things which ought to bee desired for the loue of themselues. Some men there are which respect not honesty, but for profit sake, and admit not vertue without aduantage (which hath nothing magnificent in it selfe, if it hath any thing that is mercinarie.) For what is more loathsome, then for a man to make reckoning how much we ought to estimate an honest man, when as vertue is neither inuited with gaine, nor terrified with losse, and is so farre from corrupting any with hope or promise, that contrariwise she commandeth men to spend all their substance on her, and for her sake; and more often contenteth her selfe with that which is giuen freely without demand? To follow her, a man must tread all profit vnder foote: whither so-

euer she calleth, whither soeuer she sendeth, hee ought to goe, without respect or interest of his estate or priuate affaires: and sometimes also hee must set forward with the hazard of his owne blood and life, neither must hee euer refuse her commandements. What reward shall I then haue saiest thou, if I doe this thing valiantly, or that thing gratefully? Onely this, that thou hast done it; vertue promiseth thee nothing beside her selfe. If any profit casually befall thee, account it amongst thine accessarie good happes. The price of honest things is in themselues, if then that which is honest be to be desired for it selfe, and a benefit being honest, the condition thereof cannot be different from honestie, because they are both of one nature. But that the thing which is honest is to be desired for it selfe, it is often and abundantly proued alreadie.

CHAP. II.

IN this point I must wage warre with the nice and effeminate troope of Epicures, that talke of Philosophie onely at their banquet, with whom vertue is the vassal and hand-maid of vicious pleasure, them shee obeyeth, them shee serueth, them shee beholdeth preferred aboue her selfe. There is no pleasure (saith he) without vertue. But why is voluptuousnesse aduanced before vertue? Thinkest thou we dispute of the order betweene them, no, the question is of the whole matter, and the power thereof, it is not vertue if it dance attendance after delight. The chiefest place is hers, she it is that must leade, command, and haue the chiefest place: thou biddest her aske the watch-word. What skilleth it thee, saith the Epicure? I also maintaine, that a blessed life cannot bee without vertue. I condemne and contemne the pleasure it selfe which I follow, and to which I haue made my selfe a bondslaue, if vertue be remoued from it. The onely question is in this, whether vertue be the cause of the chiefest good, or the chiefest good it selfe. Admit that this be the only thing in question, thinkest thou that there is but the onely change of place and order onely betweene them, that breedeth the difference? This is a very confusion, this is a manifest blindnesse, to preferre the last before the first. I am not displeased because vertue is placed after pleasure, but because it is any wayes or at all compared, or paralelled with pleasures. Vertue is the despiser and enemie of delight, and estrangeth her selfe farre from her, more familiar with labour and sorrow, more fitly to be inserted into manly incommodities, then into this effeminate felicitie.

CHAP. III.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) were to be spoken of, because a benefit, (whereof we now entreate) is an act of vertue, and foule shame it were to giue it for any other respect, then to haue giuē it only. For if we do a curtesie in expectation of a recompence, then should we do it to the wealthiest, and not to the worthiest. Now we prefer a poore man vnable to requite, before a rich man. It is no benefit that hath reference to Fortune, or hope of interest. Besides, if onely profite should entice vs to do good, they should doe least good, that haue most meanes. Such as are rich men, powerfull men, and Kings, because they haue least need of other mens helpe.

helpe. But the Gods likewiſe ſhould withdraw their ſo many liberalities, which, without intermiſſion, day and night they powre vpon vs. For why, their proper nature and being ſufficeth them in all things, and maketh them abundant, ſecure, and inuiolable euery way. To none therefore ſhould they giue their benefits, if their only cauſe of giuing proceeded from no other intention, then to think on themſelues and their own priuat commodities. This is no benefit, but a loane vpon vſe, to reſpect not where you may beſt beſtow it, but where you may place it moſt gainfully, whence you may moſt readily receiue it. Which intention, ſeeing it is farre eſtranged from the Gods: it followeth that they are diuinely liberall. For if the only cauſe of giuing a benefit, were the giuers profit, and no profit is to bee hoped or expected by God at our hands; there is no cauſe why God ſhould be bountifull vnto vs.

CAAP. IIII.

I Know well what anſwere is made hereunto, which is, that God beſtoweth no good vpon vs, but is altogether careleſſe and regardleſſe of vs, and not daring to caſt his eyes vpon this world, buſieth himſelfe about other matters or (which ſeemeth to the Epicure to be the chiefeſt felicitie) hee doth nothing, neither do benefits or iniuries touch him. He that thus ſaith, heareth not the vowes of thoſe that pray, neither the cries nor vowes which euery one maketh, as well in priuate, as in publike, lifting vp their ioyned hands vnto heauen: which vndoubtedly would not be done, neither would all mankind conſent vnto this madneſſe, to implore a deafe deitie, and inuocate ſuch gods as had no power to helpe them, if they knew not aſſuredly that the Gods giue benefits, ſometimes of their owne proper motion, otherwhiles vpon prayers, that it is they, from whom we receiue ſo many great graces in their due times and ſeaſons, and that by their aſſiſtance we are put out of feare, of ſuch imminent and eminent miſchiefes, as daily threaten vs: who is hee that is ſo miſerable, and reiected by heauen? who is he that is ſo diſgraced, and borne to continuall affliction and trauell? that hath not ſometimes felt theſe great fauours and liberalities of the Gods? Doe but behold, I pray you, euen thoſe who inceſſantly complaine of their miſeries, and who liue ſo mal-contented with their fortunes, yet ſhalt thou finde, that they are not wholly exempted, and deſtitute of ſuccours from heauen, and that there is no man on whom there hath not fallen ſome droppes from this ſweet and gracious fountaine. Thinkeſt thou that it is a ſmall matter which is equally diſtributed to all thoſe that are borne in this world? And (to omit thoſe things which the Gods beſtow at their pleaſure, with all proportion of meaſure) is it a ſmall matter that nature hath giuen vs, when ſhe hath giuen vs her ſelfe?

Theſe are the Epicures reaſons, full of blaſphemie and impietie.

CHAP. V.

DOth not God beſtow all benefits vpon vs? From whence then haſt thou all thoſe things whereof thou art poſſeſſed? which thou giueſt? which thou denieſt? which thou keepeſt? which thou takeſt vniuſtly? From whence come the infinitneſſe of things that delight the eyes, affect the eare, and pleaſe the vnderſtanding? From whence is this abundance, that furniſheth our royotous exceſſe?

In this Chapter followeth a noble contemplation of Gods benefits, and mens negligence, and careleſſe conſideration therof.

ceſſe? For they haue not onely prouided for our neceſſities, but we are tendered by them euen vnto delicacie alſo. From whence haue wee ſo many trees, bearing ſundrie ſorts of ſauourie fruit, ſo many wholeſome herbes, for the maintenance of our healths, ſuch varietie of meats, ſtrong for al ſeaſons through the whole yeare, that an idle ſluggard may finde by caſualtie ſufficient ſuſtenance vpon the earth to feed and nouriſh him. Whence come ſo many ſorts of beaſts? whereof ſome are bread on the earth, other ſome in the water, and others deſcending from the aire, to the end there might not be any part of nature, that ſhould not be tributarie vnto vs of ſome rent? The Riuers likewiſe, wherof ſome enuiron the plaines, with their pleaſant reuolutions and roundneſſe, other ſtreame thorow their hollow and nauigable channels, bring vs merchandize from forren ſeas, of which ſome at certaine prefixed times take wonderfull encreaſe, ſo as the ſudden force of the Sommers floud moiſteneth and watereth thoſe grounds which are ſituate and planted vnder the droughtie and burning Zoane. What ſhall I ſay of the vaines of ſome medicinable waters? What ſhall I ſpeake of the bubling and boyling vp of hot Bathes euen vpon the verie ſhoares?

2. Georg. *And what of thee O mightie Lake, and thee*
Proud billowed Benac ſwelling like the See.

CHAP. VI.

IF a man had giuen thee a few acres of land, thou wouldeſt ſay that thou hadeſt receiued a benefit at his hands, and denieſt thou that the vnmeaſurable extent of the barren earth is no benefit? If a man ſhould giue thee money, and fill thy coffer (for that ſeemeth a great thing in thy ſight) thou wouldeſt terme it a benefit. And thinkeſt thou it no fauour, that God hath hidden ſo many mettals in the earth, ſpread ſo many riuers on the ſands, which floating, diſcouer ingots of maſſie gold, ſiluer, braſſe, and iron, which he hath hidden euery where; that he hath giuen thee meanes and knowledge to finde it out, by ſetting markes of his couert riches on the vpper face of the earth? If a mā ſhould giue thee a houſe enriched with marble pillars, if the couer thereof were reſplendent, and painted with gold and goodly colours, thou wouldeſt highly eſteeme this preſent of his? God hath builded thee a great palace, without any danger of feare or falling downe, wherein thou ſeeſt not little peeces, ſmaller then the chizell it ſelfe, wherewith they were carued, but entire huge maſſes of precious ſtone, all faſtened and faſhioned after a diuers and different maner, the leaſt peece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beautie of the ſame: the roofe whereof ſhineth after one ſort by day, and after another by night: and wilt thou then deny that thou haſt receiued any benefit at all? Againe, whereas thou ſetteſt great ſtore by that which thou haſt, thinkeſt thou (which is the point of a thankleſſe perſon) that thou art beholding to no body for them? Whence haſt thou this breath which thou draweſt? Whence commeth this light, whereby thou diſpoſeſt and ordereſt the actions of thy life? From whence haſt thou thy blood, in the motion and flowing whereof, thy naturall heate is maintained? Whence come theſe meates, which by their delicate taſtes and pleaſing ſauours, inuite thee to eate farre more then thy ſtomacke can diſgeſt? Whence come theſe things

things which awaken thy pleasures and delights, when thou art wearied? Whence commeth this quiet and repose, wherein thou rottest and withrest away? Wilt thou not say, if thou beest thankfull:

From God springs this repose, and euermore
Him for my God ile honor and adore.
Vpon his Altar, to performe my vow,
A firstling Lambe my pastures shall allow:
For be it is, as thou dost plainly see,
That yeelds my wandring teame their pasture free,
He lets me tune at pleasure, as they feed,
My country layes vpon mine eaten reed. *Virg. 1. Eclog.*

It is that God, which hath not onely permitted vs to feede a small number of meate, but that hath filled the whole world with great troopes of cattell, that nourisheth all beasts which wander heere and there, in so many and diuers places; that giueth them new pastures in Sommer time, after they haue eaten vp their Winter prouision: which hath not onely taught vs to play vpon a reed, and after some manner to tune a reede, and delightfully sing to it; but also hath inuented so many artes, so many varieties of voices, and so many sounds, to yeeld sundry tunes, some by force of our owne breath, and some by a borrowed and externall aire. For thou canst not call those things ours, which we haue inuented, no more then thou canst call it our owne doing that wee grow, or that the bodie hath his full proportion, according to his determinate times. Now our teeth fall in our infancie, anone after wee passe into an age, which in a few yeares giueth vs all our encrease, againe, ripe age after our yong and springing yeares, making vs become more strong, setleth vs in a perfect and manly age. Finally, we are come to the last period, which maketh an end of the care and course of our life. The seeds of all ages and sciences are hidden in vs from our birth, and that great work-man God produceth out of the hidden all naturall instincts.

CHAP. VII.

IT is nature, saith he, that communicateth and giueth me all these things. Vnderstandest thou not that in speaking after this manner, thou changest the name of God? For what else is nature but God, and a diuine being and reason, which by his searching assistance resideth in the world, and all the parts thereof? As often as thou listest thou mayest call him, sometimes the Author of all things, and sometimes *Ioue*, (most good and most mightie.) Thou mayest also well tearme him the Thunderer, and establisher, who had not that name giuen him, because (as the Historiographers write) that after the Romans had made their vowes vnto him, he reinforced their hearts, and discomforted armies in their behalfe: but because all things stand and are established by his benefit, he is therefore so called. Thou shalt not also lie, if thou call him Destiny, for whereas Fate and Destiny is but an immutable ordinance, which holdeth all causes tied and chained together: he it is that is the first of all, and he on whom all the rest that follow doe depend. Thou mayest fit him with any other names whatsoeuer thou wilt,

wilt, prouided that they ſignifie and containe the force and effects of celeſtiall things. In briefe, he may haue as many names, as he hath attributes of graces, wherewith he beſteedeth vs.

CHAP. VIII.

OVr men likewiſe ſuppoſe that he is Father *Liber*, that he is *Hercules* and *Mercurie*. Father *Liber*, becauſe all things haue had their being and originall from him. Becauſe that by his meanes wee firſt of all found out, and knew the power and vertue of ſeeds, which ſhould afterwards nouriſh vs with a ſweete and honeſt pleaſure. *Hercules*, becauſe his force is inuincible, which when it ſhall be wearied in performing actions, and producing inferiour things, ſhall returne into fire. *Mercurie*, becauſe it is hee from whom reaſon proceedeth, and the iudgement, numbers, rankes and order of things, and all thoſe ſciences, which wee terme Liberall. Whither ſoeuer thou turneſt thee, there ſhalt thou ſee him meete with thee: nothing is voide of him. He himſelfe filleth his worke to the full. Thou preuaileſt nothing then (thou vngratefulleſt man of the world) when thou auoweſt, that thou art no wayes indebted to God, but to Nature: for neither is Nature without God, nor God without Nature. Both theſe two are but one, and differ not. If thou ſhouldeſt confeſſe that thou oweſt to *Annæus* or to *Lucius*, that which *Seneca* hath lent thee, thou ſhouldeſt only change the name, but not the Creditour. For whether thou calleſt him by his name or ſurname, it is alwaies one man, . Call him then as thou pleaſeſt, either Nature or Fate, or Fortune, it makes no matter, becauſe they all are the names of the ſelfe-ſame God, who diuerſely vſeth his diuine prouidence. Euen as Iuſtice, Integritie, Prudence, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and the goods and vertues of the ſoule, if any of theſe pleaſe thee, it is then the ſoule that pleaſeth thee alſo.

CHAP. IX.

BVt leſt by theſe diſcourſes I ſhould wander, I ſay that God beſtoweth many and mightie benefits, expences without hope of intereſt or recompence: for he hath no need of our tributes, neither can we alſo giue him any thing. A benefit therefore ought to be deſired, for the loue of it ſelfe; the only thing that is reſpected therein, is the profit of the receiuer: herein let vs employ our ſelues, forgetting our owne priuate commodities. You ſay (ſaith he) that we ought to make diligent election of thoſe on whom we wil beſtow our benefits, (cõſidering the labourers and husband-men themſelues, will not commit their ſeeds vnto the ſands) which if it be true, we regard in giuing benefits, as we doe in labouring and ſowing our land: for to ſow is not a thing that ſhould be deſired onely of it ſelfe. Furthermore, you aske vs to whom we ought to giue our benefits? which ſhould not be done, if to giue a benefit were a thing to be deſired of it it ſelfe, in what place ſoeuer, after what manner ſoeuer it was giuen, it was a benefit: for we follow that which is honeſt, for no other reſpect, but for the loue of it ſelfe. Yet although no other thing be to be followed, we require what we ſhall doe, and when, and how, for that honeſtie conſiſteth of theſe circumſtances. When therefore

therefore I make choice of a man on whom I will beſtow a courteſie, I doe it to the end that I may neuer faile to doe a benefit. Becauſe if it be beſtowed vpon an vnworthie man, it can be neither honeſt, nor a benefit.

CHAP. X.

The method of reſtitution.

TO reſtore a thing which a man is put in truſt withall, is a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe; yet ought I not to reſtore it alwaies, nor in all places, nor at all times. Sometimes it skilleth not whether I deny, or whether I reſtore the ſame in all mens ſight, I will reſpect his profit to whom I am to reſtore it, and perceiuing that by my reſtitution I ſhall doe him iniurie, I will deny him his right. The ſame will I doe in a benefit: I will ſee when I giue, to whom I giue, how I giue, and why I giue. For nothing is to be done without reaſon: it is no good turne, except it be done vpon reaſon, becauſe reaſon ought to accompany all honeſt things. How often haue we heard men, that haue reproued their owne inconſiderate larges, and caſt forth theſe words, *I had rather haue loſt it, then to haue giuen it to ſuch a one.* It is the moſt vilanous manner of loſing that may be, for a man to giue fooliſhly and without conſideration: and it is much more diſtaſtefull to haue employed a benefit badly, then not to haue receiued any. For it is another mans fault, if we receiue not, but it is our owne, that we made better election and choice in beſtowing it. In making my choice, I will reſpect nothing leſſe then thou thinkeſt, namely from whom I ſhall receiue ſatisfaction. Oftentimes he that neuer requiteth is gratefull, and he vngratefull that hath made requitall; my eſtimation aimeth at nothing but the minde and heart. And therefore will I ouerpaſſe the rich vnworthy man, and will beſtow my courteſies on the poore good man: for in his greateſt wants he will be thankfull, and when all things faile him, his mind and true heart ſhall not faile him. I ſeeke to raiſe no profit for my courteſies, neither affect I pleaſure or glory: I content my ſelf that I can pleaſure one man. I will giue to this onely intent and end, that I may giue that which I ought: and that which I ought to doe, is not to bee done without choice and election; which, of what qualitie it ſhall be, doe you aske me the queſtion?

CHAP. XI.

I Will chuſe an honeſt, ſimple, mindfull, and gratefull man, that vſurpeth not vpon another mans fortunes, nor niggardly hoardeth vp his owne, or intendeth euill vnto any man. When I haue made this election, although Fortune hath left this man no power to yeeld any ſatisfaction, yet haue I accompliſhed my deſire, and obtained my wiſh. If profit or baſe conſideration maketh me liberall, if I profit no man, but to the end that he may pleaſure me: I will not giue a gratuitie to him that trauaileth into diuers and forren Countries: I will not giue vnto him that will be alwaies abſent; I will not giue vnto ſuch a one, who is ſo ſicke, that there is no hope of his recouery, I will not giue, whereas I am dying my ſelfe, for I ſhall haue no time to receiue friendſhip againe. But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be deſired for the loue of it ſelfe: wee ſuccour ſtrangers, that are vpon the inſtant caſt vpon our coaſts, and will preſently depart for another:

ther: we muſt giue and rigge ſhip to ſuch a one that hath ſuffered ſhipwracke, that it may carie him backe againe into his owne country. He departeth ſuddenly, ſcarcely knowing him that was the author of his ſafetie, and making no reckoning euer more to return or reuiſit him againe. He aſſigneth the payment of his debt vnto the gods, and beſeecheth them, that ſince he hath no meanes of ſatisfaction, that it will pleaſe them to bee thankefull in his behalfe: meane while the conſcience of a barren benefit doth content vs. Seeſt thou now, that at ſuch time when we are at deaths dore, we make our laſt Will and Teſtament, and diſpoſe our goods and poſſeſſions, although we can reape no profite thereby? How much time is ſpent: how long are we ſecretly deliberating how much and to whom we ſhall giue? For what skils it to whom we giue, if we ſhall receiue of none? And yet we neuer giue any thing more diligently, wee neuer more trauel and racke our iudgements, then when as ſetting all profite aſide, we onely ſet honeſtie before our eyes: for ſo long are we euill judges of our owne offices, as long as hope, feare, and pleaſure (the diſhoneſteſt vice of all) depraueth our iudgemtnts. But when the aſſurance of death hath made vs loſe the hope of all things, and hath *ſent a iuſt and vncorrupted Iudge to giue ſentence, then ſeeke we out the moſt worthy, to whom we may deliuer our inheritance; neyther diſpoſe we any thing with more circumſpection and regard, then thoſe our poſſeſſions which appertaine no longer vnto vs.

* *That is, our ſelues dying. See* Lipſius *his note.*

CHAP. XII.

AND vndoubtedly, euen then conceiueth a man the greateſt contentment, when he thinketh with himſelfe; *I will make ſuch a one more rich then he is, by giuing him a peece of my poſſeſſions: I will increaſe the honour and nobilitie of his houſe:* In briefe, if we neuer giue, but when we hope to receiue againe, we muſt die inteſtate. Thou maintayneſt (ſaith he) that a benefite is a debt vnrepayable: but a debt is not a thing to be deſired for it ſelfe, *Ergo*, benefiting or good doing, is not a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe. When we call it a debt, we vſe a compariſon and tranſlation. So likewiſe ſay we that the lawe is a rule of iuſt and vniuſt; and yet the rule is not to be deſired as a thing of it ſelfe, but we are conſtrained to vſe theſe words, the better to expreſſe our intent and meaning. When I ſay a debt, it is to be vnderſtood as a thing truſted. Wilt thou know all? I adde further, vnrepayable, which ſhall neuer be ſatisfied; although there be not any debt, but eyther may or ought to be paid. It is ſo farre from it, that we ought to doe a pleaſure for our profite ſake; that for the moſt part (as I haue ſaid) we ought to doe it, though it were to our loſſe and perill. As for example; I reſcue a man circumuented by theeues, to the end he may be permitted to paſſe in ſecurity: I defend a guilty perſon, diſgraced and oppreſſed by the credit of his aduerſaries, and purchaſe to my ſelfe the diſpleaſure and faction of great men for my labour, to receiue perchance by the meanes of the ſame, accuſers, the diſgraces and miſeries I freed the poore man of: whereas I might haue beene partie againſt him, or beheld a far off, and with all aſſurance the debates & contentions which were entertained by other men: I giue caution for my friend adiudged, and ſuffer not execution to be ſerued vpon his goods, but offer my ſelfe to be bound for him to his creditors, and to ſaue him from the preſcription, I come in danger to be out-lawed my ſelfe. No man determineth to buy a place neere *Tuſco*, or *Tiburtine* for his health ſake,

Good deeds are not to be done and performed eyther for oſtentation or vainglory, but for vertues ſake.

or

or for the ſweetneſſe of the ayre, and auoyding the ſummer heats, that debateth for how many years he ſhall buy it: but when he hath bought it, he muſt keepe it. The ſame reaſon is in benefites. For if you ſhall aske me, what profit will accrue thereby: I will anſwer, a good conſcience. Askeſt thou what profit is yeelded by benefiting? I aske thee likewiſe, what profiteth it to doe iuſtly, to liue innocently, to be valiant and ſtout in honourable dangers, to liue chaſtly, to be temperate, if thou ſeekeſt any other intereſt then themſelues?

CHAP. XIII.

TO what end continueth the heauen his daily and vſuall courſe? To what end is it, that the Sunne enlargeth and ſhortneth the day? All theſe are but benefits, for they are made for our profit. Euen as it is the office of this Vniuerſe, to turn about and diſpoſe of the order of all things: as it is the office of the Sunne, where he may ariſe, and where he may ſet, and to performe all theſe faire, profitable, and wholſome effects for our ſake, without hope of any profit from vs: ſo is it the dutie of one man, amongſt other things, to doe good vnto another. Askeſt thou me, why he giueth theſe benefits? Forſooth to this end, that he may not be vpbraided with guing nothing, & that he may not loſe the occaſion of weldoing. But all your pleaſure and delight, is to accuſtome your delicate bodies to a lazie idleneſſe, and to long for a ſecurity, reſembling that of ſleepe, to couch and lie hidden vnder a cloſe couert and arbor, and to entertaine the dulneſſe of your decayed mindes, and to honor them with ſweet and agreeable thoughts, which you call tranquility, and repoſe of ſpirit, to pamper your vnweldy carcaſſes while they wax wanne with meates and drinks, in the caues and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwiſe, we feele a pleaſure truly worthy a man in giuing benefits: although that they breed vs much ſorrow and labour, prouided they ſet them out of trouble for whom we doe them: although they be full of danger, prouided that we relieue others from their miſerie: although all be to the loſſe & diminution of our ſubſtance, prouided that another mans pouertie and neceſſitie be relieued. What haue I doe to receiue benefites at another mans hands? When I haue receiued them, I muſt imploy and beſtow them. A benefite reſpecteth not our particular, but onely his profite to whom it is giuen; otherwiſe we giue vnto our ſelues, and not vnto others. And by this reaſon manie things which breed another man great profit, loſe their grace, becauſe they are done for gaine. The Merchant is very profitable for the Citie, the Phyſitian for the ſicke, and the * Regrater for goods that are to be ſolde. But becauſe all theſe are not profitable to any, but to enrich themſelues, they oblige not thoſe who receiue good by them.

* Mango *is one that properly ſelleth ſlaues, young boyes or girls, as their old cuſtome was.*

CHAP. XIIII.

IT is no benefite that is imployed to profit. This will I giue, this will I take, is but open ſale and chaffering. I will not call her modeſt that repulſed her louer, to the end to enkindle his loue the greater, that feared the lawe or diſpleaſure of her husband: for as *Ouid* ſaith,

She gaue that did not giue becauſe ſhe could not.

Not vndeseruedly is she numbred amongst the dishonored women, that rather consecrateth her honestie to feare, then to the respect of her owne selfe: In like manner he that hath giuen a benefit to the intent hee might receiue a requitall, hath not giuen it. Shall we say that we doe good vnto beasts, when wee fatten them for our seruice, or nourish them to yeeld vs foode? That we doe good to our fruit-trees, or the Gardens, wherein they grow; when wee digge about them, least through dryenesse or hardnesse of the earth (if they were not well looked vnto, or timely, and oft-times remoued) they should grow barren & withered? no man manureth his fields for this cause only; because to labour is a thing good in it selfe: nor doth any other businesse, without hope of interest or gaine. A couetous thought, and addicted to gaine, will neuer breede in vs a desire to doe good: but a humane and liberall heart, which after it hath giuen any thing, desireth still to giue more, and redouble new curtesies vpon the old: a heart that thinketh not what profit shall arise to him that giueth: for otherwise it is a base contemptible and abiect matter to do good vnto an other, for a mans particular interest and profit: what magnificence is it for a man to loue himselfe? to thinke on nothing but his owne thrift? to trauaile no waies but for himselfe? But the true desire of doing good vnto an other, withdraweth vs from all this; and laying hold on vs, draweth vs to our losse, and disdayning our particular good, highly reioyceth in the act of well-doing only.

CHAP. XV.

CAn it be doubted, but that iniurie is contrarie to a benefit? Like as to do an iniurie is a thing to be esteemed and shunned of it selfe; euen so to doe good is a thing to be coueted for it selfe. In the one the feare of dishonour hath more power ouer vs, then all the recompences that may moue vs to doe any thing that is euill: and in the other the appearance of honestie, which hath great power and efficacie of it selfe, sufficiently inuiteth vs. I shall not lie if I say that there is not any one but loueth his owne, and that there is not any man of so mortified a will, that conceiueth not a great contentment, to see him whom he hath oft-times pleasured, and hath not a desire to further him farther, because hee hath done for him once before. Which thing could neuer come to passe, except we naturally tooke pleasure in our goods deedes. How often-times maiest thou heare some say. *I cannot abandon him whose life I haue saued, and whom I haue alreadie drawne out of danger? he beseecheth me to maintaine his cause against his aduersaries, who haue great fauour and authoritie: I will not: but what shall I then doe?* See you not how in this case, there is a certaine peculiar vertue and power that constraineth vs to succour him, and further to doe him this good in his vtmost necessitie; first, because it behoueth vs to doe it; secondly, because before times wee haue done him the like pleasure? And although at the beginning wee had no reason to succour him, yet at this time we will assist him, because wee haue already done it at another time. So farre is it that profit should impell vs to doe a pleasure, that contrariwise we perseuer to maintayne and nourish those things that are vnprofitable, and conserue them for the only loue we beare to our owne benefits. And if we haue beene vnhappie in doing pleasure to any one, yet is there as great reason to pardon him, as to forgiue our graceless children.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

THese Epicures confesse that they themselues do yeeld thanks, not for that it is honest so to doe, but because it is profitable, yet with little labour we may easily approue that it is farre otherwise. For by these very arguments, wherby we proue, that to giue benefits is a thing to be desired in it selfe; by the same also we shall gather and conclude this: That it is a thing most assured, and from whence we gather all our proofes for all this dispute, that we prise not honestie, but only because it is honest. Who therefore dare draw it into question, that to remunerate a curtesie is not an honest thing? who is hee that detesteth not an vngratefull man, who is only vnprofitable to himselfe? But what wilt thou say of him (when thou heareſt it reported) who is vngratefull and vnthankfull to his friend for his many and mightie benefits? how wilt thou indure him, and interpret it, whether he haue plaied an vnhonest part in so doing, or that hee hath dealt fondly, in omitting that which was for his commoditie and profit? I thinke thou wilt accompt him a wicked man, and imagine that hee rather deserueth some punishment, then needeth an ouer-seer to order his estate to his profit. Which thing should not fall out so, vnlesse honestie were a thing both honest and to bee desired of it selfe. Other things perhaps haue not their excellence and dignitie so apparant, and haue neede of an interpreter to expresse whether they be honest or no. But this is so apparant and so beautifull, that it can not be doubted, but that the clearnesse thereof will shine very brightly. What thing is so laudable, what so equally entertained and allowed in al mens iudgements, as to be thankfull for benefits?

CHAP. XVII.

TEll me what cause induceth vs hereunto? Is it gaine? It is impossible, for he that despiseth not the same is vngratefull. Is it ambition? It cannot be, because to repay that which a man oweth, is no matter of glorie, or occasion to bring it. Is it feare? The vngratefull man hath none, and therefore the Common-weale prefixeth no lawes for giuing thanks, because that nature hath sufficiently cōmanded vs, and enioyned vs to be gratefull. As also there is no law that bindeth vs to loue our parents, nor to tender and cherish children. It should be but lost labour to constraine vs, to doe that whereunto nature sommoneth vs of herselfe. And like as no man needeth to bee incited to selfe loue, because hee hath it by kinde: so is no man to be exhorted to follow honest things of himselfe, vertue is so pleasing and gratious of her owne nature, that the wickedder sort also haue a certaine instinct to approue the better. Who is hee that would not seeme to be bountifull? who is he that desireth not to be accompted good, euen when he doth most wickednesse and wrong? and when he hath most exercised his tyrannie and crueltie, would not shadow the same vnder some surface of iustice, that striueth not also to make men thinke that he hath done good vnto those whom he hath most of all offended? And therefore they suffer themselues to be entertained at their hands, whom they haue most of all afflicted, & faine themselues to be good and liberall, because they cannot approue themselues such: which

An vngratefull man neither feareth nor oweth.

they would not doe, except the loue of honestie, which is to be desired for it selfe, compelled them to seeke a contrarie reputation to their corrupt manners, and to conceale and cloake their wickednesse, the fruit whereof is desired, but the thing it selfe is shamefull and odious to them: neither is there any man so farre estranged and sequestred from the law of nature, and degenerated from manhood, that would bee naught for his mindes sake only. Aske any of these Gallants that liue by rapine and spoile, if they had not rather get their goods by any honest meanes, then by robbing and stealing? Hee that inricheth himselfe by spoiling and killing passengers, will rather wish to finde those things he hath purchased, then take them by force; you shall finde no man but had rather enioy the fruits of his wickednesse, without performing the wickednesse it selfe: wee haue this great benefit at natures hands, that vertue permitteth each mans minde to bee illuminated with her beames; and they which follow her not, haue a full view of her.

CHAP. XVIII.

AND to let thee know, that the affection of a gratefull minde is to be desired for it selfe, it is certaine that ingratitude ought to bee fled and eschewed in it selfe. Because there is nothing that so much dismembreth and dissipateth mens friendship, as this vice. For in what other thing are we secure but in this, that we are helped by mutuall offices, and interchangeable friendships? by this one and only commerce of benefits our life is not only assured, but better defended against all sodaine incursions. Single vs alone, what are we? but a pray and sacrifice for rauenous beasts, neither is there any bloud more vile or ealier to be spilt: for other beasts haue sufficient force to maintayne and defend themselues. Whatsoeuer beasts are bred to wander vp and downe, and to leade a solitarie and separated life, are armed, weaknesse girteth in and gauleth man on euery side: the force of his nailes, the sharpnesse of his teeth hath not made him terrible to the rest, being naked and informe: societie assureth and defenceth him. Two things hath shee giuen him, to wit, reason and societie, which make him, (although he be exposed to all other dangers) most powerfull and puissant. And thus he, that being alone and separated, was the least and feebleſt of all the rest, is become the Master of all things. Societie gaue him the dominion ouer all liuing creatures, Societie whereas he was borne for the Land, hath transmitted him into a soueraigntie of an other nature, and made him Lord of the Sea likewise. Societie hath represſed the violence of infirmities, puruaied succours and assistance for old age, and giuen comfort against sorrow. Shee it is that giueth vs forces, and animateth vs to resist fortune. Take Societie away, and thou shalt extinguish and cut off the vnitie of mankinde, whereby life is sustained. But you take it away, if you bring to passe that a thankelesse minde is not to be esteemed for it selfe: but because that hee ought to feare, least a greater mischiefe befall him. For how many vngratefull men are they, that may bee vngratefull without punishment. To conclude, I call him vngratefull whosoeuer is gratefull for feare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

NO man of ſound vnderſtanding hath euer feared the Gods, for it is a madneſſe to feare theſe, from whom we receiue all our good and happineſſe, neither doth any man loue thoſe whom hee feareth. Finally, thou Epicure, thou haſt diſarmed God, thou haſt diſpoiled him of his armes and power, and leaſt he ſhould be feared by any man, thou haſt turned him out of the world. Being then after this manner begirt and inuironed with a ſtrong and impregnable wall, ſeparated and retired out of the ſight, and touch of mortal men, thou oughteſt to haue no feare of him, becauſe he hath no meanes to doe either good or euill. But remaining alone betwixt the ſpace and diſtance, which is betweene one Heauen and another, abandoned of all companie of creatures and men, diſfurniſhed of all things, hee is out of danger of the ruines of the world, which hee ſeeth fall aboue him, and about him, not making any reckoning of our vowes and praiers, neither hauing any care of vs. And yet ſuch as he is, thy deſire is that we ſhould thinke that thou worſhippeſt him, and that thou oweſt him as much reuerence, as thou doeſt to thy father. All which thou doeſt, in my iudgement, to this end only, that thou mighſt not be accompted vngratefull: Or if thou doeſt it not to this end, if thou wilt not haue vs ſuppoſe that thou art thankefull, becauſe thou thinkeſt that thou haſt receiued no benefit at his hands, and that happily thy little *Atomes* and mites, which thou haſt fantaſtically coined in thy braine, haue raſhly and vnſurely formed and faſhioned thee ſuch as thou art, why doeſt thou worſhip him? It is (thou wilt anſwere) for the excellencie of his great Majeſtie, and for his wonderous nature; I put the caſe that this be thus, at leaſtwiſe thou doeſt it without hope of any good, and without any perſwaſion or appearance of profit. There is therefore ſomewhat that is to be deſired for it ſelfe, the dignitie whereof inuiteth and draweth thee to loue the ſame, and truly, that is, honeſtie. For what is more honeſt then to bee gratefull? the matter of this vertue extendeth it ſelfe as farre as our life.

It is not intẽded that the iuſt man hath no feare of God, if feare be taken for one of the ſeuen guifts of the holy Ghoſt: but this place is to be vnderſtood that loue, which is not copatible with that loue wherewith good men loue God, but with him is a ſeruile feare, which is not of children, but of ſlaues.

CHAP. XX.

BVt in this good, ſaith he, there is ſome profit likewiſe: for in what vertue is it not? But that is ſaid to be deſired for it ſelfe, which although it haue ſome commodities without it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding well pleaſing and acceptable, euen when thoſe commodities be remoued and taken away. It is profitable for me to bee thankefull, yet will I be thankefull although it bee to my harme: what ſeeketh he that is thankefull? Is it to the end that his acknowledgement may get him new friends, and more benefits? what if in ſo doing he ſhould purchaſe other mens diſpleaſure? if a man bee aſſured that hee ſhall gaine nothing in reſtoring the good which he hath receiued, but contrariwiſe that hee ſhall loſe much of that he hath alreadie gotten, and hoarded vp in his coffers; would hee willingly light vpon this loſſe? vndoubtedly, that man is vngratefull that fixeth the eye of his deſire vpon a ſecond good turne, when hee ſatisfieth the firſt, hoping to make profit of that pleaſure, whereof he acquiteth himſelfe. I call him vngratefull that ſitteth by a ſick man, and continually attendeth by him, becauſe he is

to make his laſt will and teſtament, or hath ſo much leaſure as to thinke of any inheritance or legacie. Although he doe all things which a good friend (or ſuch a one as is mindfull of his duetie) ought to doe, if hee conceiue in himſelfe any intereſſable hope, he layeth a ſnare, or as a fiſherman armeth his bait, if he expect and linger after the death of the partie, and houer about his carkaſſe like carion crowes, which ſtand ſpying neere at hand for the fall of ſome cattell by the rot, he will giue an occaſion for each man to thinke, that he doth but expect the death of his good friend, and doth but houer and haunt about his perſon. A thankefull heart conceiueth no pleaſure, but in the onely vertue of his good intent.

CHAP. XXI.

Wilt thou know that this is true, and that a thankfull man is not corrupted by profit? there are two ſorts of thankfull men. He is ſaid to be thankfull, that maketh ſatisfaction in ſome ſort for that he hath receiued. This man peraduenture may vaunt himſelfe, he hath ſomewhat whereof to boaſt, and to ſpeake of. He likewiſe is called thankfull, that hath receiued a benefit with a good minde, and oweth it with as good. This man hideth himſelfe in his owne conſcience: but what profit may he reape of an affection ſo deepely hidden? But that other man, although he wanteth meanes to do more, yet is he thankful: he loueth, he oweth, he deſireth to yeeld ſatisfaction, what aske you more? he is not wanting to himſelfe. A workeman is a workeman, although he want his tooles to exerciſe his Art; and a cunning Muſitian is a Muſitian, although his very voice cannot be heard for muttering and noiſe that is made about him. I will giue thankes for the good that is done me: after this there remaineth ſomething for me to doe, not that I may be thankfull, but really acquit of my obligation. For oftentimes hee that recompenceth is not thankefull, and contrariwiſe, many that doe it not, are thankfull. For as of all other vertues, ſo the whole eſtimation of this hath reference to the minde, if ſhe be obſeruant of that which concerneth her, whatſoeuer otherwiſe is deficient, is the errour of Fortune. Euen as a man ceaſeth not to be eloquent, although he be ſilent, nor ſtrong, although his hands be bound and fettered, neither a good Pilate, although hee be vpon the firme land, becauſe hee wanteth no perfection in his ſcience, although there be ſome impediment that letteth them from vſing the ſame. Euen ſo alſo is hee thankfull, that hath onely a will to bee thankfull, and hath no other witneſſe of his willingneſſe, but himſelfe. Nay I will ſay thus much more, ſometimes euen he is thankfull, which ſeemeth vnthankfull, and whom miſdeeming opinion traduceth for the contrarie. Wherein then repoſeth this man his truſt, but in his conſcience, which reioyceth in it ſelfe, although it bee oppreſſed, which reclaimeth and gain-ſayeth all that eloquence can vrge, or fauour detract: and repoſeth all things in her ſelfe? And though ſhe ſeeth neuer ſo huge a multitude of men that reproue her intentions, ſhe maketh no reckoning of the contrary opinions, but thinketh to iuſtifie her ſelfe in her owne ſecret iudgement. And albeit ſhe perceiue, that her faithfulnes beare the puniſhment of perfidiouſnes, yet ſhe abateth no whit of her courage, neither is abaſhed thereat, but ſtandeth ſtill aloft, aboue her puniſhment.

The mind and intent crowneth the action.

A good cõſcience contemneth oppreſſion being erect and confirmed in it ſelfe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

I Haue (saith he) that which I would, and that which I desired: I haue not as yet repented me, neither will I euer repent my selfe: neither shall Fortune (how aduerse soeuer she be) fix in me this pusillanimitie, as to make me say: *What is that I intended? wherein hath my good will now profited me?* It profitteth me when I am on the racke: it profitteth me being in the middest of the fire, which if it should be applied to euery member of my bodie, and by little and little should enuirone and deuoure the same on euery side, although my body (fraughted with a good conscience) should be put into a flaming fire, and tortured and burned therein, yet would the fire be pleasing to me, because thorow it my spotlesse faith would shine and appeare. I will now once more reinforce that argument which I haue vsed in times past. Why is it, that when we die we are desirous to be gratefull? Why examine we euery particular mans deserts? Why endeuour we to refresh the memorie of all our life past, to this intent, that we might seeme to be forgetfull of no mans kindnesse. At that time there remaineth nothing for hope to linger vpon, and yet standing at the pits brim, our desire is to depart this world, to euery mans satisfaction. The reason is, because the proper act of thankesgiuing draweth with it a most great reward of it selfe, and the force of vertue is very great, to draw mens hearts vnto it, and the beautie of honestie so enuironeth and surpriseth mens mindes, that it rauisheth them with the admiration of the light and brightnesse thereof, yea many commodities ensue thereby. For the life of such as are honest is more secured and innocent, which is accompanied with a thankefull soule, and out of feare. Nature had dealt vniustly with vs, if she had made vs partakers of so great a benefit, with miserie, danger, and vncertaintie. But, consider I pray you, although thou mightest easily, and without danger attaine very often to this vertue by an assured and easie way, whether thou couldest not find in thy heart to make thy way thereunto, by vnaccessible rockes, through stony wayes, full of Serpents and sauage beasts.

Innocence in danger is confident, in prosperitie milde, in all encounters happy.

CHAP. XXIII.

YEt ought we not to say, that a thing should not be desired for the loue of it selfe, because it is accompanied with some forraine profit that attendeth it. For wee see almost daily, that the faireſt things are accompanied with accessary endowments, but yet so as they draw these commodities after them, and they themselues goe before. May it be doubted, but that the course and circular motion of Sunne and Moone, doe temperate this dwelling place of mankind by their diuers changes? Or that by the heate of the Sunne, all bodies are cherished, the earth is relaxed and opened, superfluous moistures abated, and the irkesomenes of Winter that bindeth all things allayed, or that by the effectuall and piercing warmth of the Moone the ripening fruits are moistened? Or that the fruitfulnes of man is answerable and correspondent to her course: or that the Sunne by his proper motion maketh the yeare discerneable, and the Moone by her circumuolution in shorter space maketh the month. But admit you take these vertues from the Moone, were not the Sunne of it selfe worthy to bee beheld and admired

admired in our ſight, though he did but ſwiftly paſſe before our eyes. Were not the Moone to be admired by vs, although ſhee ranne by vs but as an idle Star? When the heauen by night time darteth out his lights, when we behold ſuch an infinity of Starres ſhine vpon vs, who is hee that is not rauiſhed to behold them? Who is he that ſeeing himſelfe to be ſurpriſed by ſo great a wonder, hath leiſure at that time to thinke on the good and profit that they bring? Behold, theſe Starres that glide aloft in the ſtill firmament, after what ſort hide they their ſwiftneſſe, vnder an appearance of a ſtanding and immooueable worke? How much is done this night, which thou obſerueſt onely for a reckoning and difference from the dayes? What a troope of things are vnfolded vnder this ſilence? What an order of deſtinies doth this certaine bound bring forth? Theſe things which thou beholdeſt no otherwiſe, but as matters diſperſed for beautifying, are euery one of them occupied in working. For thou canſt not imagine that the ſeuen Planets onely haue their deſigned motions, and the reſt ſtand fixed, will comprehend the motion of very fewe. But there is an infinite number of * gods, which are farre ſeuered and withdrawen from our ſight, which both goe and come. And of thoſe which are ſubiect to our ſight there are diuers, that haue obſcure motions and hidden courſes. What then ſhouldeſt thou not bee ſtrooken with admiration to behold ſo huge a worke, yea though it ruled thee not, preſerued thee not, cheriſhed thee not, ingendered thee not by his winds, and moyſtned thee not by the ayre?

Admiration of theſe things accompanied with deuotion, what admirable effects worke they in the Soule?

* *A Stoicall error, who aſcribe Deitie to the Starres.*

CHAP. XXIIII.

NOw, euen as theſe things, although they haue their firſt and principall vſes, and are both neceſſarie and profitable for our life yet it is the maieſtie of them that occupieth the whole minde. Euen ſo all vertue (and eſpecially the vertue of gratefulneſſe) yeeldeth very much profit, yet will it not be loued for the ſame; for it hath yet a further thing in it, neither is it ſufficiently vnderſtood by him, which accounteth it amongſt gainefull things. Is a man thankfull becauſe it concerneth his owne profit? *Ergo*, alſo he is thankefull, but for ſo much as implieth his profit. Vertue entertaineth not a couetous and baſe minded Louer, ſhee will bee courted with open hands and a liberall heart. The vngratefull man thinketh thus: *I would faine requite the curteſie I haue receiued, but I feare the charge and expence, I feare the perill, I am affraide of diſpleaſure, I will rather doe that which is more profitable and ſecure for me.* One and the ſame cauſe and reaſon, cannot make a man thankefull, and vngratefull: as their actions are diuers, ſo their intentions are different. The one is vngratefull although it behoueth him not, becauſe it is for his profit, the other is gratefull although it bee againſt his profit, becauſe he ought ſo to be.

CHAP. XXV.

WEe are reſolued to liue conformable and agreeable to nature, and to follow the example of the gods. But in all that whatſoeuer the gods doe, they follow nothing elſe, but the reaſon of doing that they doe, except hapily thou imagineſt, that they receiue the fruit of their labours out of the ſmoake of im-railes, and the odour

odour of the incense which is consumed in their sacrifices. Consider how great things they atchiue and compasse daily, with what aboundant fruites they replenish the earth, with how seasonable and fauourable winds (fitly seruing to conuey vs into all forraine Coasts) turne they and mooue they the Seas, with how many and sudden showers mollifie they and moysten they the earth, and replenish the dried vaines and fountaines, and renew them by infusing nutriment, by the hidden and secret Spring-heads. All these things doe they without any recompence, and without any profit that may accrue vnto them. This example also ought our reason to obserue (if it disagree not from this patterne and president) lest it follow honest things, as if hired and engaged. Let vs be ashamed to sell the least courtesie that we do. The Gods expect no recompence for that they doe. If thou wilt imitate the Gods (saith hee) thou must pleasure euen those that are vnthankfull: for the Sunne riseth vpon the wicked, and Pirats haue the sea open vnto them.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN this place they demand whether a good man may imploy his benefits on an vnthankfull man, knowing him to be such a one? Giue me leaue to speake somewhat by the way, lest I be entangled with a doubtfull question. There are, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, two sorts of vngratefull men. The one vngratefull, because he is a foole, and wanteth iudgement; but he that is a foole, is consequently euill, and an euill man is replenished with all kinds of vices, and therefore is vngratefull. In like manner wee terme euill men intemperate and dissolute, couetous, prodigall, and malicious, not that these great and notorious vices are incident to euery euill man, but because they may be, and are in them, though vndiscouered. The other is vngratefull, which in all mens iudgement and voices is termed so, and for that by nature he is prone and inclined thereunto. To that vngratefull man, that so is not free from this vice, as he is free from no vice, a good man may doe a courtesie and kindnesse: for should he but reiect those of this condition, he should doe good vnto no man? But vnto this vngratefull man, which is a defrauder of benefits, who naturally hath his heart addicted to ingratitude, he shall no more giue a benefit, then to trust his money to a banquerout, or leaue a pledge in his hands, who hath heretofore defrauded many others of their right. We call him coward who is a foole; for this followeth those wicked persons, who are indifferently seazed of all kinds of vices: but properly we account and call him a coward, who naturally is affrighted with the the least trifling noice he heareth. So a foole hath all vices, but is not naturally wicked vnto all: one is subiect to auarice, the other to prodigalitie and outragious expences, the other to shamelesse petulancie and wantonnesse.

What a burthen hath iniquitie on his backe?

The description of a Coward.

CHAP. XXVII.

THey then are deceiued, who question with the Stoickes after this manner. What then, is *Achilles* a coward? What then, is *Aristides* (to whom Iustice gaue his name) vniust? What then, is *Fabius* (who by cunctations and delay, restored his decaying Common-weale) rash? What then, feareth *Decius* death? is *Mutius*

For he was called Aristides Iustus.

Mutius a traytor? is *Camillus* a forſaken? Noe, we intend no ſuch matter; neither ſay we that all ſorts of vices are ſo inſeparably vnited in all men, as in ſome there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we ſay, that a fooliſh and wicked man is ſubiect and enclined to all vices, in ſo much as we acquit not the bold man of feare, nor diſcharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his fiue ſenſes, and yet all men are not ſo quick-ſighted as *Linceus*: ſo he that is a foole hath not all vices, ſo vehement and diſordinate as ſome of them, haue ſome vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in euery man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetouſneſſe, this man to luſt, that man ſhe addicteth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is he ſo formed, that his diſpoſition draweth him thereunto. For this cauſe (that I may returne vnto my purpoſe) I ſay that there is no man that is not ſtained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the ſeeds of wickedneſſe in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On ſuch a one therefore will I beſtow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marieth her to a contumelious and often-diuorced husband: and as hee is eſteemed an ill husband and houſholder, who preferreth to the ſtewardſhip of his houſe, and gouernment of his patrimony to one alreadie condemned for ill managing his maſters buſineſſe. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueth ſuch a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath beene a ſpoiler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So ſhall hee be reputed to beſtow his courteſies very inconſiderately, who maketh his choice of vngratefull men, on whom hee may beſtow that which is ſure will be loſt.

An apt ſimilitude.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Gods alſo (ſaith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but theſe, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill alſo, becauſe they cannot be ſeparated. And more reaſon is it to profit the euill for the goods ſake, then to abandon the good for the euils ſake. So thoſe things thou ſpeakeſt of the day, the Sun, the entercourſe of Winter and Sommer, the temperate ſweetenes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-ſprings, and the ordinarie blaſts of windes, were deuiſed by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not ſeuer and ſeparate them, onely for thoſe they intended good to. The King giueth honors to thoſe that are worthie, but he oftentimes yeelderh publike larges, and preſents of victuals to thoſe that deſerue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwayes that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, which is monthly giuen to the people of *Rome*, without reſpect of his manners, when there is any thing that is to be beſtowed ſimply, as vpon a Courtizen, and not vpon a good Citizen, both the good and bad receiue the ſame indifferently. God likewiſe hath giuen ſome things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the windes ſhould be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the ſeas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it ſhould not as well water and ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniuſt. There are certaine things which are common,

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The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

I Denie not but that ſometimes I may beſtow ſome things on thoſe that are vnworthy for other mens ſakes. As oft-times in the purſuit of honours and dignities, the ancient Nobilitie of houſes hath beene the cauſe, that thoſe men were preferred, who were vnprofitable, and of baſe eſtimation, before thoſe that were learned and of good ſpirits. Not without cauſe is the memorie of great vertues ſacred; and many men affect goodneſſe with greater delight, when they perceiue that the honor of good men dieth not with them. What merit made *Ciceroes* ſonne Conſull, but the memorie of his father? What thing is it that cauſed *Cinna* of late (returning from the Enemies campe) to be honored with the Conſulſhip? why was *Sextus Pompey*, and the reſt, that haue borne the name of the *Pompeis*, preferred in the like maner, but for the excellencie and vertue of one onely man, whoſe greatneſſe was ſo great, that his ruine & death could raiſe ſo many of his poſteritie, to ſo worthie eſtimation? What made *Fabius Perſicus* lately (that was ſo hateful in the moſt abiecteſt mens eies, that they diſdayn'd to kiſſe him) attain vnto the Prieſthood of ſo many Colledges, but only the fame of the *Verrucoſians* and *Allobrogicks*, & of thoſe three hundred, that oppoſed one familie againſt the intruſion of their enemies in their Countries defence? So much are we indebted vnto vertues, that we ought to reſpect them, not only while they be preſent, but alſo when they are moſt diſtant & out of ſight. Euen as thoſe vertues wrought this effect, that they profited not only one age, but left their benefits behinde them to all ages: ſo let vs not be gratefull to one age only. This man hath begotten noble children, he is then worthy of good turnes what ſoeuer he himſelfe is, becauſe he hath brought forth ſuch. Another is borne of noble Anceſtors, what ſoeuer he himſelfe is, let him be ſhrouded vnder the ſhadow of his Anceſtors. Like as obſcure and vncleane places are lightned by the repercuſſion of the Sunne-beames, ſo let idle and vnworthy men bee illuſtrated by the light of their forefathers.

Honour enkindleth good ſpirits, and maketh labour pleaſing.

This Sextus Pompey *was the Sonne of* Sextus Pompeius, *who was Conſul the yeare* 1218.

Theſe were of the Fabian *Familie.*

It is ſome part of happineſſe to be borne of good parents.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN this place, my *Liberalis*, I intend to excuſe the goddes. For ſomtimes we are wont to ſay, Wherat aymed the prouidence of the goddes, when they committed the gouernement of a Kingdome to * *Aridæus* handes? Thinkeſt thou it was giuen him? It befell him for his fathers and his brothers ſake. Why gaue ſhee the Empire of the whole world to *Caius Caligula*, a man ſo inſatiate of mans bloud, that he commanded the ſame to bee ſhed before his eies, as if hee had a deſire to drinke and deuoure it with his mouth? What, thinkeſt thou, that this greatneſſe was giuen him for his owne merit? No, it was giuen to his father *Germanicus*; it was for his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers ſake, and to others no leſſe famous men their predeceſſors, although they led a priuate and ordinary life. What, when thou madeſt *Scaurus Mamercus* Conſull, didſt thou not know, that he receiued with open mouth the monthly excrements of his vnchaſte chamber-maids? For did he diſſemble? Would he ſeeme to be pure? I will relate vnto thee a ſpeech of his owne, which was ordinarie in euery mans

mouth

* Alexanders Brother.

mouth in my remembrance, and was commended in his owne presence: *Asinius Pollio* being on a time laid vpon his bed, he said vnto him (but with wordes vnworthy to be named) that he would do that vnto him, which he had rather suffer himselfe. And seeing that *Pollio* was displeased therewith, and that hee began to bend his browes. *If I haue spoken any euil* (said he) *I would it might fall vpon me and on my head.* This saying of his he himselfe blased abroad? * Hast thou admitted a man so openly shameleſſe & impudent to the Maces, and Tribunal of Consuls? Verily, when thou bethoughtest thee of that old *Scipio*, the Prince or prime man of the Senate in times past, thou couldst not suffer his race and posteritie to be abased or extinguished.

* *This speech is obiected, not to* Liberalis, *but to prouidence.*

CHAP. XXXII.

FAsie it is for vs to perceiue how the goddes deale more fauourably with some for the merits and deserts of their fathers, and predecessors, and with other some for the towardnesse that shall be in their children, and childrens children; and in those that hereafter shall descend from their posteritie. For they know the successiue order of their workes, and they haue an infallible science of all those things which are to passe thorow their hands, although they are farre remote from our knowledge and vnderstanding. The things that we suppose to be casuall and sudden, are foreseene and familiar to them. Let these be Kings (say they) because their ancestors haue not beene, but imagined it to be a true Kingdome, to be iust and abstinent. And because they haue not vsed the common-weale for their profits, but dedicated their persons to the seruice and increase thereof. Let these men raigne because some good man was their great grandfather, whose mind was greater then his fortune, who in ciuill discentions chose rather to be vanquished, then to vanquish; because it stood with the profit of the Common-wealth. His goodnesse could not be requited all this while. In respect of that man, let this man haue preheminence ouer others, not because he is of knowledge and ability how to vse it, but because the other hath deserued it for him: for peraduenture this man is in body misshapen, in countenance loathsom, and will be a slander to the place and persons of his aduancement. * Now will men finde fault with me, and say, that I am blinde, and rash, and ignorant where to bestow the things that are due to the chiefest and excellentest persons. But I know that the giuing of this thing to the one, is a satisfaction of it to the other, to whom it was due long since. Whereby doe they knowe such a certaine man, who was such a contemner of glorie, when it followed him, that he aduentured vpon perill with the same countenance that others escape it, and that neuer made difference betwixt his owne profite and the profite of the Common-wealth? Where is this man? who is he? how know you him? These reckonings of such receipts and payments are striken out of my bookes. I know what and to whom I owe. To some I make payment after long time, to other some I giue aforehand, or else I deale with them according as occasion and the vtility of my common-wealth requireth.

All these reasons he vrgeth in the person of God.

* *From hence, to the end of the Chapter all is disiointed.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

SOme things I will then giue to an vngratefull man, yet will I not giue it for his owne ſake. But if (ſaith he) thou knoweſt not whether he be thankefull or vngratefull; wilt thou expect vntill thou know the ſame? or wilt thou not loſe the opportunity of giuing the benefite? It is too long to expect: for (as *Plato* ſaith) it is hard to coniecture what a mans mind is, and not to exſpect is raſhneſſe. To him we will anſwere, that we will neuer expect a certaine comprehenſion and knowledge of things, becauſe it is a difficult matter to finde out the truth; but that we follow that way whereunto the ſimilitude of truth leadeth vs. All mens offices and actions proceed this way; vnder this hope we ſow our lands: thus ſaile we, thus vndertake we war, thus marrie we, thus bring we vp our children; wheras the euent of all theſe is vncertaine. To thoſe things addreſſe we our enterpriſes, whereof we beleeue that we may hope the beſt. For who can warrant a rich harueſt to him that ſoweth, a ſafe Port to him that ſaileth, victory to him that warreth, a modeſt wife to him that marrieth, toward children to him that begat them? We follow thoſe things whereunto reaſon inducеth vs, not thoſe whereunto truth draweth vs. If thou expecteſt to do nothing except thou be ſecured of the good ſucceſſe, if thou lingereſt vntill ſuch time as thou haſt found out the truth, thy life will become vnprofitable and idle, neyther ſhalt thou euer dare or attempt any thing: whilſt the appearance of truth impelleth me to doe this or that, I will not feare to giue a benefite to him, who in my opinion and in all likelyhood, will approue himſelfe thankefull.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

MAnie things may chance (ſaith he) wherby we may take a bad man to be good, a good man to be bad, becauſe the appearances of things wherunto we giue credite, do oftentimes deceiue vs. Who denieth this? But I find nothing elſe, by which I ſhould gouerne my thoughts. By theſe foot-ſteps muſt I purſue the truth; more aſſured I haue none. This will I endeauonr to examine with all diligence, neyther will I aſſent vnto them ouer quickly. For ſo may it fall out in warre, that being deceiued by ſome falſe appearance, I may aime mine arrow againſt my fellow Souldier, leauing mine enemie vntouched and in ſafetie, but this both ſeldom times falleth out, and not by mine error: whoſe purpoſe was to wound mine enemie, and defend my fellow Citizen. If I know him to be vngratefull I will giue him no benefit. But he coſened me, he deceiued me; here is no fault of him that giueth, for I gaue it as to a thankefull man. But if (ſaith hee) thou haſt promiſed to doe a man a pleaſure, and afterwards thou findeſt him to bee vngratefull, wilt thou giue it or no? if thou doeſt it thou offendeſt willingly, for thou giueſt to him, thou oughteſt not to giue: if thou denieſt, in this caſe likewiſe thou offendeſt, becauſe thou performeſt not that which thou haſt firmely promiſed. Your ſect in this place ſtaggereth and trippeth, and that proud promiſe of theirs, that a wiſe man neuer repenteth himſelfe of that which hee hath done; neither euer reformeth his actions, nor changeth his counſaile, beginneth to be ſhaken. A wiſeman changeth not his counſaile, as long as the cauſe and

Sapientis eſt mutare conſilium.

and circumstances continue the same, as they were when he determined. And therefore neuer repenteth he himselfe in any thing, because nothing could bee better done at that time then was done, nor nothing better ordered then that which was ordered. Finally, all things hee vndertaketh, he attempteth them with this condition, if nothing fall out that may interrupt his sage designes. And therefore say we, that all things befall him to his wish, that nothing hath betided him contrarie to his expectation, because he presumeth in his minde, that sundrie things may fall out which may crosse his purpose. Fooles are they, that are too confident, and who promise vnto themselues ouer preremptorily, that Fortune will fauour them, but a wise man considereth her both wayes: hee knoweth very well what sway error beareth, how vncertaine worldly things be, and how many things hinder mens determinations: he followeth variable Fortune, and the hazards of humane affaires, with an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, expecting with assured counsaile the vncertaine ends therof. But the conditions, without which he beginneth and enterpriseth nothing, warrantise him sufficiently herein.

CHAP. XXXV.

IHaue promised to doe a pleasure, except there fall out some occasion wherby I am letted from giuing that I intended: but what if the Common-weale command me to giue that vnto her which I haue promised my friend, if a publique law bee made that no man shall do that which I haue promised my friend to performe. I haue past my word to giue thee my Daughter in marriage, and afterwards thou art conuicted to be a forrainer, with whom wee are forbidden to contract matrimonie. The law that prohibiteth, that, defendeth also my cause: then shall I breake my word, then shall I bee iustly taxed with inconstancie; if all the circumstances continuing as they were when I promised, I neglect to performe the same: Because otherwise whatsoeuer thing is changed, giueth me libertie to determine anew, and discharged mee of my former obligation. I haue promised to pleade thy cause, and afterwards I finde that the prosecution thereof will in the end redound to my fathers preiudice. I haue promised thee to take a long iourney with thee, but afterwards vpon better instructions, I vnderstand that the way is dangerous and full of theeues, I intended presently to come and visit thee about thine instant businesse, but my childs sickenesse, or my wifes falling in labour, kept me at home. All things ought to be in the same estate, they were, when I promised thee, if thou wilt that my faith bee obliged vnto thee. But what greater change may there happen then if hereafter I am informed that thou art an vngratefull and wicked man? That which I gaue thee, as to a worthy man, I will refuse thee as a man vnworthy, and further more I shall haue a iust cause to be angrie with thee, because thou hast deceiued me.

The law of bountie is limited by circumstances.

CHAP. XXXVI.

YEt will I nearely examine the greatneſſe of that I haue promiſed. The valew of the thing, which I haue promiſed to beſtow, ſhall giue mee counſaile. If it be a ſmall matter, I will giue it; not becauſe hee is worthy, but becauſe I haue promiſed. Neither will I giue it as a benefit, but only to redeeme my word, and hereafter will I take better heede, and by my loſſe I will chaſtiſe my raſhneſſe in promiſing; and to the end I may haue a more feeling and ſenſible apprehenſion of the ſame, and henceforward be more circumſpect in that I ſpeake, I will, (as the common prouerbe ſaith) pay a fine for my tongue. But if it be a thing of greater price, I would not, (as *Mecenas* ſaith) ſpend two hundreth and fiftie thouſand crownes, to buy mine owne blame: I will diligently compare both theſe things betweene themſelues. It is ſomething to keepe a mans word when hee hath promiſed, and againe it importeth very much to take care that wee giue to ſuch a one as deſerueth the ſame: yet muſt we cõſider how great our promiſe is: If it be a thing of ſmall valew, I will giue it as though I winked thereat. But if it may be either greatly to my loſſe, or greatly to my ſhame. I had rather excuſe my ſelfe once for not doing it, then condemne my ſelfe alwaies for giuing it. In briefe, all the waight of the matter conſiſteth (as I ſay) in this to know of what valew and eſtimate the promiſe is that I haue made. For I will not only retaine that which I haue raſhly promiſed, but I will redemand alſo that which I haue giuen amiſſe. He is out of his wits, that binds his faith for an error.

CHAP. XXXVII.

PHILIP of *Macedon* had a valiant and braue Souldier, who had faithfully ſerued him in all his warres, to whom in remuneration of his vertue, he had often-times giuen a good part of that which he had taken from the enemie, & incouraged him with rewards, he being a man of a mercinarie minde. It fortuned that this Souldier was ſhipwrackt and caſt away at Sea, and that the tempeſt and billowes caſt him on the ſhoare neare to a certaine *Macedonians* dwelling place, who being aduertiſed of this his fortune, ranne vnto him, and recouered him to life, being well-nigh dead. He caried him vnto his owne houſe, he lodged him in his owne bedde: he entertained this forlorne man ſo carefully and kindly, that hee recouered his forces, he maintayned him thirtie dayes at his owne charge, hee relieued his neceſſitie, and gaue him monie and meanes to bring him back againe to the armie. This Souldier, vpon his departure, told him this very often; *If I euer chance to ſee my Prince againe, I will requite this thy kinde entertainement.* Certaine dayes after being arriued at the campe, hee failed not to tell *Philip* of his vnhappie ſhipwrack, but he concealed who had ſuccoured him, and forthwith beſought him to giue him a certaine mans lands, and this was his heritage who had ſo graciouſly entertained him, and with ſo much care and diligence had preſerued him from death. You may ſee (by the way) how Kings now and then, (but eſpecially in warre) giue many things, their eyes being ſhut: no one man

man alone is able to satisfie so many armed desires; there is not any man that at one time can be a good man, and a good Generall. How shall so many thousands of vnsatiable men bee satisfied? what shall they haue if euery man may keepe his owne? This said *Philip* to himselfe, when he commanded him to bee put in possession of those Lands he demanded. This man thus violently thrust out of his possessions, smothered and smoohed vp this iniurie, not as a Clowne, but with much silence & sufferance, contenting himselfe with this; that though they had vsurped his possessions, they had not restrained him of his libertie, and priuily wrote a short and stout letter vnto *Philip*, wherein he discouered the iniury which was done him, vpon the reading whereof, *Philip* was so displeased, that he presently commanded *Pausanias* to restore the land to the former Lord, and as for the other reprobate and dishoneſt Souldier, vngratefull gueſt, and couetous cast-away, to brand him in the forehead, to witnesse that hee was an vngratefull and vnthankefull gueſt. Truly, he was worthy, not that these letters should be written, but engrauen on his forehead, that expulsed and exposed his Host, like to a naked and shipwrackt-wretch, on that very shore, where once he had succoured him. We shall afterwards see what more greater punishment he deserued: meane while those goods were to be taken from him, which hee had so iniuriously vsurped. And who would be moued at his punishment, who had committed such a hainous crime, that might be the cause, that no man hereafter would count miserable the miserie of the most miserable?

A lesson for Princes that are oftentimes thus deluded and blinded.

The reason why this vngratefull man was to be punished.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SHall *Philip* be cõstrained to performe his word vnto thee, because he hath promised thee, although he ought not to do that, though he iniury another man, thongh he cõmit a hainous crime, although by this one act of his, he locketh vp the hauens, and shutteth vp the ports against those that are shipwrackt? It is no point either of lightnesse or inconstancie, for a man to forsake a knowne and condemned errour. And a man ought ingeniously to confesse and say, I thought otherwise, I am deceiued. But this is a perseuerance in an arrogant foolishnesse to say, That which I haue spoken once, whatsoeuer it bee, I will abide by it, and make good my word. It is no shame to change a mans opinion, when the businesse is changed. Go to, if *Philip* had left him in possession of these demeasnes, and that sea-coast which he had gotten by his shipwracke, had he not barred all miserable men from reliefe? It is better (saith he) that thou shouldest carry throughout my kingdome these letters ingrauen in thy most shamelesse forehead, more worthy to be written in thine eyes. Shew thou in thy punishment, how sacred a thing the table of hospitalitie is. Let all the world reade this my law, enregistred in thy countenance, by which is decreed, that it is no capitall matter, to entertaine any miserable person into a mans house. So shall this constitution of mine bee more strongly ratified, then if I had engrauen the same in brasse.

CHAP. XXXIX.

WHy then (ſaith he) did your *Zeno*, when he had promiſed a certain man to lend him fiue hundred pence, and had found him to bee inſufficient, and not able to repay him, contrary to the aduice of his friends, who coũſelled him not to do it, perſeuered in truſting him, becauſe he had promiſed him? Firſt there is one condition in a debt, another in a benefit. If I haue lent my money to an euill debter, yet haue I meanes to recouer it againe: I may call any debter into iuſtice, when the terme of payment is come, and if he break or play the banquerupt, I ſhal haue a portion of my debt, but the benefit is wholly loſt inſtãtly. Moreouer, this is the act of an euil man, that of a bad husband. Again, neither would *Zeno* haue perſeuered to credit him, if the ſumme had bin greater, it was but fiue hũdred pence; put caſe (as it is commonly ſaid) that he had ſpent it in a ſicknes, was it ſo much worth not to reuoke his promiſe. I will come to ſupper (although it bee cold) becauſe I haue promiſed, but if it ſnowed or were bad weather, I would not ſtep out of my doores. I will ariſe out of my bed to accompany a Bridall, becauſe I haue promiſed (although I haue not ſufficiently ſlept or diſgeſted my meat) but not at all, if a fauor ſurpriſe me. I will come and giue my word for thee, becauſe I haue promiſed, but not if thou wouldeſt make me ſtand bound for an vncertain thing, or if thou wilt bind me to the Exchequer. I tell thee there is alwayes a ſecret condition implied; ſo I be able; ſo it bee lawfull. If thou wilt haue mee keepe my promiſe, ſet the matter in the ſame ſtate, that it was in when thou demandedſt, that it was in when I promiſed. It can be no point of lightneſſe to diſappoint one, if there happen any alteration by the way: why wondereſt thou if I change my counſell, when the conditions of my promiſe are changed? I am readie at this time to be the ſame I was then, if thou ſhew me all things in that eſtate I left them: wee promiſe to make appearance for my friend, yet is it not performed. For if there be any one that is hindered by force, or by a lawfull cauſe he is excuſed by eſſoyne.

The condition of the Prince may alter the Counſell.

CHAP. XL.

THe ſame alſo will ſerue for an anſwere to this demand; whether a courteſie is to be requited in any wiſe, or whether a benefit bee euery way to be reſtored? I am bound to yeeld a thankfull heart, but ſometimes mine infelicitie ſuffereth me not to make requitall; and ſometimes his felicitie, to whom I am indebted: for what can I, being poore, reſtore to a King or a rich man? whereas ſome ſuppoſe it to be an iniurie to receiue a benefit, and benefits doe alwayes burthen the receiuer with other benefits. What other ſatisfaction can I make vnto ſuch a perſon, then to be willing to acknowledge their goodneſſe. For I ought not to reiect his new benefit, becauſe I haue not ſatisfied for the former, I wil receiue as willingly as it is giuen me: I will offer my ſelfe vnto my friend as a ſufficient matter, to exerciſe vpon me all his good thoughts, and liberalitie. He that will not receiue new courteſies, is offended with the old. I, but I render not the like: what is that to the purpoſe? the delay is not in me, if either occaſion faile, or abilitie be wanting: when he did me a pleaſure, he had the meanes and the commoditie.

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He that hath done it, is either a good or an euill man; if he be a good man, my caſe and cauſe is good enough; if hee bee an euill man, I will not pleade before him: neither thinke I it meete alſo to be ouer haſtie in yeelding recompence, contrary to the mindes of thoſe who haue done vs pleaſure, or that we importune them to receiue, when they are vnwilling to take it. It is no requitall of a good turne, to render that which thou haſt willingly receiued, to him that is vnwilling to accept the ſame. There are ſome, who if a friend ſend them ſome little preſent, doe ſuddenly after requite them with another, to the end they may vaunt they are not any wayes obliged. This is a kinde of refuſall, when a man will make requitall ſo ſoone, and by this meanes deface ſo ſuddenly one preſent by another. Sometimes alſo I will not reſtore a benefit, when I am able; namely, when I ſhall detract more from my ſelfe, and doe my ſelfe, more hinderance, then I ſhall profit him; when as he ſhall feele himſelfe nothing amended by receiuing it, and I ſhall finde my ſelfe greatly impaired by forgoing it. He then that haſteth to reſtore and requite a kindneſſe, hath not the minde of a gratefull man, but of a debter. And to conclude in few words, he that is deſirous to pay ouer ſoone, doth owe vnwillingly; hee that vnwillingly oweth, is vn gratefull.

Haſtie returne of fauour is rather a defacing of a benefit, then a ſatisfaction.

The end of the fourth Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe two ſpeciall parts being concluded and determined. How a benefit ſhould be giuen, and how it ought to be receiued. He ſaith that he paſſeth ouer to certaine things, that are not ſo much in the matter as of the matter, and both neare and vnited to the ſame. Then annexeth hee certaine queſtions, and firſt of all this. Whether it be a loathſome matter to bee ouer-come in benefits? He denyeth that he may be ouer-come, and approueth him to be alwaies equall, that is deſirous to make recompence in good will, if in act he cannot. The ſecond queſtion is: Whether any man may giue himſelfe a benefit? He denyeth it, yet argueth the matter on both ſides. The third queſtion he vſeth is, Whether any man according to the Stoicks doctrine may be called vngratefull? hee affirmeth and teacheth it. His fourth queſtion is, Whether all are vngratefull? he ſaith no; although he confeſſe many. Then as depending of the ſaid queſtion: How farre and whither we are bound one for an other, as the Sonne for the Father, and ſuch like? He anſwereth by a diſtinction, and rather denyeth. The fiſt queſtion is, Whether an vnpleaſing benefit may bee giuen to a man vnwilling to receiue? It may. The laſt queſtion, Whether a benefit may bee redemanded?

IN theſe my former bookes, me thought, I had conſummated and accompliſhed my principall intent, when as I had intreated and diſcouered, after what manner a good turne is to bee done, and in what ſort it is to be receiued, becauſe theſe two points are the Poles, on which the Sphere of this diſcourſe is moued. Whatſoeuer I intreat of, or linger on further, is not of the neceſſitie of the matter, neither much impertinent therunto, which wee ought to follow, not only whither it leadeth vs, but alſo whither it inuiteth vs. For continually there will ſome arguments ariſe, that will allure and entertaine our minde with the ſweetneſſe thereof, which is rather not neceſſarie then ſuperfluous. But ſince you will haue it ſo, hauing ended all that which appertayned to the

the matter, let vs perſeuer to ſearch out theſe things, that are annexed vnto it, but not coherent, which whoſoeuer doth curiouſly looke into, neither performeth a matter of great moment, neither looſeth his labour. But vnto thee (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) who art a man of the beſt nature, and ſo inclined to curteſie, no praiſe of theſe benefits may ſuffice: I neuer ſaw any man ſo fauourable an eſteemer of the ſmalleſt good offices, as thou art. And thy bountie hath alreadie attayned ſo farre, that thou eſteemeſt the curteſie done vnto thy ſelfe, which is imploied on any other man. Thou art alwaies readie to giue ſatisfaction for the vngratefull, leaſt any man ſhould repent him of his bountie and kindneſſe: and ſo farre art thou from all arrogancie and oſtentation, ſo deſirous art thou to diſburthen thoſe whom thou haſt obliged, that whatſoeuer thou beſtoweſt on any man, thou wouldeſt not ſeeme to haue giuen it as a benefit, but to haue repaied it as a debt. And therefore, ſuch things as thou beſtoweſt after this manner, returne vnto thee more plentifully. For commonly good turnes attend vpon him, that intendeth not to redemand them. And as glorie and reputation, doe moſt of all faſten vpon, and follow thoſe who flie from the ſame; ſo the fruit of benefits is more graciouſly correſpondent vnto thoſe as giue men leaue to be thankeleſſe, if they liſt. It ſhall not bee through thy default, but that they who haue receiued benefits at thy hands, may freely redemand the other, neither wilt thou refuſe the former, which are either ſuppreſſed or diſſembled by thee. The intent of a generous man, and ſuch a one as hath a noble minde, is ſo long to forbeare, and winke at an vngratefull perſon, vntill he hath made him thankefull: neither will this manner of dealing deceiue thee euer; for naturally vices ſubmit themſelues vnto vertue, and looſe their courage, if thou haſten not too much to hate them.

An extraordinarie commendation of Æbutius Liberalis.

Bountie is redoubled to the worthy beneficiar.

This is intended as a debt, not as a guift.

CHAP. II.

THou conceiueſt likewiſe a ſingular pleaſure, to heare this magnificent ſaying, that *it is a ſhame to be ouer-come in giuing benefits*, which whether it bee true or no, it is wont to bee enquired vpon a good ground, and I thinke it farre different from that which thou imagineſt. For neuer needeſt thou to feare any affront or diſhonour in ſuffering thy ſelfe to be ouer-come in the noble competencie of vertuous actions, if ſo be thou forſake not thine armes, but being once ouer-come haſt a will to ouer-come againe. Euery man in a good purpoſe hath not the ſame forces, the ſame faculties, and the ſame fortune: which only temperateth the ends of the beſt actions. The will of him that keepeth the right way, deſerueth to be praiſed, although a more ſwifter runner hath ſet foote before him. It is not in this caſe as it is in the publique prizes, ſet out for ſpectacle, wherein the victorie proclaimeth the better man; although in them alſo caſualtie hath often preſerued the worſt. When we ſpeake of dutie, and both the one and the other deſire to acquit themſelues fully; if the one of them hath had more meanes, if hee haue had matter at hand correſpondent to his minde, if fortune hath permitted him to doe what him liſteth: And contrariwiſe, if the other hath had as good a will, although that which hee hath reſtored is of leſſe valew then that which he hath receiued, or if he haue not ſatisfied at all, yet if hee haue a good minde to make a future ſatisfaction, if hee bend himſelfe wholly to that buſineſſe, if he duly thinke on nothing but the ſame, he is no more ouercome then he

he that dieth manfully fighting, whom his enemie could ſooner kill then put to flight. That which thou ſuppoſeſt to be diſhonorable or diſhoneſt, cannot befall a good man; that is to ſay, to be vanquiſhed: neuer will his heart faile him, neuer will he giue ouer, hee will be alwayes readie to acknowledge euen vntill the laſt houre of his life. He will doe in this ſtation, and will confeſſe himſelfe to haue receiued great benefits, and wil proteſt that he hath a deſire to repay them with the like.

CHAP. III.

* Pancratiaſtes *was he, that not only with naked hands and fiſts, but with his feete and whole bodie entertaineth the fight.*
Coſtus *was hee, that with armed hand, or heauy buttons or waights of braſſe, iron, or lead, charged his aduerſarie.*

THe * *Lacedemonians*, forbad their Citizens to fight at buffets or braces, where he confeſſing himſelf to be vanquiſhed, doth ſhew him to be the weaker man. The runner that firſt obtaineth the goale, out-ſtrippeth his companion in ſwiftneſſe, but not in courage. The wreſtler that hath fallen, and been foiled three times, hath loſt the palme, but hath not yeelded it to his aduerſarie. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* being deſirous aboue all other things, that their Citizens ſhould be inuincible, they inhibited and forbad them the vſe of all ſuch games, in which the victory is giuen not by the opinion of the iudges, or by the iſſue of the game, but by the voice of him that yeeldeth, and his that commandeth him to ſubmit and yeeld. Vertue and a good heart giue vnto all men that which the *Lacedemonians* doe obſerue amongſt their Citizens, vertue and good will yeeldeth all men that they ſhall neuer be vanquiſhed, becauſe euen amongſt thoſe that are ouercome the minde continueth inuincible. No man therefore ſaith, that the three hundred *Fabij* were conquered, but ſlaine. And *Regulus* was Captaine amongſt the *Carthaginians*, but not conquered, and all elſe whatſoeuer oppreſſed by the force and waight of enraged and cruell Fortune. The care is all one in benefits, he that hath receiued more great, more precious, and more often, is not for all this vanquiſhed. It may be that the benefits of one, are ouercome by thoſe of another, in reſpect of thoſe things that are giuen, and are receiued. But if thou wilt make a compariſon betwixt the giuer and him that receiueth (whoſe mindes muſt be eſtimate alſo by themſelues) there is neither of them ſhall haue the palme. For wee are accuſtomed to ſay, that hee who is wounded in diuers parts, and he that hath but a ſlight hurt, haue departed on euen hand from the combate, although one may ſeeme to haue receiued the foile.

CHAP. IIII.

The will to recompence redeemeth the want.

NO man therefore can be ouercome in benefits, if he know that he oweth, if he haue a will to recompence, and if that which he cannot attaine in act, he equalleth in minde and will. This man, as long as he is conſtant herein, as long as he hath a good intent, approuing his gratefull minde by outward ſignes: what skilleth it on whether part more preſents may bee numbered? Thou haſt the power to giue much, and I only the power to receiue the ſame: good fortune is on thy ſide, and good will on mine, yet am I ſo equal with thee, as ſome naked, or ſlightly armed, are equall to ſome that are armed at all points. No man therefore is ouercome in benefits. For euery one is as thankfull, as he would be. For if it be

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an affront and diſhonour to be ouercome in kinde offices, wee ought not to receiue a benefit at mightie mens hands, to whom we can in no ſort yeeld any ſatisfaction. I ſpeake of Kings and Princes, whom Fortune hath entertained in that eſtate, that they may doe much, and beſtow great largeſſe, but they cannot receiue but very little, and farre inferiour to their owne gift. I ſay, Kings and Princes, to whom notwithſtanding there may be ſeruice done, whoſe greatnes and power is not ſuſtained but by affection, and the common conſent which their ſubiects haue to obey them. But there are ſome that are vnattainted with any couetouſnes, that are ſcarcely touched with any humane deſires; to whom Fortune her ſelfe can giue nothing. I muſt needs be ouercome by *Socrates* in benefits. I muſt confeſſe the like of *Diogenes*, who marched naked amiddeſt the riches and moſt precious moueables of the Macedonians, and trampled their Kingly treaſures vnder his feete. Did not he then (yea and that deſerued) both in his owne eyes, and other mens ſight (whoſe eyes were not ſealed vp from ſeeing the truth) ſeeme more eminent aboue him, vnder whoſe greatnes all things lay ſubiect. He was then more powerfull and more rich then *Alexander*, who at that time poſſeſſed all things, for there was more that this man would not receiue, then he was able to giue.

CHAP. V.

IT is no ſhame to bee ouercome by ſuch as theſe, for neither am I leſſe valiant, though you match me in fight with an enemie that cannot be wounded. Neither therefore can the fire burne leſſe, if it light vpon a matter inuiolable by fire. Neither therefore hath the toole loſt his force in caruing, if the ſtone be ſo hard that it cannot be pierced, and if naturally it be ſo rebellious againſt all things that are hard, that it will rather breake in peeces then yeeld. The ſame doe I anſwere of a thankful man, it is no diſhonor for him to be ouercome by the benefits which he hath receiued at their hands, whoſe fortune is ſo great and mightie, and vertue ſo excellent, that it hath barred all returne of benefits vnto him. We are for the moſt part ouercome by our parents, for ſo long do we hate them, as long as we iudge them to be troubleſome and inſupportable, and as long as wee vnderſtand not their benefits. When as our yeares haue taught vs ſome experience, and we begin to perceiue, that they ought to be beloued by vs, for thoſe things for which they were miſliked; I meane their admonitions, their ſeueritie and diligent ouer-ſight of our inconſiderate youth, then are they ſnatched and taken from vs. Few there are that haue liued ſo long as to reape the true fruit of their childrens towardneſſe, the reſt haue felt a burthen by them, and diſcontent: yet is it no ſhame for children to be ſurmounted by their parents. And why ſhould it be ſhamefull to be ſurmounted by them, ſince it is no diſgrace to be vanquiſhed by any whatſoeuer? For ſometimes we are equall and vnequall to one and the ſame perſon; we are equall in good will, which is only required, which we onely promiſe and profeſſe: but we are vnequall in fortune, for want whereof, if a man be hindered from being thankfull, he ought not for that cauſe to be aſhamed & bluſh, becauſe he is vanquiſhed. It is no diſhonor to be vnable to ouertake, ſo a man purſue and follow ſtill. Sometimes wee are enforced before we haue reſtored the old, to craue new benefits. Neither therefore ſurceaſe we to aske, or demand we diſgracefully and diſhoneſtly, becauſe we runne further

The miserable man then is to be excused, vnlesse his mind be faulte in making satisfaction

ther in debt, before wee bee able to repay the former, because the fault is not through our default, but for that disabilitie preuenteth our gratuitie. But some thing will fall out otherwaies, which will keepe vs from satisfying, yet will wee not bee ouer-matched in minde, neither will wee bee shamefully ouer-come in these things, which are not in our power.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER King of Macedon, was oftentimes wont to boast, that neuer any man could ouercome him in benefits. There is no cause why this ouer-haughty minded Prince, should cast his eyes on the Macedons, Greekes, Carians, Persians, and other nations which were bound vnto him by way of conquest. He should not thinke that that great Kingdome, which extended it selfe from the furthest confines of Thrace, to the banks of the vnknown Sea, had giuen him the means to accomplish and do this. *Socrates* himselfe might vaunt that he had done as much, and *Diogenes* also, by whom he was ouercome. Why should he not be ouercome that very day, wherein the man swelling aboue measure with humane pride, he saw a man to whom he could neyther giue, nor from whom hee could euer take any thing? King *Archelaus* intreated *Socrates* to come and visit him; to whom (as it is reported) *Socrates* returned this answer: *That he would not come vnto him from whom he should receiue a benefite, which he could not requite againe.* First of all, it was in his power not to receiue any thing: secondly, it was he that began to giue a benefite. For he came vnto him vpon his request, and gaue that which the King could neuer equall or satisfie. Moreouer, *Archelaus* was to giue him golde and siluer, but was himselfe to receiue the contempt of golde and siluer. Could not *Socrates* therfore requite *Archelaus* courtesie? Had he not equalled the good which he was to receiue, had he made him see a man perfect in the skill of liuing and dying, knowing the true ends of them both? If he had taught the King (who saw not at mid-day) the secrets of Nature, whereof he was so ignorant, that vpon a day when the Sunne was in Eclips, he caused the dores of his Palace to be shut; and (as men were wont to doe in time of mourning & great miserie) he cut off his sons haire: How great a benefit had it beene if he had drawne him loaden with feare out of the lurking places where he lay hidden, and had encouraged him, saying, This is no defection or obscuring of the Sunne, but the encounter of two Planets, when as the Moone, shaping her course more lower then the Sunne, hath placed her Orbe vnder him, and by her interposition holdeth his light obscured from our sight: sometimes couereth no more then a small part of his bodie, when in the coniunction shee passeth no more but on one side; otherwhiles shee ecclipseth a greater part of his light, when she setteth her selfe in his front, and before him; otherwhiles she couereth him wholly, if with a iust and equall counterpoise, shee intirely settle her selfe opposite betwixt the Sunne and the earth: yet the swiftnesse of these starres shall suddenly separate the one from the other, the earth heereby shall recouer her light: and this order shall continue in all ages to come. There are certaine and destinated dayes, wherein the Moone shall by her intercourse hinder the Sunne, not from shooting forth the fulnes of his beames. Stay but a while, and thou shalt suddenly see him breake forth, thou shalt see him discharge himselfe of the Moone as it were of a cloud, and (shaking off as it were

This is not Alexanders neuer was Eclipse at full Moone naturally, but as Christ death supernaturally.

those

thoſe impediments that detaine him) thou ſhalt ſee him ſend forth his deſired light moſt freely againe. Might not *Socrates* then haue requited *Archelaus*, if he had giuen him inſtructions how to gouerne his Kingdome? As little as you make of it, it had beene a great benefit in *Socrates*, and greater any wayes then *Archelaus* could haue giuen him. Why then ſaid *Socrates* thus? Forſooth, becauſe hee tooke a pleaſure to paſſe the time in figuratiue mercie, and ieſting diſcourſe, he mocked the whole world, but eſpecially great men, and had rather denie him ſubtilly, then arrogantly and proudly. He ſaid that he would receiue no benefits at his hands, to whom hee could not returne an anſwerable recompence. He feared happily leaſt he ſhould bee compelled to take that which hee would not, hee feared leaſt hee ſhould receiue ſomething that were vnworthy, *Socrates*. But ſome man will ſay, that he might haue denyed the ſame, if he miſliked it, but by this meanes he had incenſed an inſolent King againſt him, who would haue all that which came from his hands, highly eſteemed. It is nothing to the purpoſe, whether thou refuſeſt to giue any thing to that King, or receiue ought at his hands, he conſtrueth and conceiteth the one repulſe, as badly as the other, and to a proude man it is more diſtaſtfull to be diſdained, then not to bee feared. Wilt thou know what he truly and really intended, hee would not entertaine a voluntarie ſeruitude, whoſe libertie a free Citie could not endure.

CHAP. IIII.

WE haue, as I ſuppoſe, ſufficiently debated vpon this part, whither it were a diſhonour to be ouer-come in benefiting. Which whoſoeuer draweth in queſtion, hee knoweth that men are not wont to giue themſelues benefits; for it had beene manifeſt that it is no ſhame for a man to be vanquiſhed by himſelfe. Notwithſtanding amongſt ſome Stoicks, this alſo is brought in queſtion, whether a man may giue himſelfe a benefit, and whether he ought to yeeld himſelfe thanks? The cauſes why this matter ſeemed to bee diſputable, were theſe that follow: Wee are wont to ſay, *I thanke my ſelfe, and I can complaine of no man but my ſelfe, I am angrie with my ſelfe, and I will be reuenged of my ſelfe, and I hate my ſelfe*, and many other ſuch things beſides, whereby euery one ſpeaketh of himſelfe, as if it were of an other. If (ſaith he) I can hurt my ſelfe, wherefore can I not benefit my ſelfe likewiſe? Beſides, if thoſe kindneſſes which I haue beſtowed vpon an other, ſhould be called benefits, why ſhould they not retaine the ſame name, if they were imployed on my ſelfe? Had I receiued them of an other, I ſhould owe the ſame, why then had I giuen them to my ſelfe, ſhould I not owe them to my ſelfe? why ſhould I be vngratefull to my ſelfe? whereas it is no leſſe diſhonorable and diſhoneſt for me, then to be niggardly to my ſelfe, then to be cruell and tyrannous toward my ſelfe, and neglectfull of my ſelfe? As infamous is the band of anothers beautie, as ſhee that ſetteth her owne to ſale: wee reprehend a flatterer, and an applauder of other mens ſayings, and ſuch a one as is alwaies readie to yeeld a falſe luſtre and laud to euery thing: So likewiſe is he moſt iuſtly reprehended that pleaſeth himſelfe, admireth himſelfe, and (if I may ſay ſo) flattereth himſelfe. Vices are not onely hatefull, when they ſinne abroade, but when they are retorted vpon themſelues. Whom wilt thou more admire then him that gouerneth himſelfe, and that alwaies carrieth in his hands the bridle of his owne motions and affections? It is more eaſie to gouerne Barbari-

ans, and ſuch as are impatient of forraine gouernement, then to contayne a mans minde: and make it ſubiect to it ſelfe. *Plato* (ſaith hee) thanketh *Socrates* becauſe he taught him. Why ſhould not *Socrates* thanke himſelfe for teaching himſelfe? *Marcus Cato* ſaith: *That which thou wanteſt, borrow of thy ſelfe.* Why can I not giue it my ſelfe, if I can lend it my ſelfe? There are innumerable things wherein cuſtome of diſcourſe diuideth vs from our ſelues. We are wont to ſay, *Let thou me alone, I will ſpeake with my ſelfe, and I will pull my ſelfe by the eare*: Which if they bee true, euen as any man ought to bee angrie with himſelfe, ſo ought he to thanke himſelfe: as he may rebuke himſelfe, ſo may he praiſe himſelfe: as he may harme himſelfe, ſo may he profit himſelfe. An iniurie and a benefit are contraries: if we ſay of any man, he hath wronged himſelfe, wee may likewiſe ſay, he hath done himſelfe a good turne.

CHAP. VIII.

NO man is indebted to himſelfe; but by the order of nature: we muſt firſt owe, before we pay. There is no debter without a creditor, no more then there is a huſband without a wife, or rather a Father without a Sonne. There muſt be ſome one to giue, if there be any to receiue. It is neither to giue, nor receiue, to turne out of the right hand into the left: Euen as no man beareth himſelfe, although hee moue and remoue his body: As no man, although hee hath pleaded his owne cauſe, is ſaid to haue beene his owne Aduocate, neither raiſeth hee a ſtatue to himſelfe, as if he had beene his owne Patron. As the ſick man, when as by his owne diligence hee hath recouered his health, requireth no recompence from himſelfe: ſo in all affaires, yea euen in thoſe wherein a man hath deſerued beſt of himſelfe, yet ought he not yeeld himſelfe thanks, becauſe he hath not any to whom he may yeeld thanks: and if I grant thee that any man may do himſelfe a pleaſure: I ſay, that in giuing the ſame, he receiueth alſo. Admit I grant thee that any one receiueth a pleaſure from himſelfe; in receiuing the ſame, he ſatisfieth for the ſame likewiſe. This cloaking and changing of perſons (as the common prouerbe runneth) is made in thine owne houſe, and paſſeth away forthwith as a fained and idle debt. For hee that giueth is none other then he that receiueth, and both are but one. This word, to owe, hath place, but betweene two ſeuerall perſons: how then may it conſiſt in him only, which in that very inſtant requiteth when he is obliged? Euen as in a Bowle or Ball there is neither high nor low, nor firſt nor laſt, becauſe that in toſſing and turning the ſame, the order of theſe things are changed: ſo as that they which went behinde are now before, and thoſe things that fell, mount vp againe; and all things in fine returne vnto one point, in what ſort ſoeuer they bee remoued; euen ſo muſt thou thinke that it falleth out in man: when thou haſt changed him into diuers faſhions, he is but one and the ſame man. He hath beaten himſelfe: he hath no man to ſue for doing him iniurie. He hath bound and ſhut himſelfe vp in priſon: he cannot complaine of the iniuſtice and force he hath done vnto himſelfe. He hath gratified himſelfe, and hath forthwith reſtored, euen when it was done, and a doing. Nature, the Mother of all things, is ſaid to looſe nothing; for whatſoeuer is taken from her, returneth to her againe: neither can any thing periſh, becauſe it can finde no place where to iſſue out of it ſelfe, but returneth thither from whence it departed. But what reſemblance (ſaith hee) hath this example

to

to our matter in queſtion ? I will tell thee : Put caſe thou bee vngratefull to thy ſelfe, the benefit will not bee loſt, becauſe hee that gaue it retaineth it ſtill : Put caſe thou wilt not receiue it, it is in thy poſſeſſion, before it is repaid thee. Thou canſt looſe nothing, for that which is taken from thee, is notwithſtanding gotten for thee. The wheele is turned within thy ſelfe ; receiuing thou giueſt, and giuing thou receiueſt.

CHAP. IX.

A Man (ſaith he) muſt doe good vnto himſelfe, and conſequently he muſt be thankefull to himſelfe. Firſt, that is falſe whereon the ſequell dependeth. For no man giueth himſelfe a benefit, but obeyeth his owne nature, by whom hee is compoſed and framed to loue himſelfe, whence there groweth in him an eſpeciall care to auoide thoſe things that are harmeful, and to deſire thoſe things that are profitable. For which cauſe, neither is he liberall, that giueth to himſelfe, nor pittifull, that pardoneth himſelfe, nor mercifull, that is touched with his owne miſeries. That which (were it imployed on other men) might iuſtly be called liberalitie, clemencie, and mercie : in regard of our ſelues, is but nature. A benefit is a voluntarie thing, but to profit a mans ſelfe, is a neceſſarie matter. The more benefits a man hath giuen, the more bountifull is he. Who euer was applauded for ſuccouring himſelfe ? for deliuering himſelfe out of the danger of thieues ? no man giueth himſelfe a benefit, no more then hee entertaineth himſelfe in his owne houſe, no man giueth to himſelfe, no more then he lendeth to himſelfe. If any man giueth himſelfe a benefit, hee alwaies giueth, hee giueth without intermiſſion, hee can neuer keepe iuſt reckoning of the number of his benefits. How can hee then returne a recompence, when as in that very thing wherein he ſatisfieth, he giueth a benefit ? for how can he diſcerne whither he giue or reſtore vnto himſelfe a benefit ? whereas the matter concerneth but one only man ? I haue deliuered my ſelfe out of danger : haue I giuen my ſelfe a benefit ? Once more I preſerue my ſelfe in perill, do I my ſelfe a good turne, or doe I reſtore it ? Moreouer, although I ſhould grant that firſt, that we giue a benefit to our ſelues, yet will I not grant the conſequent. For although wee giue, wee owe not. Why ? becauſe we preſently receiue : Firſt, muſt we receiue a benefite, and then owe it, and then requite it. But here is no time of owing, in ſo much as we receiue againe without any delay. No man giueth but to an other man, no man oweth but to an other man, no man reſtoreth but to another man. All that which in this ſort requireth two perſons, cannot be done in one.

CHAP. X.

A Benefit is that whereby ſomething is profitably giuen, but this word, to haue giuen, appertayneth to others. Shall he not be ſuppoſed to be a mad man, that ſaith, hee hath ſold any thing to himſelfe ? becauſe a ſale is an alienation of a mans ſubſtance and right, and a tranſlation thereof vnto an other. But euen as in ſelling, ſo in buying any thing we ought to make a reall ſurrender of the thing, and to leaue that which a man hath, to ſuffer an other to enioy the ſame. Well, if benefiting bee of the

ſame nature, then can no man benefit himſelfe, becauſe no man can giue ought to himſelfe. For then ſhould two contraries concurre in one, ſo as giuing and taking ſhould be all one thing. But there is great difference betwixt giuing and taking. And good cauſe why, conſidering that both theſe wordes are placed as contraries, the one againſt the other, but if a man may giue himſelfe a benefit, there is no difference betwixt giuing & receiuing. I ſaid a little before, that there were ſome wordes that appertayned to others, and are ſo formed that their whole ſignification departed from our ſelues. I am a brother, but an other mans brother: For no man can bee his owne brother. I am equall and like; but to ſome man: for who is equall with himſelfe? That which is compared, is not to be vnderſtood without an other; that which is vnited, cannot be without an other: If both, that which is giuen, is not without an other, ſo likewiſe a benefit is not without a receiuer. And this appeareth in the word it ſelfe, wherein this is contayned to haue benefited. But no man benefiteth himſelfe, no more then hee fauoureth himſelfe, or taketh part with himſelfe: I might proſecute this thing longer, and with larger examples, and why not? when as a benefit is numbred amongſt thoſe things, which require a ſecond perſon. Some things which are honeſt, praiſe-worthy, and of great vertue, haue no place, but with another. Faithfulneſſe and integritie, is commended and praiſed by euery man, and are eſteemed amongſt the greateſt bleſſings which appertaine to mankinde, and yet haue you euer heard, that any man hath beene faithfull to himſelfe?

CHAP. XI.

I Come now to the laſt part. He that requiteth a good turne, muſt imploy ſomewhat of his owne, as he doth who repayeth the monie he oweth: but he layeth out nothing who ſatisfieth himſelfe, no more then he giueth, who giueth to himſelfe. A benefit and a remuneration muſt paſſe from one vnto an other: for in one perſon there is no viciſſitude or change: He therefore that requiteth a good turne pleaſureth him againe, from whom hee hath receiued any thing. Hee that is gratefull to himſelfe, whom profiteth he? himſelfe. But what man is hee that thinketh not that acknowledgement of a fauour is in one place, and the benefit in an other? He that requiteth himſelfe; profiteth himſelfe; but what vngratefull man was there euer that would not doe this? nay rather who was not vngratefull that he might doe this? if we (ſaith he) ought to thanke our ſelues for that we haue done wel, we ought likwiſe to yeeld ſome recõpence to our ſelues. But we ſay, *I thanke my ſelfe, becauſe I married not that wife, and for that I contracted not ſocietie with that man.* When we ſay thus, wee praiſe our ſelues, and to approue our fact, we abuſe the wordes of thoſe that giue thanks. A benefit is ſuch a thing which may not be reſtored, euen then when it is giuen, he that giueth himſelfe a benefit, cannot chooſe but receiue that which he gaue, *Ergo*, it is no benefit. A good turne is entertained at one time, and recompenced at an other; And in a benefit the thing that is moſt probable, and of greateſt repute, is, that hee forgetteth his owne profit to doe an other man good, and taketh from himſelfe, to giue vnto a ſecond; this doeth hee not that giueth himſelfe a benefit. To giue a benefit is a ſociable thing. It ioyneth that mans fauour, and

and obligeth this mans friendship: To giue to a mans selfe is no sociable thing, it ioyneth no man, it obligeth no man, it encourageth no man to say, This man deserueth to be honored, he did such a man a good turne, and will doe mee the like. A benefit is that which a man giueth, not for his owne sake, but for his to whom he giueth it: he that giueth himselfe a benefit, giueth it for his owne sake. *Ergo*, it is no benefit.

CHAP. XII.

SVppose'st thou that I lie and grow deficient in that which I promised in the * beginning? sayest thou that in stead of performing some laudible thing, I runne at random, and thinking to do well, haue lost my labour? Expect a little I pray thee, and thou shalt say this more truely, (as soone as I haue led thee into these labo-rinthes, from whence, when thou hast escaped, thou shalt attaine no more, then to flie those difficulties into which it was in thine owne choice not to descend: what profit receiuest thou to vnloose those knots which thou hast expressely knit with much trauaile, to the end thou mightest, when thou hast tied them, busie thy selfe to loosen them? But euen as some of them are so fastened (for delight and meriment sake) that it is a hard matter for an vnskilfull man to loosen them, whereas hee who hath tied them, may easily slacke them, because he knoweth the stops and entanglings thereof, and yet notwithstanding those haue some pleasure in them, for they trie the sharpnes of mens wits, and awaken them to more diligence: so these things which in appearance are subtill and deceitfull exile securitie, dulnesse and sloth from mens mindes, to which sometimes easie passages are to be laid open, in which they may wander, sometimes somewhat difficult and dangerous is to be set in their way, through which they may hardly creepe without trauell, or in which they may not walke without difficultie. It is said that no man is vngratefull, and this is thus concluded. A benefit is that which profiteth, but no man can profit an euill man (as you Stoicks say) therefore an euill man receiueth no benefit, and consequently also he cannot be vngratefull. Furthermore, a benefit is an honest and probable thing: with a wicked man there is no place, either for that which is honest or profitable, therefore not for a benefit, which if he cannot receiue, he ought not to restore, and therefore is he not vngratefull. Againe, as you say, A good man doth all things iustly; if he doth all things iustly, he cannot be vngratefull. A good man restoreth a benefit, an euill man cannot accept it. Which if it be so, neither any good or euill man is vngratefull: and consequently, this name of vngratefull is but a friuolous and imaginary name in this world. There is but only one good with vs, and that is honestie. This cannot an euill man apprehend, for he ceaseth to be euill, if vertue enter into him, but as long as he is euill, no man can giue him a benefit, because good and euill things are at oddes, and cannot be reconciled: therefore no man profiteth him, for whatsoeuer befalleth him, he corrupteth it with euill vse. For euen as the stomacke being troubled and corrupted by long sickneſſe, and oppressed by choller, changeth whatsoeuer meates it receiueth, and conuerteth all the nutriment it receiueth into the cause of his griefe: euen so a blinded minde, whatsoeuer thou committest to him, it maketh the same his burthen, his bane, and the occasion of his miserie. They then which haue most riches, and possesse most goods, are subiect to most stormes

* *He said in the beginning of the first chapter of this first Booke, that although he had not to entreate of things necessarie yet the labour should not be lost.*

and tempests, and the lesse finde they themselues, the more they fall into a greater occasion of impietie and disturbance: nothing therefore may befall the euill that may profit them, nay rather, nothing that doth not hurt them. For whatsoeuer befalleth them, they conuert into their owne nature, and those things which in outward appearance are pleasing and profitable, if they were giuen to a better man, are pestiferous and harmefull to them. Therefore also can they not giue a benefit, because no man can giue that which hee hath not, and for that they want a will to doe good.

CHAP. XIII.

BVt although all this were true, yet may an euill man receiue such things as haue a similitude and resemblance of benefits, which being vnrecompenced, hee shall bee iustly termed vngratefull. There are goods of the minde, goods of the body, and goods of fortune. Those goods of the minde are such, as foolish and bad men are vncapable of them. To these is he admitted, who can both receiue the same, and is tied to restore them; and if he restoreth them not, he is vngratefull. And this is not our constitution only, it is of the Stoicks doctrine. The Peripatetiques also (who prefix such large and ample bounds to humane felicitie) say, that the smaller sort of benefits befall the euill men, that whosoeuer restoreth not, hee is vngratefull. Wee therefore esteeme them no benefits, which cannot better and enoble the mind, yet deny we not, but that they are commodities, and such as are to bee desired, these may an euill man giue, and receiue from a good man; as money, garments, honour, life, which if he requite not, he falleth into the name of an vngratefull man. But how call you him vngratefull, for not restoring that, which thou denyest to bee a benefit? There are some things, which although they are not truly such, yet for the similitude and likenesse they haue with them, are comprehended vnder the same word. So call we a box, both of that which is of gold, as that which is of siluer: so terme wee him vnlearned that is not wholly rude, but as yet vntrained and taught in higher discipline: so hee that seeth a man ill clothed, and in ragged garments, saith that he hath seene a naked man. These are no benefits, yet haue they a resemblance of benefits. As these are but benefits in appearance, so seemeth he to be vngratefull, yet is not he vngratefull. This is false, because that hee that giueth, and hee that receiueth calleth them benefits. So also he that hath deceiued vnder pretence and colour of a true benefit, is as vngratefull as he is held to be a poysoner, that giueth a stupifying medicine, when he beleeued it was poison.

And yet is called a Box, *from the* Box-tree, *of which boxes first were made, it answeres to the Greeke word* πυξὶς.

CHAP. XIIII.

CLEANTHES vrgeth this more vehemently; Although (saith he) it be not a benefit which he receiueth, yet is he vngratefull, because he would not haue restored it, although hee had receiued it. So is he a theefe (yea euen then before he hath polluted his hands) because hee is alreadie armed to kill, and hath a will to spoile and murther: wickednesse beginneth not, but is exercised and opened in the action. That which he receiued was no benefit, but was so called. Sacrile-

gious

gious persons are punished, although they lay not their hands on the Gods: How (saith he) may a man be vngratefull towards a wicked man, when as a benefit cannot be giuen to a wicked man? Verily in that respect, because he receiueth of him some of those things, which amongst vulgar and ignorant persons are called goods, whereof, if euill men haue abundance, he also in the like matter ought to be gratefull, and restore those things, whatsoeuer they be, for good, whereas hee receiued them for good: hee is said to owe another mans money, both hee that oweth gold, and he that oweth lether coyned with the publike stampe, such as was currant amongst the *Lacedemonians*, that standeth in stead of readie money: in that kinde thou art obliged, in the same to yeeld satisfaction.

CHAP. XV.

WHat benefits are, and whether the greatnesse and dignitie of a name so honorable should bee imployed in this abiect, and humble matter, it appertayneth not to you, a true benefit belongeth vnto others. Compose you your mindes to the resemblance of a true benefit, and whilest you say that thing is honest, whatsoeuer it be, if it be reputed and esteemed for honest, esteeme and praise that: Euen as (saith hee) no man in your iudgement is vngratefull, so againe by your reckoning all men are vngratefull. For as you say, all fooles are euill men, but he that hath one vice is possessed of all, and all men are fooles and euill, therefore all men are vngratefull. What then? doth not the reproch generally light vpon all mankinde? Is it not a publike complaint that benefits are lost, and that there are few which requite not euill, for such as haue deserued well? neither hast thou cause to conceiue that this is our particular misconceit, or deceit, and that wee alone repute all things euill, and depraued that fall not out euen and iust, with the rule of right. Behold I know not what veine it is, or whence it is sent, which crieth not out of the Philosophers house, but from the midst of the multitude, condemning People and Nations.

Nor from the Hoste the gueſt can be ſecured,
Nor from his Sonn in-law the Father freed,
Nor Brother from his Brother be aſſured:
Both Man and wife haue eithers death decreed.

But this now is more, benefits are turned into banes, and their blood is not spared, for whose defence we ought to spend our owne. Wee follow and gratifie benefits with Sword and Poison. At this time it is reputed dignitie and greatnesse, to violate and spoile a mans Countrey, and to oppresse her with her owne authoritie. *He that hath not troden the Common-wealth vnder his feete, ſuppoſeth himſelfe the baſeſt and ignobleſt in the ſame.* These Armies that were leuied by her, are armed against her, and her imperious voice is applauded and listned to, that saith. Fight against your wiues, draw your Swords against your children, destroy your Temples, raize downe your houses, and cast your houshold gods on the ground. You that should not enter *Rome* (no not to triumph) without permission and commaund of the Senate, and to whom bringing home their victorious Armies, audience was giuen in the Senate without the Citie walles, enter the Citie now with displayed ensignes, murthering the Citizens, and bathed

thed in the blood of your neereſt kinsfolkes. Let libertie bee ſilent amidſt theſe warlike enſignes. And let that conquering Nation, and that people which hath eſtabliſhed peace thorow their whole Empire; and driuen warres out of their Prouinces, and allayed all terrour and feare, now beſieged and terrified within their owne walles, be affraide of their owne Standards and Eagles.

CHAP. XVI.

VNgratefull was [a] *Coriolanus*, to late pious and penitent after his wickedneſſe commited: he laide aſide his Armes, yet ſo laide he them aſide, that it was in the height and midſt of ciuill parricide. Vngratefull was [b] *Catiline*. It is a ſmall matter with him to ſurpriſe his Countrie, except he vtterly ruinate it: except he leade the regiments of the *Sauoyes* and *Dalphinois* to ſpoyle the ſame; and theſe enemies whom he had leuied on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, had ſatisfied and glutted their old and mortall hatreds: except the Romaine Captaines had paied their long-due anniuerſaries of infernall ſacrifice to the Sepulchres of the *Gaules*. Ingratefull was [c] *Caius Marius*, who was raiſed from a common Souldier to a Conſular: who except hee had equalled the Romane Funerals with the Cimbrian ſlaughters, except hee had not onely giuen a ſigne of ciuill ſlaughter and murther, but himſelfe had beene the murtherer, he would haue ſuppoſed that his fortune had beene changed very little, and that he had not growen greater: but was buried in his former obſcuritie. Ingratefull was *Lucius Sylla*, who healed his Countrie with harder remedies then the dangers were; who when hee had marched from the tower of *Præneſte* to the gate *Collina*, through the blood of ſlaughtered ſouldiers, waged new battels in the Citie, executed new ſlaughters, and ſlew two legions (O crueltie) after victorie, and (that which was moſt impious) when he had driuen and gathered them into a ſtrait, hee murthered them notwithſtanding, after he had faithfully promiſed them their pardon, and inuented a proſcription (O ſoueraigne Gods) that hee who had ſlaine a Roman Citizen, ſhould not only be diſcharged and exempted from puniſhments, but receiue reward, and which is more receiue the reward done to him that preſerued a Citizen. Ingratefull is [d] *Cneus Pompey*, who for his three Conſulſhips, for his three triumphes, for ſo many honors; which for the moſt part were thruſt vpon him, during his immature and yong yeares, returned the Common-weale this requitall, that hee ſeazed others of the poſſeſſion of the ſame, ſuppoſing thereby to diſcharge himſelfe of that enuie, that might be conceited againſt his greatneſſe and authoritie, if that which were lawfull for no man might bee admitted in many, whileſt hee longed after extraordinary chaunges and commaundes, whileſt hee diſtributeth Prouinces, to make choice of that which beſt liked him, whileſt in ſuch ſort hee diuided the Common-weale into the hands of the Tribunes, that two parts thereof remained alwayes in his owne houſe, hee reduced the Romane people to that extreame, that they could not be diſcharged or ſecured, but by their ſeruitude and loſſe of libertie: Ingratefull was he, who was both *Pompeyes* enemie and conquerer, who drew the warre from the vttermoſt bounds of *Germany* and *France*, before the wals of *Rome*. He it was (that pretending popularitie, and ſo great loue and

a *This was a valiant Captain amongſt the Romanes, who being baniſhed vpon certaine occaſions out of the Citie (as* Titus Liuius *reporteth in his ſecond Booke,* Ab vrbe Condita.) *Was ſo skilfull to enter and inſinuate himſelfe amongſt the* Volſcans, *that leuying an Armie of them, he began to inuade his Countrie, vntill being mooued by his Mothers Prayers and teares, he ceaſed from the battell.*

b *This was another rebellious Citizen of Rome, who leuying an Armie both of his naturall Countrey-men and ſtrangers, intended to deſtroy the ſame, had he not beene preuented by* Ciceros *wiſedome, as* Saluſt *witneſſeth in the warres of* Catiline.

c *This was another Romane Citizen, who being obſcurely borne, and of a ruſtique conuerſation, became Conſull in Rome ſeuen times, and ouer-came a nation called the* Cymbrians, *and afterward being incenſed againſt his Citizens, for baniſhing him for a certaine ſpace into* Affricke, *hee committed huge murthers in the Citie.*

d *He was exerciſed in the affaires of the Common-wealth, when he was but twentie three yeares old.*

tender

tender care of the Comminaltie) that pitched his tents in the [e] *Flaminian round*, neerer then the place where [f] *Porſenna* encamped. True it is that hee tempered the power which the law of armes and victorie allotted him, and performed that which he was wont to ſay, and neuer ſlew any, except ſuch a one as was armed and addreſſed to fight againſt him. But what importeth all this? The reſt exerciſed armes more cruelly then he did, yet were they ſatisfied at length, and laid them downe, but this man ſheathed his ſword quickly, but neuer laid it aſide. Ingratefull was *Anthony* towards his [g] *Dictator*, whom he pronounced to be iuſtly ſlaine, and aſſigned to his murtherers great Prouinces and gouernments: and hauing torne and tired his country with proſcriptions, incurſions, and ciuill warres after ſo many euils, he decreed that, that generous Common-weale, which in times paſt had giuen liberties, exemptions, and particular priuiledges to the people of *Achaia*, and the *Rhodians*, and many other famous Cities, ſhould her ſelfe become tributarie, not to Romane Kings, but to infamous Eunuches and Geldings.

e *The Romans had in their Citie three round Courts, or Circles, whither they reſorted to ſee their ſports and plaies, whereof this was one which was therfore called the Flaminian circle or round, becauſe a Conſul called* Flaminius *builded the ſame.*

f *This was a King of the Etruſcians, who waged warre againſt the Romans to inſtall* Tarquine *the proud, and planted his colours as* Iulius Cæſar *did, neere to the Flaminian round or Theatre.* g *Dictator was the higheſt dignitie and Magiſtracie that was in the Romane Common-weale. See* Aldus *in his booke* De legibus Romanis.

CHAP. XVII.

THe day would faile mee, if I ſhould reckon vp all thoſe that were vngratefull, euen with the vtter deſtruction of their Countries. And no leſſe endleſſe labour would it be, if I ſhould beginne to relate how vngratefull our Common-weale hath beene towards the beſt, and moſt tenderly affected Citizens ſhee had, and how as often ſhee hath ſinned in ingratitude her ſelfe, as others haue ſinned againſt her. Shee ſent [a] *Camillus* into exile, diſmiſſed *Scipio*, baniſhed *Cicero* after *Catilines* conſpiracie, ſhee raced his houſe, ſpoiled his goods, and exerciſed againſt him all thoſe cruelties which *Cateline* himſelfe could haue done, had hee beene Conquerer. *Rutillius*, in reward of his innocencie, was baniſhed into *Aſia*, to liue there in obſcuritie. The Roman people denied *Cato* the Prætorſhip, and would neuer grant him the dignitie of a Conſull. In briefe, wee are all of vs generally vngratefull. Let euery one examine himſelfe; there is not any man that will not complaine of ſome ones ingratitude. And it cannot be that all men ſhould complaine, except there were ſome cauſe alſo to complaine of all men. All men therefore are vngratefull. Is this all? and are they thus only. All are couetous, the world likewiſe is ſubiect to auarice, all are malicious, all fearefull, and they eſpecially who ſeeme to be moſt confident. Furthermore, all men are ambitious, and all men are wicked: But thou muſt not bee diſpleaſed and agrieued hereat, all of them are mad. I will not recall thee to vncertainties, as to ſay vnto thee, ſee how vngratefull youth is. Who is he (be he neuer ſo innocent) that wiſheth not that his Father had breathed his laſt? who is he (how modeſt ſoeuer he be) that gapes not after his death? who is he (how religious and pittifull ſoeuer hee be reputed) that thinketh not of his Fathers death? what huſband ſo feareth the death of a good wife, as he counteth not the gaine he ſhal receiue if ſhe die? what man is he, I pray you, who being intangled in the law, and deliuered by an other mans diligence, that bethinketh him of ſo great a benefit any longer, then vntill

a *All theſe were valiant Citizens of Rome, who employed themſelues in many notable ſeruices, and receiued diſgraces for their good deſerts. This Iſland is not exempt from ſuch like preſidents.*

vntill a ſecond action? This is confeſſed, and certaine without all exception: Is there any man that dieth without complayning? who at his laſt gaſpe dare ſay thus:

Virgil. Æneid. 4

My daies are done, now haue I brought to end
The courſe of life, that Fortune did me lend.

Who dieth not vnwillingly? who departeth not mournefully? But this is the part of an vngratefull man, not to content himſelfe with the time that was lent him. The time will alwaies ſeeme ſhort vnto thee, if thou reckon the ſame. Thinke that the chiefeſt good is not in time, and how little ſoeuer it be, take it in good part. It addeth nothing to thy felicitie, if the day of thy death be prolonged, becauſe by delay life is not made more bleſſed, but more long. How much better is it to giue thankes vnto the goddes for thoſe honeſt pleaſures, which wee haue receiued, and not to buſie our ſelues in numbring other mens yeares, but to eſteeme our owne thankefully, and to put them in the accompt of our gaines: hath God thought me worthy of this? this ſufficeth mee: might hee haue giuen mee more? but this alſo is a benefit. Let vs bee thankefull to the gods, let vs be thankefull to men, let vs be thankefull vnto thoſe that haue done vs any curteſie, and thankefull to thoſe likewiſe who haue done any kindneſſe to any of ours.

CHAP. XVIII.

THou obligeſt mee infinitely (ſaieſt thou) when thou ſaieſt Ours, prefixe therefore ſome end. He that beſtoweth a benefit on the Sonne, as thou ſaieſt, beſtoweth it likewiſe on the Father. Firſt, I aske where, and whither, and afterwards I deſire thee likewiſe to informe me, whether a pleaſure done vnto the Father, be likewiſe done vnto the Brother, to the Father, the Vnckle, the Grand-father, the Wife, the Sonne in law? Tell me where I ſhould end, how long wilt thou that I follow the order and petigree of ſo many perſons? if I haue tilled thy land for thee, haue I not done thee a pleaſure? if I haue quenched the fire that would haue burned thy houſe, or if I haue repaired it, for feare it ſhould fall vpon thee, ſhall I not giue thee a benefit? if I ſaue thy ſlaues life, ſhall I impute it vnto thee? If I preſerue thy Sonne, haſt thou not receiued a benefit at my hands?

CHAP. XIX.

THou ſetteſt downe vnlike and different examples, becauſe that he who tilleth my Land, giueth not the benefit to my Land, but to me: and hee that vnder-proppeth my houſe, leaſt it ſhould fall, doth the pleaſure to me: for the houſe it ſelfe is without ſenſe. I muſt needs be in his debt, becauſe none elſe is. And he that manureth my land, doth it not to deſerue wel of the ſoile, but of my ſelfe. The ſame will I ſay of my ſeruant, for he iuſtly appertayneth to me, It is for my profit he is preſerued, and therefore I am indebted for him. My Sonne is capable himſelfe of a benefit, and therefore hee receiued it; I am glad of the fauour done him, it concerneth mee ſomewhat, yet am I not obliged. Yet would

would I haue thee answere mee, who thinkest thou art not indebted, whether thy sonnes good health, felicitie and patrimonie appertaineth to the Father? Hee shall bee more happy if his sonne bee whole and safe, and vnhappie if he lose him. What then? he that is made happier by me, and deliuered from the perrill of a mightie infelicitie and misfortune: hath he not receiued a benefit? no (saith he) for certaine things are bestowed vpon others, which extend also vnto vs; but euery thing ought to be required at his hands, on whom that is bestowed: as money is required at his hands who borrowed the same, although the same came in some sort into my hands. There is no benefit, the profit thereof toucheth and extendeth not to our neighbours, and sometimes also to those that are farthest off from vs. The question is not whether the benefite be transferred from him to whom it is giuen, but where it is first placed, thou must alwaies redemaund it from the principall debter, and he that ought it first. What then I pray thee? saiest thou not thou hast giuen me my sonne, and if hee had perished I should not haue liued? gauest thou not a benefite for his life, whose safetie thou preferrest before thine owne? At such time as I saued thy sonne, thou diddest not fall downe at my feete; thou diddest not pay thy vowes vnto the gods, as if thou thy selfe hadst beene preserued? diddest thou not cry out after this manner, the same hast thou done in succouring my sonne, as ni sauing mine owne person· make accompt that thou hast saued two, and me especially: Why saiest thou this, if thou receiuest no benefite? because although my sonne hath borrowed money, which I will repay vnto his creditor, yet shall not I bee indebted: and if my sonne hath beene taken in adulterie, I may happily be ashamed, yet shall not I therefore be the adulterer: I say that I am bound vnto thee for my sonne, not because I am, but because I will offer my selfe vnto thee a voluntarie debter. But a great pleasure hath befallen me by his safetie; inestimable is the profit I conceiue thereby, and which is more, I haue escaped the grieuous wound and corrasiue of being child-lesse. The question is not now, whether thou hast profited me; but whether thou hast giuen mee a benefit; for a liuing creature, an herb, a stone profit me, yet giue they me no benefite, which is neuer giuen but by such a one as is willing. But thou wilt not giue vnto the Father, but to the sonne; and in the meane while thou knowest not the Father; when therefore thou saiest, Haue I not therefore giuen a benefit to the Father, because I haue saued his son? Argue thou this contrariwise: How could I therefore giue a benefite to the Father, whom I neither knew, or euer thought vpon? and why falleth it not out sometimes, that thou shalt hate the Father mortally, and yet be desirous to saue his sonnes life? Wouldest thou say that thou gauest a benefite to the Father, whose mortall enemie thou wert at that time? But laying aside these questions which I intreate of by way of Dialogue, I will now answere like a Lawier: And say, that the minde of the giuer is to be respected. He gaue him the benefite to whom he intended it; euen as if he did it in honor of the Father: the Father receiued the benefite, not the sonne; so is not the Father bound for a benefite bestowed vpon his sonne, although he enuie it. Yet if occasion be offered, the Father shall not do amisse, to be willing to giue some-what, not that he is constrained by necessitie to pay any thing; but that he might haue found a sufficient cause to begin to do a pleasure. A benefite therefore ought not to be redemanded at the Fathers hands, for a curtesie done vnto the sonne: and if he voluntarily shew himselfe gratefull for the same, he ought rather to be esteemed iust than thankfull. For otherwise there would neuer be an end; if I giue a benefite to the Father, the mother, the graund-father, the

Marke a glimps of charity euen in a Pagan.

Resolution of the doubts.

the vncle, to the children, kinsfolke, friends, ſeruants, and countrie: where then beginneth a benefite to reſt? For me thinks I am fallen into an argument which the Grecians call *Sorites*, which hath neuer an end, becauſe it drudgeth on, and ſtealing forward by little and little, ceaſeth not continually to paſſe on further. Men are wont to debate vpon this matter: Two brothers are at deadly feude the one againſt the other, if I preſerue the one, haue I profited the other, who wil be ſorrie that his brother hath eſcaped with life? There is no doubt but that it is a benefit, although it be againſt his will that receiueth the ſame: Euen as contrary wiſe, he hath not giuen a benefit, that profited againſt his will.

CHAP. XX.

CAlleſt thou that (ſaith he) a benefit wherewith he is offended and vexed? many benefits haue a harſh and diſtaſtfull appearance; as when we cut and cauterize to heale, and impriſon to amend. We ought not to reſpect whether a man be ſorrie for a benefit receiued, but whether hee ought to reioyce. The coine is not bad, which a barbarous and ignorant perſon accepteth not for currant and rightly ſtamped money. He hateth the benefit and yet he receiueth the ſame, if it bee profitable vnto him, and hee that hath giuen the ſame, hath done it to the end that it ſhould bee profitable: it makes no matter though a man receiue a good turne with an euill will: So to let vs turne this the contrary way: A man hateth his brother, whoſe life importeth and profiteth him much, him haue I ſlaine. This action of mine is no benefit vnto him, although he ſay it is and reioyce thereat. Moſt traiterouſly doth he hurt, who receiueth thankes for doing harme. I do than ſee ſomething is profitable and is therefore a benefit, hurtfull and therefore is no benefit. Behold I will giue that which is neither profitable nor hurtfull, and yet it is a benefit. I haue trauerſed a deſolate place, and found ſome mans father ſtarke dead, and haue buried his body, neither haue I profited him that was ſlain (for what concerned it him after what manner he were conſumed?) neither was it profitable for his ſonne, for what could he gaine hereby? I will tell you what hee hath gained, hee hath diſcharged by my meanes a neceſſarie and ſolemne office. I haue done that to his father: which he himſelfe would haue done, nay more, which in dutie he ought to do. Now if I did it not for common pietie and humanities ſake only, as I might haue buried any other dead mans body, but knew the carcaſſe and thought vpon the ſonne at the ſame time, and did it for his ſake, then is it a benefit. But if I burie a dead man that is vnknowne to me, no man is indebted to me for this office, becauſe it was but a point of publique humanitie. Some one will ſay vnto me: Why art thou ſo buſie to enquire who it is to whom thou haſt done a pleaſure, as if thou wouldeſt heereafter redemaund the ſame? There are ſome that iudge that it ſhould neuer be claimed againe, and alledge theſe cauſes. The vnworthie receiuer will not requite the ſame to bee redemaunded, the thankfull and worthie receiuer will of himſelfe yeeld recompence. Beſides if thou haſt giuen to a good man, be not to earneſt in clayming it, leaſt in demaunding the ſame thou do him wrong; as if he would not haue ſatisfied thee of his owne free will. If thou haſt giuen it to an euill man, haue patience. Corrupt not thy benefit with redemaunding

the

the ſame, and of a curteſie make it no debt. Beſides, that which the law biddeth not to be redemanded, it forbiddeth. Theſe things are true, as long as nothing vrgeth me, as long as fortune inforceth me nothing, I will rather craue then aske againe. But if it be to ſaue my childrens liues: if my wife bee in danger of hers, if the libertie and good of my Countrie conſtraineth me to go thither whither I would not, I will command my baſhfulneſſe, I will proteſt that I haue endured all things before I would bee inforced to demand ſuccours at an vngratefull mans hand. In briefe, the neceſſitie of receiuing a good turne, ſhall ouer-come the ſhame of claiming it, when therefore I employ a benefit vpon a good man, I ſo giue it as if I would neuer redemand the ſame, except neceſſitie inforce me: but the law (ſaith he) not permitting to demand, forbiddeth to claime.

CHAP. XXI.

THere are many things which neyther haue lawe nor action, to which the cuſtom of humane life, more powerfull then any law, giueth entrance. No law commandeth vs to diſcouer our friends ſecrets, neyther doth any lawe in like manner tye vs to keepe promiſe and our word with our enemy. What law tyeth vs to performe that which we haue promiſed to any man? yet will I iuſtly complaine of him that hath diſcouered my ſecret, and be diſpleaſed with him that hath giuen me his word, and hath not kept it. But thou (ſaith he) makeſt a debt of a benefite. Nothing leſſe: for I doe not exact it, but redemand it; neyther do I redemand it, but admoniſh: neyther ſhall my extreameſt neceſſitie enforce me to this, to come vnto him with whom I ſhall be forced to vſe long conteſtation. Who ſo is ſo farre plunged in ingratitude, that he will not be content to be aduertiſed and admoniſhed, I will let him paſſe; neyther will I thinke him worthy to be inforced to be thankfull. Euen as the vſurer raketh not vpon thoſe debitors, whom he knoweth to haue played the banckerouts, or to be ſo poore that nothing is left them to loſe that may make them aſhamed: ſo will I ouerpaſſe ſome that are publiquely and obſtinately thankeleſſe; neyther will I redemand a benefite at any mans hands, but from him onely from whom I ſhall not take away by force, but freely receiue it.

CHAP. XXII.

MAnie there are that neyther know how to denie the good they haue receiued, nor to reſtore it when it is needfull: who are not ſo good as the gratefull, nor ſo euill as the vngratefull: ſlacke and idle debitors, yet not euill. Theſe will I not challenge, but admoniſh: & ſince they forget their ducty, I wil make them remember themſelues, ſo as they will preſently anſwer me in this ſort: *Pardonne, I pray you, in good faith I knew not that you had need hereof: for had I thought ſo much, I had offered it you of my ſelfe: I beſeech you account me not vngratefull, I remember well what kindneſſe*

There is as great weakeneſſe in many men in not being able to limit the opportunity of their ſatisfaction.

neſſe you haue done vnto me. Why ſhould I feare to make theſe men better to themſelues, and to me alſo? I will binde whomſoeuer I can from ſinning, much more my friend from offending, and eſpecially againſt my ſelfe. I giue him another benefite, if I ſuffer him not to be vngratefull, neither will I rudely vpbraid him with the good turns he hath had of me: but as mildly as I can wil I only refreſh the memory of them, to the end he may haue occaſion to reſtore me ſome ſuch pleaſure: I will pray him to do me a good turne, to the end he may vnderſtand that I doe it to redemand mine owne. Now and then will I vſe ſharp and bitter words, if I conceiue any hope that he may be amended: for a deſperate perſon, who hath loſt all ſhame I will not exaſperate him, leſt of an vngratefull man I make him mine enemie. For if we remit and forbeare to admoniſh ſharply, and call on thoſe that are vngratefull, we ſhall make them more ſlow to requite our courteſies. But ſome that may be amended, and who may be made good, if any thing touch their conſcience: ſhal we ſuffer them to be loſt for want of admonition, wherewith the father hath ſometimes corrected his ſonne, and the wife recalled and reclaimed her ſtraying husband, and a friend refreſhed the languiſhing faith of his friend?

CHAP. XXIII.

SOme there are that ſo ſleepe, that they are not to bee awaked by ſtriking, but by jogging. In like manner there are ſome that want not the will to yeeld ſatisfaction, but they are too ſlack and ſlow in the performance thereof, let vs awaken it. Be not thou the cauſe that thy benefit bee conuerted into an iniurie. Thou ſhouldeſt iniurie me, if thou wouldeſt not redemand the pleaſure, which thou haſt done me, for this cauſe, that I might become vngratefull. What if I know not what thou wanteſt? what if diſtracted by occupations, and imployed otherwaies, I haue not obſerued the occaſion? ſhew me what I may, and what thou wouldeſt. Why diſpaireſt thou, before thou trieſt mee? why art thou ſo haſtie to looſe both thy benefit and thy friend? whence knoweſt thou that I will not, or I know not, or whither my minde or meanes be deficient; make triall of me. I will aduiſe and admoniſh him then, not bitterly, not openly, but ſo modeſtly, that he may thinke that of himſelfe he hath called the matter to memorie, and was not put in minde by me.

CHAP. XXIIII.

A Certaine old Souldier, who had vſed ſome violence towards his Neighbours, was drawne in queſtion before *Iulius Cæſar*, and ſeeing himſelfe ouer-charged, and like to looſe the proceſſe. Cæsar (ſaith he) *remember you not how you once ſprent your ancle in Spaine neare to Sucre*; a Riuer of *Valentia*? when *Cæſar* had anſwered him that he remembred it well, the Souldier continuing his purpoſe, ſaid thus: *Doe*

you

you remember likewiſe, that being couched vnder a Tree, that gaue but little ſhadow, and deſirous to reſt your ſelfe, to flie the heate of the ſcortching Sunne, in a barren and rockie ſoile, in which there was not but that only Tree, that grew from amongſt the craggy cliffes, there was one of your Souldiers that ſpred his cloake vnder you. When *Cæſar* had anſwered, yea marrie, why ſhould I not remember it: for when I was nigh dead for thirſt, becauſe I was not able to goe to the next ſpring, by reaſon of my foot, I would haue crept thither vpon all foure, but that a Souldier of mine, a man both ſtout and valiant, brought mee water in his Helmet. *Emperor* (ſaid this Souldier) *doe you now know that man, and that helmet, if you ſee them.* CAESAR anſwered, that hee knew not the Morion, but that hee knew the Souldier very well, and further ſaid, (diſpleaſed, as I ſuppoſe, for that he interrupted the pleading of the cauſe, to liſten to that old ſtorie which hee had told him.) I am ſure thou art not he. CAESAR (ſaid the Souldier) *I blame thee not, in that thou haſt forgotten me, for when this was done, I was whole and ſound, afterwards I loſt an eye at the battell of Munda, certaine ſplinters of my ſkull were taken out of my head, neither would you know the Helmet if you ſhould ſee it, for it was cleft in peeces by the ſtroke of a Spaniſh Curtelax.* Hereupon *Cæſar* commanded that he ſhould not be troubled any further, and gaue vnto his Souldier thoſe ſmall parcells of Land, through which the way lay, that made this ſtrife betwixt him & his neighbors.

Or Munderara, a people of Andaluzia.

CHAP. XXV.

WHat then? ſhould he not re-challenge the benefit at the Emperors hands, whoſe memorie was confuſed through the multitude of his affaires? whoſe great fortune in diſpoſing of his armie, ſuffered him not to remember and reward euery priuate Souldier? This is not to redemand a benefit, but to reſume it againe, being readie at hand, and laied vp in a good place, and yet if a man will haue it, he muſt ſtretch out his hand. I will therefore redemand the ſame, if I be conſtrained to doe it, either by neceſſitie, or for his ſake, of whom I muſt require it. A certaine familier of *Tiberius Cæſar*, pretēding ſome ſute vnto him in the beginning of his Empire, beganne his ſpeech thus: *Sir remember you not?* to which he anſwered before hee vttered any further tokens of their former and ancient friendſhip, *I remember not what I was.* From ſuch as this Prince was, not only ſhould a good man forbeare to aske recompence of former curteſies, but alſo hee ought to deſire and procure that he might forget them vtterly. He diſdained the memorie and knowledge of all thoſe perſons, who he reputed either for his friends, or equalls, before his Empire, his only deſire was that they ſhould reſpect that preſent fortune and authoritie, wherein he was placed, that only would he haue to be thought vpon, that only to be ſpoken of, he reputed his ancient friend for a buſie Inquiſitor. It is better to redemand a pleaſure thou haſt done in times paſt in time and place, then to require and craue anew. Moderation of words is to bee vſed, that the vngratefull man, whatſoeuer cannot pretend to haue forgotten them. If we liued amongſt men of ſcience and conſcience, we might hold our peace and exſpect, and yet it were better to giue them notice of our affaires, and the eſtate of our neceſſities. We pray vnto the gods, who know all things, our praiers obtayne not that which wee demand, they only aduertiſe them of that which we would intreat at their hands. That Prieſt which ſpeaketh in *Ho-*

mer, repreſenteth vnto the gods the honour which was done vnto them: and thoſe Altars which were deuoutly addreſſed, and dreſſed for them, to the end they might bee fauourable to his petitions, and attentiue to his praiers. It is a ſecond vertue, both to be willing, to be admoniſhed, and to be able to entertaine good aduertizements. The mind is to be reigned ſoftly this way and that way, few there are that are perfectly gouerned by the ſame, but they that by honeſt aduertiſements returne into the right way, hold the ſecond place; and from theſe we ought not to take the guide that conducteth them. The eyes that are ſhut haue a ſight, but without vſe, which then grow in vſe, when the day-light which the goddes ſend vs) calleth them forth and awakneth them to performe their offices. Inſtruments and tooles lie by and ſerue no vſes, except the workeman moue them, and employ them in his labour: meane while there is a good will in his ſoule, but either idleneſſe or delight benummeth it, or the ignorance of his art makes him erre. Wee ought therefore to amend our will, and not to ſuffer it through deſpite to languiſh long time in error: but following the cuſtome of Schoole-maſters, who inſtruct yong children, we ought patiently to endure, and diſcreetly to pardon them, if they haue forgotten any thing through defect of memorie. And euen as in telling them a word or two, they faſhion them to conſtrue their whole leſſon: ſo by ſome little admonition we ought to reclaime ſuch as are forgetfull, and faſhion them to acknowledge a Benefit.

The will is to be awakened, leaſt it languiſh in error.

The end of the fift Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SIXT BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

AGaine continueth he his queſtions after the maner of CHRYSIPPVS. *Firſt he enquireth whether a benefit may be taken away? he differently diſputeth thereupon, yet concludeth that the vſe thereof may be taken away, but not the benefit it ſelfe. His ſecond queſtion is, whether we be indebted to him, who either profited vs willingly or ignorantly? he denieth. His third is, whether we be obliged to him that profited vs for his owne ſake? if only for himſelfe, he denieth it; but if for mine alſo, he admitteth it. He mixeth ſubtilties with examples. The fourth is, whether it be lawfull to wiſh another man an euill turne, to the end thou mayeſt reſtore him his benefit? it is not lawfull, and he condemneth it. He opereth another way of reſtitution, euen to thoſe that are happie, yea to Kings, by counſailes, admonitions, and doctrines.*

CHAP. I.

THere are ſome things (my *Liberalis*, the worthieſt of men) which are only drawne in queſtion to exerciſe the ſpirit, and haue no vſe in them. There are other things alſo, which not onely moue delight, whileſt they are diſputed vpon, but after they are debated, are greatly profitable vnto vs. I will preſent thee with all ſorts of them. Thou mayeſt as it pleaſeth thee aduiſe me, either whether I ſhall finiſh thoſe that are begunne, or that I preſent them only on the Theater, for ſhow and oſtentation ſake: and although thou commandeſt them to be incontinently relieued, yet will there ſome profit ariſe thereby: for although there are ſome things which are vnneceſſarie to be ſpoken of, yet it auaileth vs ſomewhat to know them. I will therefore be at thy diſpoſition and becke, and ſhape my proceedings according to thy pleaſure: ſome will I debate vpon more amply, other ſome will I caſt out headlong from off this Theater.

CHAP. II.

THe queſtion is whether a benefit may be taken away. Some denie that it may, for a benefit is nothing but an action, euen as the gift is one thing, and the giuing another, and he that ſaileth one thing, and the Nauigation it ſelfe another thing. And although the ſicke man be not without ſickneſſe, yet is not he that is ſicke and the ſickneſſe it ſelfe all one: ſo the benefit it ſelfe is one thing, but that which commeth to each one of vs by the benefit, is another thing. A benefit is a thing incorporeall, which cannot be fruſtrated, the matter thereof is toſſed hither and thither, and changeth his maſter. When therefore thou takeſt the ſame away, Nature it ſelf cannot vndoe thoſe things ſhe hath done. She ſtoppeth the courſe of her benefits, but cutteth them not off. He that dieth, yet hath liued, & he that hath loſt his ſight, hath formerly ſeene. It may be brought to paſſe, that thoſe things that are come to vs may not be, but that they may not haue bin, it is impoſſible; but the part of the benefit, and the moſt certaine is that which was. Somtimes we hinder the vſe and long poſſeſſion of a benefit; the benefit it ſelfe cannot be razed out. Though nature ſummon al her forces to this end, yet hath ſhee no power ouer that which is paſt. Thou mayeſt take away the houſe thou gaueſt me, the money thou lendeſt me, the ſlaue I bought, and whatſoeuer elſe, wherein the name of a benefit conſiſteth, but the benefit it ſelfe is ſtable and immutable, no force can effect this, that the one hath not giuen, and the other hath not receiued.

CHAP. III.

MARCVS ANTONIVS (as the Poet * *Rabirius* ſetteth it downe) ſeeing his fortunes tranſlated to *Auguſtus*, and that no other refuge was left him, but the priuiledge of death, and that that alſo (except he tooke hold of the preſent occaſion) would quickly be taken from him, cried out in my opinion moſt heroically.

* This was a noble Poet that wrote the Ciuill wars, and commended by Ouid.

That onely now I haue,
Which I to others gaue.

O how much might he haue had if he would? Theſe are the moſt aſſured riches which will continue at one ſtay, in whatſoeuer inconſtancie and leuitie of humane fortune, which the greater they be, the leſſe enuie will they haue. Why art thou ſo ſparing of that thou haſt, as if it were thine owne? thou art but Fortunes factor. All theſe things which thus puffe vs vp, that emflame vs with pride, that ſeeme to make vs more then men, cauſe vs to forget frailtie. Theſe therefore which you keepe within iron walles, with armed hands, theſe goods which you haue purchaſed with other mens bloods, and defended with your owne, for which you rigge forth whole nauies to ſtaine the ſeas with blood, for which you beleager Cities, and yet ignorant, what ſtore of weapons Fortune hath prepared againſt thoſe, who are oppoſed againſt her. Theſe for which two ambitious pretenders of Empire (the lawes of affinitie, friendſhip and confederacie being broken) haue ſo oftentimes cauſed the world to bee ſo cruſhed and

and confounded, are not yours; they are but as things in truſt left in your hands, and ſhall ſuddenly be tranſlated to another maſter. That enemie, from whom you haue pillaged them, or ſome ſucceſſour of his enmitie and hatred ſhall come and force them from thee. Askeſt thou me how thou mayeſt make them thine owne? I anſwere thee, by well beſtowing them. Be prouident therefore in thy affaires, purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe an aſſured poſſeſſion of thoſe things which can neuer bee taken from thee: thy riches ſhall not onely bee more ſecure, but alſo more honeſt: that which thou admireſt and priſeſt ſo much, that which in thy iudgement maketh thee rich and powerfull, as long as thou detaineſt it in thy hands, retaineth no other title but the villanous name of auarice, as for example, thy houſe, thy ſlaue, thy money; but after thou haſt giuen them, they are accounted and reckoned for benefits.

All greatneſſe is tranſitorie, the perdurable good is leaſt apprehended.

CHAP. IIII.

THou confeſſeſt (ſaith he) that ſometimes we are not obliged and indebted to him, of whom we haue receiued a benefit: *Ergo*, it is taken from vs. There are many cauſes which diſcharge vs of the obligation, whereby we are tied for the good we haue receiued, not for that it is violently taken from vs, but becauſe it is corrupted by another meanes. A certaine man defendeth mee, being accuſed and guiltie of ſome capitall crime, and afterwards vſeth infamous violence to my wife, and rauiſheth her; he hath not taken away the good that hee did me, but oppoſing an equall iniurie to the ſame, he diſchargeth mee of my debt; and if he hath hurt me more then he profitted me before, the good turne is not only extinguiſhed, but I haue free libertie both to complaine, and to reuenge, where, in compariſon of the benefit, the iniurie ouer-weigheth it: ſo the benefit is not taken away, but ouerpreſſed and drowned. What? are not ſome fathers ſo hard hearted and wicked, that it is both lawfull and rightfull to loath and ſhunne them, and not to acknowledge them? haue they therefore taken from them that which they gaue them? nothing leſſe, but the impietie of ſucceeding times, hath taken away the commendation of euery former office and kindnes: the benefit is not taken away, but only the thankes, which ought to be acknowledged for the ſame, and it is brought to paſſe, not that I haue it not, but that I owe it not. If a man lend me money, and afterwards burne my houſe, his debt is ſatisfied by my damage; I haue not paid him, & yet I owe him nothing. Euen ſo ſtādeth the caſe here: though a man hath done me ſome friendly good turne, though he hath dealt with me ſomewhat liberally, yet if afterwards he many wayes vſe me proudly, contumeliouſly & cruelly, he hath left me at that ſtay that I am, as free from him, as if I had neuer receiued any thing at his hands, for the fault is his owne, and he himſelfe hath violated his owne benefits. The Land-lord cannot conſtraine his tenant to pay his rent (although the deeds remaine in force vncancelled) if he treade downe his corne, fell downe his fruit-trees, not becauſe hee hath receiued that which hee couenanted, but for that he himſelfe is the cauſe that his tenant cannot ſatisfie him. So is the creditour oftentimes endamaged towards his debter, if he take more for ſome other pretext, then that which he lent did amount vnto. The Iudge ſitteth not betweene the creditour and debter to ſay only this, Thou haſt lent him money: what then? thou haſt driuen away his cattell, murthered his ſeruant, taken poſſeſſion of

of his land, which thou neuer payedst for; when all these things shall bee well considered of and valued: depart thou a debter, who camest a creditour. There is therefore a iust rating and valuation betwixt benefits and iniuries to be made. Oftentimes the benefit remaineth, and we are not obliged to satisfie the same, if he that gaue it repented himselfe afterwards, if he say he was vnhappy in that he gaue the same, if when he gaue he sighed, or bent his browes, if he beleeue he hath lost and not giuen: if he hath done it for his owne profit, or at least not for mine? if hee hath not ceased to insult, bragge and boast euery where, and make his benefit bitter and distastfull to the receiuer. The benefit therefore remaineth, although it be not due, euen as certaine moneyes are due, but not exacted, because the creditor hath no law to recouer them.

CHAP. V.

THou gauest a benefit, and afterwards diddest an iniurie, there is both a thankes due to the benefit, and a reward for the iniurie, for I owe him no thankes, nor he me any punishment, the one satisfieth the other. When we say, I haue satisfied his benefit, we say not thus, that we haue restored that which we receiued, but this for that; for to restore, is to giue one thing for another. Why not? because euery payment restoreth not the same, but as much in value: for we are said to haue satisfied our debt, although we haue paid siluer for gold, and although we pay no money at all, but either by assignement to other, or by way of exchange we make our satisfaction. Me thinkes thou tellest me that I lose my labour: for what profiteth it me to know, whether that which is not due remaineth still in obligation? These are but impertinent subtilties of the Lawyers, who say that no man can acquire the possession or dominion of an inheritance, but onely the goods thereof, as if the heritage were ought else, then those things which are in the inheritance? I had rather thou shouldest distinguish me this (which may be pertinent to the matter) namely, when as the same man had done me a courtesie, and afterwards offered me an iniurie, whether I ought to requite his kindnesse and notwithstanding reuenge my selfe for the iniurie offered me, and make a seuerall satisfaction, as it were, for two different debts, or recompence the one with the other, and not to take any more care of it, so as the benefit be taken away by the iniurie, and the iniurie by the benefit. For I see that this is obserued in the Courts of pleas, what the resolution of your Schoole is, you your selues know. The actions are seuerall, and conformably to the course of our pleadings, so answerably are wee dealt withall. For otherwise there should be a great confusion in the Iudgement-seat and course of law: if he that should leaue in my custodie goods or money in trust, should afterwards steale from me, I should enter my sute of felonie against him, and contrariwise he pleade against me, for the money left in trust with me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THose examples (my *Liberalis*) which thou haſt propoſed, are contained vnder certaine lawes which we muſt needs follow, for one law is not confounded with another, each one keepeth his one way. As for the matter in truſt, there is a diſtinct action, ſo is there alſo for the theft. A benefit is not ſubiect to any law, only I that receiued the ſame, am the arbitrarie Iudge thereof: I haue authoritie to compare together, how much good another man hath done mee, or what damage I haue receiued by him: whether I be indebted more vnto him, or he obliged more to me. In iudging by law and ordinances I haue not any power, thither muſt we go, whither they leade vs. But in matter of benefit, all the power and priuiledge is mine owne, and therefore I iudge them, and ſeparate not the actions, I ſummon the benefits and iniuries before one Iudge: otherwiſe thou ſhouldeſt command me at one and the ſame time, to loue and hate one and the ſame perſon, to complaine of him, and to giue him thanks, which nature cannot permit: nay rather by comparing the benefit and wrong together, I ſhall ſee whether any thing be owing me of ſurpluſage. Euen as he that imprinteth other lines aloft vpon my writings, taketh not away the former letters, but only raceth and hideth them. Euen ſo an iniurie that ſucceedeth a benefit, blemiſheth it ſo, that it cannot appeare.

CHAP. VII.

THy countenance (to whoſe direction and becke I ſubmitted my ſelfe) beginneth to frowne, and thou bendeſt thy browes vpon me, as if I ſtrayed from my purpoſe, mee thinkes I heare thee ſay:

Whether ſo farre diſioyned from the port,
Doſt thou vpon thy right hand ſaile before?
Ply hitherwards, vnto this hauen reſort,
And leaue the maine, and loue and like the ſhore.

Pardon me, I can keepe no neerer. If therefore thou thinkeſt that I haue ſatisfied and ſufficiently debated on this matter: let vs paſſe onward to the other, and examine whether wee bee indebted to him that hath done vs a pleaſure againſt his wil. I might ſpeak this more plainly, but that the propoſition ought to be more confuſed, to the end that the diſtinction which followeth preſently after, ſhould ſhew that we diſpute both the one & other point: that is to ſay, whether we are bound vnto him that hath procured our good, and meant it not, and alſo whether we be beholding to him, that hath done vs good, and knew it not. For if any man by compulſion hath ſhewed vs any kindnes, it is a matter ſo manifeſt that he obligeth vs not, that there need no words to be ſpent to this purpoſe. And the ſaid queſtion may eaſily be anſwered, and whatſoeuer may bee obiected of the ſame nature, if we often conuert our thoughts to this generall principle. That there is no benefit but that which is accompanied with a good thought towards vs; and ſuch a thought and intent likewiſe, as is both friendly and bountifull. And therefore we thanke not the riuers although they beare great

great ſhips, and with a large and perpetuall chanell, fleete along to furniſh vs with commodities, and although wooing the wondring eye, and full of daintie fiſh, they ſteale along and moiſten our fatned fields: neither will any man iudge that he is indebted to *Nilus*, or diſpleaſed therewith, if it hath ouer-flowed and drowned his land, or too ſlowly growne to ebbe: neither doth the winde befriend vs, although it blow a gentle and proſperous gale, nor the victuals we eat, although they bee profitable and holſome. For hee that properly, will giue a benefit, muſt not only profit me, but haue a will to doe me good. Therefore men are not indebted to dumbe beaſts, yet how many hath the ſwiftneſſe of a horſe deliuered out of danger? nor to trees, and yet how many troubled with heat hath the ſhadow of their branchie armes deliuered and couered from the ſcortching Sunne? what concerneth it me whither he that did me good, know not that hee doeth it, or bee not able to know it, when both of them wanted will to doe it? And what difference is there, whither you command me to owe a benefit to a ſhip, or a chariot, or a ſpeare, or to ſuch a one, who, as theſe, had no purpoſe to doe good, but was profitable vnto me only caſually?

CHAP. VIII.

A Man may receiue a benefit vnwittingly, but no man doth good without knowing of the ſame: Euen as many men haue been healed of their infirmities, by ſome caſuall accident, and yet for all that they are no true remedies: As ſome men haue recouered their health by falling into a Riuer in an exceeding cold day: As a quartaine ague hath beene driuen from ſome men by whipping, and a ſodaine fright hath diſappointed the exſpected houre of an ague, by fixing the imagination on an other diſtaſtfull euill, and yet none of theſe, although they haue beene the cauſe of recouerie, can be ſaid but to bee a ſoueraigne remedie, ſo ſome men profit vs while they would not, or rather becauſe they will not doe vs good, yet are wee not indebted to them for the benefit. What if fortune hath altered their pernicious counſailes, and drawen them to a better end? Suppoſeſt thou that I am any waies bound vnto him, whoſe hands ſtriking at me, light vpon and hit mine enemie: who would haue hurt me, except hee had ſwarued? Oft-times a witneſſe whileſt hee manifeſtly forſweareth himſelfe, hath detracted from their credit who were true witneſſes, and hath made the Iudges to commiſerate the priſoner, ſuppoſing that it was but ſome ſlanderous circumuention and conſpiracie. Oft-times the very great power and authoritie of the aduerſarie, hath deliuered the delinquent out of the Iudges hands, who would not condemne him vpon the credit and fauour of the accuſer, which otherwaies they had conuicted by the iuſtice of the cauſe. Yet did not theſe giue a benefit, although they profited, for the queſtion is, whereat the dart was aimed, not where it lighted, and it is the minde, and not the euent, which diſtinguiſheth a benefit from an iniurie. Mine aduerſarie, whileſt he ſpeaketh contraries, and offendeth the iudge by his pride, and raſhly diſmiſſeth one of his beſt witneſſes, giueth great aduantage to my cauſe. I aske not whither he erred to pleaſure mee, becauſe his intention was to hurt me.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

VErily, to approue my ſelfe gratefull, it behoueth me to haue a will to doe that which he hath done: if he would that I ſhould take it for a benefit, he ought to haue a will and intent. For what is more vniuſt then that man who hateth him, that hath kicked him in a throng, or ſoiled him with dirt, or thruſt him thither, whither he would not? But what other thing is there that may exempt him from the blame whereas there is an iniurie in the action, then that hee knew not what hee did? The ſame thing that priuiledgeth the one from being iudged to haue done iniurie, exempteth the other alſo from being thought to haue done a pleaſure. It is the will that maketh vs either friends or enemies. How many hath ſickneſſe diſcharged from warfare? Some haue beene letted from being oppreſſed with the ruine of their owne houſes, by keeping their day of appearance at the ſute of their enemies. And ſome by ſhipwrack haue eſcaped the hands of Pyrates, yet are wee not obliged to theſe misfortunes for any benefit, becauſe caſuall euents haue no correſpondencie with amitie; nor to our enemie, who would trouble vs by proceſſe, and detaine vs vnder arreſt. It is no good deede that proceedeth not from a good will, except he that gaue it acknowledge it. Hath a man pleaſured me and know not of it, I owe him nothing? Did he doe me good when he would haue hurt me: I will doe the like to him.

CHAP. X.

YEt vs returne againe to the firſt point: Thou wilt that (to the intent I ſhould be thankefull) I ſhould doe ſomewhat, and yet hee that did me kindneſſe, hath done nothing. Let vs ſpeake now of the ſecond. Thou wilt haue me very forward to gratifie him willingly, although in the giuing he had no good will or intention to giue. For what ſhall I ſay of the third, whoſe iniurie is exchanged into a benefit? If thou wilt haue me to owe thee a good turne, it is not enough for thee to be only willing to doe mee good: but to make mee vnbeholding to thee, it is enough that thou meanſt it not towards me. For the bare will cannot make a benefit. But euen as that ſhould not be a benefit, if a good and free will were abandoned by fortune; ſo likewiſe is it not a benefit, if the will marcheth not before the fortune. For if thou wilt haue mee beholding to thee, thou muſt not only doe me good, but alſo thou muſt doe it with a will to profit.

CHAP. XI.

CLEANTHES vſeth this example, I ſent, ſaith he, two Boyes into the Academie to ſeeke out *Plato*, and to bring him vnto me. The one of them ſought him out in all the Galleries and Porches, where he was wont to walke, and ranne through all other places wherein he had any hope to finde him out, and at length being wearie with his way, and fruſtrate of his hope, returned home. The other ſtood gaſing at the next Iugler, or mounte-banck, or whilſt he wandreth vp and downe and

and plaieth with his fellowes and companions, ſeeth *Plato* paſſing by, and found him whom he ſought not. I, ſaith *Cleanthes*, wil commend that Boy who performed that he was commanded, to his vttermoſt and will chaſtiſe that other who was more fortunate in lazineſſe. It is the will that is the lawfull Miſtris of theſe actions, the condition whereof muſt be conſidered, if thou wilt haue me to bee thy debter. It is a ſmall matter to wiſh a man well, except thou pleaſure him; It is a ſmall matter to haue pleaſured, except thou hadſt a will to doe it. For put caſe a man had a will to giue, yet gaue not, vndoubtedly I haue his hart, but not his beneſit which conſummateth and perfecteth both the thing and the will. Euen as I owe him nothing that would haue truſted mee with his money but did not: ſo will I be a friend, but not obliged to him, that would haue done mee a curteſie but could not: and I ſhall haue a will to do him good, becauſe he had a wil to pleaſure me. Notwithſtanding if fortune be ſo fauorable vnto me, as that I may haue the meanes to giue him any thing, it ſhall not be to gratifie his curteſie but to giue him a benefit. It ſhall be his dutie to yeeld me thankes, and the beginning of the debt ſhall be deriued from me.

CHAP. XII.

I Perceiue now already what thou meaneſt to demand: thou needeſt not to tell me, thy lookes expreſſe thy thoughts. Are we indebted in any ſort to him (ſayeſt thou) who, to profit himſelfe, hath done vs a pleaſure? For of this thing oft-times I heare thee complaine, that there are ſome men, who reckon that kindneſſe to be done vnto another, which they giue to themſelues. I will ſatisfie thee herein, my *Liberalis*: but firſt of all I will diuide this little queſtion into two parts, and ſeparate that which is iuſt from that which is vniuſt. For there is a great difference whether a man giueth vs a benefit for his owne ſake, or for our behoofe, or for his owne and ours. He that ſolely reſpecteth his owne commoditie and profit, and profiteth vs notwithſtanding (becauſe otherwiſe he cannot further himſelfe) ſeemeth, in my iudgement, to be all one with him who prouides prouender and ſommer-fodder for his cattell; or him that feedes his captiues liberally, to the end they may be the better ſolde; or him that fattens and curries his Oxen, to make them more vendible; or that Maſter of skirmiſh and defence, who exerciſeth his family of Fencers with great care, & adorneth them moſt diligently, to the end they may get him maintenance. There is a great difference (as *Cleanthes* ſaith) betwixt a benefite and a negotiation or bargaining.

CHAP. XIII.

AGaine, I am not ſo neglectfull or euill, as to forget my acknowledgement towards him, who in being profitable vnto me, was as prouident and carefull to procure his owne good. For I do not exact this, that without reſpect of his own eſtate, he ſhould aduance mine: but rather I wiſh that the benefite which is giuen me, ſhould moſt of all redound to his profit that gaue me the ſame. As long as he that gaue the ſame had a reſpect vnto two in giuing it, & diuided the ſame betwixt himſelfe and me, although he for the moſt part poſſeſt the ſame, if hee admit

admit me as a co-partner with him, if hee thought on two: I am not onely vngratefull but vniuſt, except I reioyce that hee found profit by that which was profitable to me. It is an effect of exceſſiue malice, not to call that a benefite, except it be ſuch a thing as returneth the giuer thereof ſome incommoditie. I will anſwer him after another manner, who giueth the benefit for his own ſake: Why wilt thou ſay that thou haſt rather profited me, then I pleaſured thee? Put caſe (ſaith he) that I cannot otherwiſe obtaine a Magiſtracie, except I redeeme ten captiue citizens, amongſt a number of others that are in thraldome and ſeruitude: ſhalt thou owe me nothing when I haue deliuered thee from ſeruitude and bonds? yet will I doe this for mine owne ſake. To this I anſwere: Herein doeſt thou ſomewhat for thine owne ſake, and ſomewhat for mine. It is for thine owne ſake that thou redeemeſt me, and for my ſake that thou choſeſt me. For it is enough for thee in regard of thine owne profit, to haue redeemed any whatſoeuer. I therefore am indebted to thee, not becauſe thou haſt redeemed me; but becauſe thou choſeſt me: for thou mightſt haue attained as much by another mans redemption, as thou doſt by mine. Thou diuideſt with me the profit of the thing, and makeſt me partner of that benefit which ſhould profit two. Thou preferreſt me before others, thou doeſt all this for my ſake: if therefore the redemption of tenne Captiues ſhould make thee Pretor, and we were only ten Captiues, none of vs ſhould any waies be indebted vnto thee, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt haue nothing that were with-drawne from thy profit, that thou mighteſt impart to any of vs. I am no malitious interpreter of a benefit, neither deſire I that the pleaſure ſhould redound only to my ſelfe, but to thy ſelfe likewiſe.

CHAP. XIIII.

WHat therefore (ſaith he) if I had commanded all your names to be caſt into lots, and your name amongſt the number of ſuch as were to bee ranſommed, were admitted to paſſe, ſhouldeſt thou owe me nothing? vndoubtedly I ſhould be indebted vnto thee but very little. And what this is I will let thee know, thou doeſt ſome-what for my ſake, becauſe thou admitteſt me to the fortune of redemption: becauſe my name was regiſtred amongſt the reſt. I owe this to fortune that my name was drawne amongſt the reſt, to thee that it might be drawne. Thou gaueſt me an entrance to a benefit, the greater part whereof I owe vnto fortune; but the abilitie I had to be indebted to fortune, that owe I to thee. As for thoſe who ſet ſaile on thoſe curteſies they do to others, I wil wholly ouer-paſſe them: becauſe they reſpect not to whom they giue, but for what aduantage they gaue, and ſuch a benefit as this retourneth euery way to his hands that gaue the ſame. A certaine man hath ſold me corne. I cannot liue except I buy the ſame, yet am I not obliged to him for my life becauſe I bought the ſame: neither eſtimate I how neceſſarie it was without which I could not liue, but how freely it was beſtowed, which I ſhould not haue had except I had bought it. In the conueyance whereof vnto me, the merchant thought not how much ſuccours he ſhould bring me, but how much profit he ſhould breede vnto himſelfe. That which I bought I owe not.

CHAP. XV.

IN this manner (ſaith he) thou wilt ſay that thou art no wayes indebted to the Phyſitian, except it be for ſome ſmall fee, nor to thy maſter, becauſe thou haſt paid him ſome money: but amongſt vs we yeeld them much reuerence, and offered them more loue. To this I anſwere, that there are ſome things more precious then we prize them. Thou buyeſt at the Phyſitians hands an ineſtimable treaſure, to wit, thy life and health: from thy maſter and inſtructer in good Arts, liberall ſtudies, and the certanie ornaments and riches of thy minde. To theſe therfore we pay not the price of that they giue vs, but the reward of their labours, becauſe they ſerue vs, and abandon their owne particular affaires to intend ours. They receiue the reward, not of their merit, but of their trauaile. Another anſwere may be giuen to this, more anſwerable vnto truth, whereof hereafter I will intreate, when I haue firſt of all made it apparant how this may be diſproued. Certaine things (ſaith hee) are more worth then they were ſold for, and therefore although they are bargained for and bought, thou oweſt mee ſomewhat ouer and beſides for them. Firſt of all, what skilleth it how much they are worth, when as both the buyer and ſeller are agreed vpon the price? Againe, he ſold it not at his own price and valuation, but at thine: it is more worth (ſaith he) then it was ſold for; but it could not be ſold for more. And the time is it that giueth the price vnto all things, when thou haſt praiſed them to the vttermoſt, they are worth but as much as may be gotten for them; beſides, he oweth nothing to the ſeller, that hath bought it cheape: moreouer, although theſe things are more worth, yet is it no thankes to thee, conſidering that the eſtimation of theſe things dependeth not vpon the vſe and effect of them, but vpon the cuſtome and ſcarcitie of them. What pay doſt thou allot him that croſſeth the ſeas, and hauing loſt the ſight of land, cutteth thorow the middeſt of the waues an aſſured and direct courſe, and foreſeeing future tempeſts, euen then when there is greateſt appearance of ſecuritie, commandeth ſuddenly to ſtrike the ſailes, to ſtoope the top-ſailes, and to be addreſſed to endure the ſudden aſſault of a ſtorme? yet pay we the reward of ſo great a merit, no otherwiſe then with an ordinarie fare. How much valueſt thou a lodging in a deſert, a ſheade in a ſhower, a ſtoue or fire in cold weather? yet know I how much I ſhall pay for this, when I come to mine Inne. How greatly befriendeth he vs, that keepeth our houſe from falling, that vnderproppeth it with great cunning, and vpholdeth it in the aire, being cleft and winde-ſhaken from the very foundation: yet neither the ſupporting nor vnderſetting coſt me very much. The wall of a Citie keepeth vs in ſafetie from our enemies, and the ſudden incurſion of theeues. Yet is it well knowne what wages the Maſon deſerued by day, that builded thoſe faire Towers and ſtrong Bulwarkes, that were raiſed for the publike ſecuritie of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XVI.

IT were an endleſſe matter for me, if I ſhould gather together thoſe plentie of examples, whereby it might appeare that there are great and precious things, which coſt vs very little. What then? why is it that I owe ſome great matter to my Phyſitian and Maſter, and faile in the ſatisfaction of that which they haue worthily deſerued? Becauſe, of a Phyſitian and Schoole-maſter they become our friends, and oblige vs not by the Art they ſell vs, but by their gracious and familiar good will. To the Phyſitian therefore (who doth no more then touch my purſe, and numbreth me amongſt one of thoſe his patients, whom he ordinarily walketh to, and viſiteth, preſcribing me without any particular affection, what I ought to do, and what I ought to eſchew:) I owe no more, and am no whit indebted: becauſe he viſiteth mee not as a friend, but for that I had enioyned him to come vnto me: neither haue I cauſe to reuerēce my Maſter, if he hath made no more accoūt of me, then of one of his ordinarie ſchollers, if he thought me not worthie of priuate & peculiar care; if he haue neuer ſetled his thoughts vpon me, and when generally he imparted his knowledge to the reſt of his ſchollers, I rather gathered from him, then learned of him. What is the cauſe then, why I ſhould owe ſo much vnto theſe? Not becauſe that which they ſold is more worth then we bought, but becauſe in particular they haue giuen vs ſomething ouer-plus. This Phyſitian beſtowed more labour on me then he was bound to doe, he had more care of me then of his reputation and credit, he not onely contented not himſelfe to preſcribe me remedies, but alſo vouchſafed to apply and miniſter them. In the meane while hee ſate carefully by mee, and ſuccoured mee, and preuented the ſuſpected time, and rigor of my acceſſe, no office diſtaſted him; no paine diſliked him, if he had ſeene me bemoane my ſelfe, he was ſorrowfull. Amongſt all thoſe that called him, he had a particular care of me, he implied no other time in viſiting the reſt of his ſicke patients, then ſuch wherein my infirmitie remitted and gaue him oportunitie. To this man I am not tied, as to a Phyſitian, but as to a friend. Againe, that other Schoole-maſter tooke great care and paines in teaching and inſtructing me; and beſides thoſe leſſons and common lectures which he communicated to all particularly, he reformed me in ſome points of importance, he quickened my ſpirits by good exhortation, and ſometimes by praiſes he animated mee in my ſtudies, and ſometimes by admonitions diſcuſſed my ſloth. Furthermore (if I may ſo ſpeake it) he by the hand of his induſtrie drew out and whetted my hidden and heauie wit, too much drowned in the priſon of my bodie, neither lingeringly and ſubtilly diſpenſed hee his knowledge, to the end I might haue longer vſe and need of him, but deſired, if he might, to communicate vnto me at one inſtant, all that which he knew. Vngratefull am I, except I loue him as one of my moſt gratefull and trueſt friends.

CHAP. XVII.

WE allow alwaies somewhat (ouer and aboue the ordinarie rate we buy at) to merchants and sailers (euen in the most mechanique and baseſt trades and offices) if we perceiue some extraordinarie diligence in the seruice we employ them in, and to the master of a ship and workman of a base price, how base soeuer they be, although they be but day-hirelings, we allow some ouerplus aboue his pay. Vnthankfull then is he, that in the best Arts, which either preserue or adorne mans life: that supposeth himselfe to be no more indebted, then for that he couenanted. Adde hereunto that the tradition of such studies vniteth and allieth minds together, when this is done, both the Physitian and the Schoole-master haue receiued the reward of their labour, but their affections and good minds rest yet vnsatisfied.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHen *Plato* had crossed a certaine riuer in a ferry-boate, and the ferry-man had exacted nothing for his passage, supposing that it had beene done for his honors sake, he said vnto the ferry-man, that *Plato* ought him a good turne; but anone after perceiuing, that with no lesse diligence he freely transported many others: Friend, said he, thou hast now discharged mee of that obligation, whereby I held my selfe tied and bound vnto thee. For to the end to make me thy debter, for any thing thou giuest me, thou art bound not only to giue it me, but to giue it me solely, as to my selfe: For that which thou giuest vnto a multitude, thou hast no reason to redemand at a priuate mans hand. How then? Is there nothing due for this? nothing, as for one in particular, I will pay with all that I owe thee withall.

CHAP. XIX.

THou denyest then (saith he) that he giueth me a benefit, that freely and without recompence transported mee ouer the riuer of *Poe*. True it is he doth me some good, but hee giueth me no benefit, for he doth it for his owne sake, or at least-wise not for mine. In summe, neither doth he himselfe iudge that he giueth mee a benefit, but he doth it either for the Common-weales sake, or for his neighbours sake, or for his owne ambition sake; and for this expecteth he some certaine other commoditie, then that which hee is to receiue from euery priuate person. What then (saith he) if a Prince should giue immunities to all French-men, and discharge all Spaniards of paying tribute, should not euery one of them in this case be particularly bound vnto him? Why should they not be obliged? vndoubtedly they cannot be otherwise, yet not for a particular, but for a part of a publike benefit. But (sayest thou) he neuer thought on me. At that time when he did so much good vnto all men; he had no particular intent to giue mee the Citie, neither addressed he his purposes to my profit: wherefore then should I be obliged to him in any thing, who no wayes thought on mee at such time as he

As Claudius did at that time, Seneca wrote this.

he was to act that which he intended. First when as he bethought himselfe to do good vnto all the Gaules, he thought also of me, because I was a Gaule, and comprehended me, although not by my proper name, yet vnder the publique name of the nation. Againe, I shall not be tyed vnto him, as if the good were properly and particularly mine, but as one that partaked his fauour amongst the comminaltie. I will not satisfie as in mine owne behalfe; but I will contribute as for the common good of my countrey.

CHAP. XX.

IF a man lend a summe of money to my countrey, I will not say that I am indebted to him, neyther will I acknowledge it as my debt, although I sued for a publique office, neyther also if I were sued as a debtor; yet will I contribute my part in payment of this debt. In like sort, I denie that I am debtor for the fauour that is done vnto all my nation, because he gaue it me, yet not for me; & in such manner gaue it me, that in giuing the same he knew not whether he gaue it me, yea or no: yet know I that I must pay some portion thereof, because the good by one meanes or other appertaineth to me, and tyeth me to requite it. It must be done for me that shall oblige me. In the same sort (saith he) neyther owest thou any thing to the Moone or Sunne; for they are not moued for thy sake: but whereas they are moued to this end, that they may preserue all things, they moue for me also, for I am a part of the Vniuerse. Moreouer, our condition and theirs are different: for he that profiteth me, to the intent that by my meanes he may further himselfe, gaue me no benefit, because hee made me the instrument of his profit. But the Sunne and Moone, although they do vs good, yet to this end profit they vs not, that by our means they should profit themselues: for what can we be-friend or further them in?

CHAP. XXI.

I Shall know (saith hee) that the Sunne and Moone haue a will to profite vs, if they had the power not to bee willing: but they cannot surcease to stay their motion, neyther can they abridge or intermit their accustomed trauell. See by how manie wayes this may be refelled. A man is not therefore the lesse willing, because he cannot be vnwilling, nay, rather it is a great argument of a firm will, not to be able at any time to change. A good man cannot choose but doe that which he doth: for he shall not be a good man except he do it. Therefore a good man bestoweth no benefit, because he doth that which he ought to do, but he cannot do otherwise then that which he ought. Besides, there is much difference whether thou sayest, He cannot chuse but do this, because he is compelled: or, He cannot be vnwilling to do it. For if he must needes doe it, I am not tyed vnto him for his benefit, but to him that compelled him. But if the necessity of his willingnesse proceed of this, because hee hath nothing better that he can will, then is it he himselfe that compelleth himselfe. And so, looke for what thing I should not haue beene beholding to him, as compelled by others for the same; shall I be beholding to him, as to the compeller of himselfe. This will

will make them ceaſe (ſaith he). I pray you think a little on this matter: What man is he, ſo voyde of vnderſtanding, that will denie that it is no willingneſſe in him that acteth any thing, which is not accompanied with danger of impediment in performance, or altering it ſelfe to the contrary, ſeeing that on the other ſide no man may of right ſeeme ſo willing, as he whoſe will is ſo aſſuredly certaine, that it remaineth eternall and immutable? If he be willing, that may anon after be vnwilling: ſhall not he be thought to be willing, who is of that nature that he cannot be vnwilling?

CHAP. XXII.

BVt (ſaith he) let them ſtand ſtill, and leaue to moue if they can. It is as much as if thou ſaidſt, that theſe ſtars which are ſeparated by ſo great diſtances the one from the other, that are ranged in ſo goodly an order; to conſerue and intertaine the whole world in his intire, ſhould abandon their places, that the Planets being troubled with a ſudden confuſion, ſhould interchecke and come one againſt an other, and hauing broken the repoſe and concord of all things: that the heauen it ſelfe ſhould fall into an irreparable ruine, that the courſe of ſo violent a ſwiftneſſe, which had promiſed to be neuer interrupted, ſhould ſtay in the midſt of his way: that the heauen and ſtarres, that moued themſelues of late, the one after the other, in ſo iuſt a meaſure, that equally and by agreeable ſeaſons tempered the whole world; ſhould be burned and conſumed in a ſudden flame: that ſo great a variety of all things ſhould be diſſolued & aboliſhed, that they ſhould returne into one, that the fire ſhould ſeaze all, that afterwards a darkſome and heauie night ſhould obſcure this world, and that finally a bottomleſſe gulfe ſhould deuoure and ſwallow this great number of the goddes. Wee muſt not admit an euill ſo pernicious; it muſt not coſt ſo deere to proue thee a liar. The ſtarres haue power to giue thee all this in deſpite of thy ſelfe: they finiſh their courſes and ordinary reuolutions for thy great profite, although there be another more great and originall cauſe that moueth them.

CHAP. XXIII.

FVrthermore adde thou this, that there is not any forraine cauſe that may conſtraine the goddes: their eternall and inuiolable will is that which ſerueth them for a lawe: they haue eſtabliſhed that which they intend not to alter. They therefore cannot ſeeme to doe any thing againſt their will: for whatſoeuer cannot end or ceaſe to be, they would haue to continue ſtill; neyther doe the goddes repent them euer of their firſt counſels. Vndoubtedly they cannot ſtand ſtill, or runne a contrary courſe, yet not for all this doe they keepe their wonted courſe out of weakenes, becauſe their owne force keepeth them in the ſame purpoſe ſtill; yet obſerue they not the ſame of weakenes, but becauſe it becommeth them not to alter or erre from the beſt courſe, and becauſe they haue determined ſo to goe and ſhape their courſes. Moſt certaine it is, that amongſt their firſt ordinances they eſtabliſhed, in diſpoſing all things, they likewiſe had a care of vs, and conceiued ſome ſpeciall regard of man. They therfore cannot ſeeme to ſhape their

courſes

courſes for their owne cauſe onely, and to accompliſh their owne workes for their owne ſelues, becauſe men alſo are a part of their worke. We are then obliged to the Sun and Moone, and the other powers of heauen for the good they doe vs. For although they haue more greate ends for which they riſe and ſet then onely for vs, yet ayming at greater, they helpe vs alſo purpoſely. And for this cauſe we are obliged vnto them, becauſe we did not light vpon their benefits without their knowledge, to whom they gaue them, but they knew certainly that we ſhould receiue them. And although their intentions be more eminent, and the fruit of their trauell more great and pertinent, then to nouriſh and conſerue mortall things: yet ſo it is, that in the firſt beginning of the world, they haue imployed their thoughts on our profite, they haue prefixed ſuch ordinances and lawes vnto the heauens, that it euidently appeareth what care they had of vs, and that it was neyther their leaſt nor laſt. We owe our parents honour and reuerence, yet many of them matched and married without deſire to beget children. The gods cannot ſeeme to bee ignorant of that they ought to do, wheras they haue ſuddenly prouided vs of nouriſhment, and all other things that are neceſſary for vs; neyther careleſly created they them, for whom they created ſo many things. For Nature minded vs before ſhee made vs: neyther are we a worke of little importance, that ſhe could make vs by chance, as doing ſomething elſe. See how great a power ſhe hath giuen into our handes: Conſider how the condition of command, which ſhe hath giuen to man, is not onely ouer men. See what libertie our bodies haue, to wander and trauerſe ouer many places. See how ſhe limiteth them not within any certaine bound of land, but ſendeth them into all places, yea, into euery corner of the world. Conſider the confidence of humane vnderſtanding: ſee how they onely eyther know or ſeek the gods, and rayſing their mindes aloft, they conuerſe with, and contemplate thoſe diuine influences continually. Beleeue then that man is not a raſh or vnthought-vpon worke. Nature amongſt her greateſt works hath nothing wherof ſhe may more vaunt, or to whom ſhe may vaunt of her workmanſhip, or that ſhe would repleniſh with more greate glorie. How great a madneſſe is this to call the goddes in queſtion about their owne bleſſings? How can hee bee thankefull to them, whoſe courteſies hee cannot requite without charge: who denieth that he hath receiued them from the goddes, which will both giue alwayes and receiue neuer? What refractary and peruerſe minde hath he, that will not be gratefull or beholding to any, becauſe his liberality extendeth to ſuch a one, as denieth the good that is giuen him, and to terme the continuation an immutable order of their benefits, an argument of one that giueth of neceſſitie? and to ſay, *I care not for his curteſies, let him keepe them to himſelfe, who requireth them at his hands?* And an infinite ſort of other ſuch like purpoſes, proceeding from an impudent minde, which thou mayeſt packe and number with theſe: yet ſhall not he deſerue the leſſe at thy handes, whoſe beautie redounds vnto thee, euen whilſt thou denieſt it, and of whoſe benefits euen this is one of the greateſt, that he is readie to relieue thee, euen then when thou complaineſt moſt againſt him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SEest thou not how parents in their childrens moſt tender infancie, conſtraine them to ſuffer thoſe things patiently, which are moſt healthfull for them? With diligent care they nouriſh their tender bodies, and ſtill them when they crie, and ſwathe them when they ſtruggle; and leſt continuall ſlackneſſe might make them grow awrie, they binde them ſtraight to make them growe right: when their infancie is paſt, they preſent them liberall ſciences, threatning them with the rodde if they be negligent: and finally, when they growe to more maturitie, they teach them to be ſober, and counſell them to doe nothing that ſhould breed their ſhame: they faſhion them in good manners, and if their youth as yet be not lyable to obedience, forcibly they conſtraine that by awe which counſell could not effect: at laſt, hauing attained to full growth and maturity, and to haue a feeling of their owne gouernement, if eyther by intemperance or feare, they reiect the counſels and remedies, which are giuen them for their profite, they vſe greater violence and ſeruitude. So that the greateſt benefits which we receiue of our parents, is at ſuch time as we know them not, or when we refuſe them wholly.

CHAP. XXV.

TO this ſort of vngratefull men, and ſuch as refuſe benefits, not becauſe they deſire them not, but for that they would not remaine indebted, they are like, who contrariwiſe will be ouer-gratefull: who wiſh that ſome aduerſitie and miſhap may befall thoſe to whom they are obliged, to the end they may haue an argument and occaſion, to let them know how needfull they are of the benefit, and what deſire they haue to make reſtitution. The queſtion is, whether ſuch ſort of men doe well to deſire and wiſh the ſame, and whether their deſire be honeſt? Theſe kind of thankefull men, in my iudgement, reſemble them very much, who, inflamed with laſciuious loue, doe with their louer baniſhment, to the end they might accompanie her in her diſtreſſe and departure: or with to ſee her in neceſſitie, to the end they might relieue her miſerie: or to ſee her ſicke, to the end they might ſit by her, and tend her: and finally, which vnder profeſſion of loue, do wiſh whatſoeuer her enemie would haue wiſhed vnto her. Aſſuredly the iſſue of this fooliſh loue and capitall hate are wel-neare all one. Into this very inconuenience do they fall, who wiſh that their friends were in miſerie, to the end they might afterwards relieue them, and make way to benefiting, by doing them wrong, whereas it were much better vtterly to deſiſt, then to ſeeke occaſion to doe a curteſie by meanes of wickedneſſe. What if a Maſter of a Ship ſhould pray the goddes to ſend them cruell ſtormes and tempeſts, that by the danger his Arte might be held more gratious? What if an Emperour ſhould beſeech the goddes, that a great multitude of enemies might beſiege his camp, and with ſudden aſſault fill full the Trenches, and raze downe the Rampiers, and (to the great amaze of his armie) aduance their colours euen in the verie entrance of his Fortifications, to the end he might receiue more honour and glorie, in ſuccouring his armie in this great danger, and at that verie inſtant, when

Non ſunt faciendi mali, vt inde cuentant boni.

when his whole campe imagined the field to be loſt, and the armie diſcomforted: all theſe conuey their benefits by a deteſtable way, who call the Gods to plague him, whom they themſelues would profit, and to hate them, whom they themſelues would relieue. Inhumane and peruerſe is the nature of this gratefull minde, which wiſheth euill vnto him, whom hee cannot honeſtly forſake.

CHAP. XXVI.

MY wiſh (ſaith he) hindereth him no wayes, becauſe I wiſh the perill and remedie both at once. This is as much as if thou ſaidſt that thou haſt committed ſome ſmall fault, but that thou ſinneſt leſſer, then if thou ſhouldeſt wiſh him danger without remedie. It is meere wickedneſſe to plunge a man into a riuer, to the end to draw him out, to ruinate that thou mayeſt reedifie, to impriſon, that thou mayeſt deliuer. The end of an iniurie is no benefit, neither is it a part of kindneſſe to withdraw that from one, which he himſelfe had laid vpon him. I had rather thou ſhouldeſt not wound me, then that thou ſhouldeſt not heale me. Thou mayeſt deſerue my thankes, if thou healeſt me, becauſe I am wounded, but not if thou wound me to the end I may bee healed: the ſcarre neuer pleaſed, but in compariſon of the wound, for the healing whereof we ſo reioyce, that we had rather not to haue beene wounded: if thou ſhouldeſt wiſh this vnto him, that had neuer done the good turne, the vow were vnhumane, but how much more inhumane were it to wiſh it him, to whom thou art indebted for a courteſie.

CHAP. XXVII.

I Wiſh that (ſaith he) at one and the ſame time I may yeeld him ſome ſuccour. Firſt, that I may preuent thee in the middeſt of thy wiſh; thou art alreadie vngratefull. I heare not as yet, what thou intendeſt to doe for him, yet know I well, what thou wouldeſt he ſhould endure: Thou wiſheſt that care, feare, or ſome greater miſchiefe ſhould befall him, thou deſireſt that he may want helpe, and this is againſt him. Thou deſireſt that he may need thy helpe; this is for thee, thou wilt not ſuccour him, but pay him ſatisfaction. He that haſteth the matter thus, would himſelfe be paied, not pay. So that the only thing that might ſeeme honeſt in thy vow, is vnhoneſt and vngratefull, to wit, not to be willing to owe any thing. For thou deſireſt not, that thou mayeſt haue abilitie to requite a courteſie, but that he may haue need to implore thy helpe. Thou makeſt thy ſelfe his ſuperiour, and (which is a hainous wickedneſſe in thee) thou caſteſt him downe at thy feete, that hath deſerued well at thy hands. How much better is it to owe with an honeſt good will, then to pay by an euill meanes? If thou ſhouldeſt denie that thou haſt receiued, thou ſhouldeſt ſinne leſſe, for he ſhould loſe nothing more then he had giuen. But now thy intent is, to bring him vnder thy ſubiection, euen with the loſſe of his owne fortunes, and to be drawne to that diſaſter by the change of his eſtate, that he muſt lie lower then his owne benefit. Wilt thou that I report thee for a gratefull man? Wiſh it in his preſence, to whom thou

thou wilt yeeld profit. Termeſt thou this a wiſh, which is as well diuided betweene a friend, as an enemie? which vndoubtedly an aduerſarie or enemie would haue made, if the latter points only were excepted? Mortall enemies alſo haue wiſhed, that they might ſurpriſe certaine Cities, to the end they might preſerue them, and to ouercome ſome enemie of theirs, to the end they might pardon them: neither therefore are their vowes other then hoſtile, in which, that which is moſt courteous and calme, ſucceedeth crueltie. To conclude, what kind of vowes iudgeſt thou them to bee, which no man would wiſh leſſe proſperous vnto thee, then hee for whom thou voweſt them? Thou dealeſt moſt iniuriouſly with him, to whom thou wiſheſt, that the Gods ſhould hurt, to the end he may be helped by thee; and impiouſly alſo with the Gods themſelues, for thou putteſt ouer the cruelty to thē, & reſerueſt the humanity to thy ſelfe. Shall the Gods be iniurious, to the end thou mayeſt be courteous? If thou ſhouldeſt ſuborne an accuſer, whom afterwards thou wouldeſt remoue, if thou ſhouldeſt entangle him, in ſome ſute of law, to the end thou mighteſt deliuer and diſcharge him thereof, there is no man that would grow doubtfull of thy impietie: what difference is there, whether this thing be attempted by fraud or by vow? ſauing that thou ſeekeſt more powerfull aduerſaries for him. Thou canſt not ſay, what wrong haue I done vnto him? Thy vow is either fruitleſſe or iniurious, nay rather it is wrongfull, although it be not ſucceſſefull. Whatſoeuer thou effecteſt not, it is Gods mercy, but whatſoeuer thou wiſheſt is meere iniurie. The matter is plaine enough. Wee ought no otherwiſe to be diſpleaſed with thee, then if thou haddeſt effected it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

IF vowes (ſaith he) had beene any wayes auaileable, they had preuailed in this, that thou ſhouldeſt be in ſafetie. Firſt of all, thou wiſheſt me an aſſured perill, vnder an vncertaine helpe. Againe, ſuppoſe both are certaine, yet that which hurteth is formoſt. Furthermore, thou knoweſt the condition of thy vow: A tempeſt hath ſurpriſed me, vncertaine of either hauen or helpe. How great a torment ſuppoſeſt thou that it was for me to haue wanted them, although at length I recouered them? to haue feared, although I bee preſerued; come to triall, and drawne in queſtion, although I were acquitted. There is no end of feare ſo pleaſing, that a ſolide and vnſhaken ſecuritie is not more acceptable: wiſh that thou mayeſt reſtore me a benefit when I haue need; not that I may haue need. If that thou wiſheſt, were in thy power, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt haue done it.

CHAP. XXIX.

HOw farre more honeſt is this vow? I deſire he ſhould continue in that eſtate wherein he might alwayes diſtribute benefits, and neuer need them. Let the meanes and matter which he ſo bountifully vſeth in giuing and aſſiſting, ſo follow and ſecond him, that he neuer want occaſion of giuing benefits; or repent him of that he hath giuen. Let the multitude of grateſull men ſtirre vp and prouoke his nature (of it ſelfe prone enough to humanitie) to mercie and clemencie. Whom

let

let him neuer want to befriend, nor haue need to trie. Let him be mercileſſe to none, and haue no need of being reconciled to any man. Let Fortune perſeuer to be ſo equally fauourable vnto him, that no man may be gratefull vnto him, but in minde and acknowledgement. How far more iuſt are theſe vowes, which deferre thee not in expectation of any occaſion, but make thee preſently gratefull? For what letteth vs to be thankfull to thoſe that are in proſperitie? How many meanes are there, whereby we may yeeld ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom we are obliged, although they be happie? Faithfull counſell, diligent conuerſation, familiar ſpeech and pleaſing, without flatterie, eares diligent, if he would deliberate, ſecret, if he would truſt, familiaritie in conuerſation. Proſperitie neuer raiſed a man ſo high, that by ſo much the rather he had not want of a friend, by how much he had affluence in all things.

CHAP. XXX.

THis hatefull and damnable occaſion is euery way to be deteſted and driuen farre from vs. Muſt thou needs haue the Gods diſpleaſed, to the end thou mayeſt be gratefull? And vnderſtandeſt thou not, that hereby thou ſinneſt more, becauſe he to whom thou art vngratefull hath the better fortune? Propoſe vnto thy minde impriſonment, chaines, ſtincke, ſeruitude, warre, pouertie; theſe are the occaſions of thy vow: if any man hath couenanted with thee, by theſe he is diſmiſſed. Why rather wouldeſt thou not haue him mightie and bleſſed, to whom thou art moſt indebted? For what (as I ſaid) forbiddeth thee to be gratefull euen vnto thoſe that are endued with the happieſt eſtate, whereas thou haſt ample and ſeuerall matter and occaſion to expreſſe thy ſelfe? What that men pay debts euen vnto thoſe that are the wealthieſt? neither will I conſtraine thee againſt thy will. Truely, although moſt powerfull felicitie hath excluded all things, yet will I ſhew thee what thing it is that greateſt eſtates are pooreſt in, and what things are deficient to thoſe that poſſeſſe all things. Truely ſuch a one that will ſpeake truth, that will vindicate a man aſtoniſhed and amazed amongſt flatterers, and drawn from the knowledge of trut, hby the very cuſtome of hearing rather pleaſing then profitable counſailes, from the company and conſent of deceitfull men. Seeſt thou not how extinguiſhed libertie and faith transformed to ſeruile obſequiouſneſſe, driue them head-long to their ruine, where no man perſwadeth or diſſwadeth him according to his conſcience, but each man ſtriueth who may flatter moſt, and the onely office and contention of all his friends is, who can deceiue him moſt pleaſingly. They knew not their owne forces, and whileſt they ſuppoſe themſelues to be ſo great, as they heare they be, they brought vpon themſelues vnneceſſarie warres, and ſuch as ſhould hazard their whole eſtates, they breake the true and neceſſarie concord, and feeding there own wrathful ſpleen, which no man reuoked, they drew many mens bloud, being at laſt like to loſe their owne; whileſt they ſeeke to get vncertainties for certainties; and thinke it no leſſe diſgracefull to be perſwaded, then to be ouercome, and ſuppoſe thoſe things to be perpetuall, which being brought to the higheſt doe moſt of all ſtagger. They ouer-turned great kingdomes vpon themſelues and theirs, neither vnderſtood they in that ſtage gliſtering both with vaine and tranſitorie goods, from that time forward that they ſhould expect verie great aduerſities; ſince when they could heare nothing that was true.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The ruine of greatneſſe in the faſhion of flatterers.

WHen *Xerxes* proclaimed warre againſt Greece, there was no one but enkindled and incited his proud and forgetfull minde, to what fickle and fraile things he truſted. One ſaid that they would not endure the firſt meſſage of the warre, and that vpon the firſt rumour of his approach, they would turne their backes. Another that it was not to bee doubted, that not onely Greece would be ouercome by that huge multitude, but that it might be ouerwhelmed: that it was more to be feared, leſt they ſhould finde their Cities deſert and deſolate, and the vaſt ſolitudes left to them, and the enemies flying, not hauing no oppoſite whereon to employ his ſo puiſſant power. Another, that the whole world was not ſufficient for him, that the ſeas were to narrow for his Nauie, his campe for his ſouldiers, the fields to embattell his cauellerie, nay ſcarce the heauen large enough to containe the ſhafts that ſhould be darted from euery hand. When after this manner many things were toſſed and talked of on euery ſide, which incited the man, too much enraged and beſotted with eſteeme of himſelfe. *Demeratus* the Lacedemonian was only he that ſaid, that that very multitude ſo diſordered and ſo mightie, which was ſo pleaſing vnto him, was moſt of all to be feared by him that conducted them, becauſe they were rather comberſome then ſtrong, that ouer great things can hardly be ruled, neither endureth that long, which cannot be gouerned. Preſently, ſaid he, vpon the firſt encounter, the Lacedemonians will come and preſent themſelues vnto thee vpon the firſt mountaine, that thou wouldeſt paſſe, and will make thee know what they are: Three hundred ſouldiers ſhall make ſtand theſe ſo many thouſand men; they ſhall plant themſelues ſtrongly in the paſſages, and defend the ſtraits committed to their charge, and ſtoppe them vp with their bodies: all Aſia ſhall not remoue them from their places. A few men ſhall ſuſtaine ſo great affront of warre, and the charge almoſt of all mankind that intendeth to ruſh in vpon them. When Nature changing her lawes, hath made thee paſſe into Greece, thou ſhalt ſticke in the ſtraite, and ſhalt eſteeme thy future damages, when as thou ſhalt thinke how much the ſtraits of *Thermopolis* coſt thee. Thou ſhalt know that thou mayeſt be put to flight, when vnderſtandeſt that thou mayeſt be ſtayed. Happily in diuers places they will giue thee paſſage, and retire, as if carried away after the manner of a torrent, whoſe firſt forces ouer-floweth with great terreur, afterwards they ſhall muſter and charge thee on euery ſide, and ſhall ouerpreſſe thee with thine owne power. True it is that is ſaid that thy ſhew of warre is greater then theſe regions can containe, which thou intendeſt to conquer. But this thing is againſt vs: for this very cauſe will Greece ouercome thee, becauſe ſhee is not able to containe thee, and thou canſt not vſe thy whole ſelfe. Moreouer which is the onely ſafegard of things) thou canſt not preuent or be preſent at the firſt aſſaults, neither ſecond thoſe that begin to retreat and decline, neither ſuſtaine and confirme thoſe things that fall to ruine: Thou ſhalt be vanquiſhed long before thou ſhalt perceiue thy ſelfe to be ouercome. Furthermore, thou art not therefore to ſuppoſe that thine armie is inuincible for this cauſe, becauſe the number of them is vnknowne, euen vnto him who is their Leader. There is nothing ſo great that cannot periſh; and though other occaſions wanted, yet would the owner thereof be the cauſe of his owne deſtruction. The things that *Demeratus* foretold came truely to paſſe. He that thought to enforce both heauen

Profitable perduction of ſucceeding miſerie.

uen and earth, and he that changed what ſoeuer withſtood him, was driuen to a ſtand by three hundred ſouldiers. And ſo *Xerxes* being defeated and ouerthrowne on euery ſide thorow all *Greece*, began to learne how much difference there was betwixt a multitude and an armie. *Xerxes* therefore being more miſerable in his ſhame then in his loſſe, gaue *Demeratus* thankes, for that he alone had told him the truth, and permitted him to require what he would: he deſired that he might enter *Sardis*, the greateſt citie of *Aſia*, in a Chariot triumphant, hauing an vpright *Tiara* on his head, an ornament which the Kings did onely vſe to weare. Worthy was he of this reward, before he demanded it, but how miſerable was that nation, among whom there was not one man that would ſpeake the truth vnto the King, except he would not ſpeake truth vnto himſelfe.

CHAP. XXXII.

THe Emperour *Auguſtus* baniſhed and confined his daughter, that was growne ſo impudentt, hat her modeſtie exceeded this common courſe, and blazed abroad the whoredomes of the imperiall houſe, as how ſhe had admitted whole troups of adulteries; ſpent the whole night in banquets here and there in the citie, how ſhe had ſoiled and ſinned with her adulterers, in that euery Court and iudgement ſeate, from whence her father had publiſhed lawes againſt adulteries, her daily haunt and concourſe to *Marſias* ſtaule, whereas from an adultereſſe ſhe became a common ſtrumpet, and required the libertie of all licentiouſneſſe, vnder an vnknowne adulterer. Theſe things which a Prince ought as well to conceale, as to puniſh (becauſe the diſhonour and diſgrace of ſome things oftentimes redoundeth to him who would puniſh the ſame) he vnable to conquer his diſpleaſure publiſhed abroad. Afterwards ſome few dayes paſt, when remorſefull ſhame had ſupplied the place of his diſpleaſure, lamenting that he had not obſcured thoſe things in ſilence, which ſo long time he was ignorant of, till it was loathſome for him to ſpeake it, he oftentimes exclaimed, *None of theſe things had befalne me, if eyther* AGRIPPA *or* MECAENAS *had liued.* So hard a thing is it to him that had ſo many thouſands at his beck, to ſupplie the want of two. His legions are ſlaine, and forthwith new are leuied: his Nauie defeated, and within few dayes a new floated: fire had defaced and conſumed the common buildings, and better were raiſed then thoſe that were burned; but all his life time he could not finde any to ſupplie *Mecanas* or *Agrippas* places. What ſhall I thinke? Did there want ſuch to ſucceede them, or that it was his errour, who had rather complaine then ſeeke friends? There is no cauſe we ſhould imagine that *Agrippa* and *Mecanas* were wont to ſpeake truth vnto him, who had they liued, had beene amongſt his diſſemblers. It is the manner of Kingly diſpoſitions, in contumely of the liuing, to praiſe thoſe that are loſt, and to giue them the honour of ſpeaking truth, from whom they are now out of danger of hearing anie more.

Where good counſell is wanting, impatience breedeth remedileſſe harmes.

A corrigible cuſtome for great men to eſchue.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A lesson for right counsellers.

BVt that I may returne vnto my purpose: thou seest how easie a thing it is to be thankfull to those that are happie, & are planted in the height of humane riches. Tell them not that which they are willing to heare, but that they should bee contented alwaies to hate. Let somtimes a true word enter their eares which are filled with flatteries: giue profitable counsel. Thou askest what thou maiest doo for a happie man? Bring to passe that he be not too confident in his fortune, that he may know, that manie and faithfull hands must sustaine the same. Is the fauour little thou bestowest of him, if thou shalt once driue him from this fooliſh confidence, that his power shall be alwayes perdureable, and shalt teach him that these things are transitorie, that casually yeelde, and fleete away with greater forwardnesse, then they come, neyther returne by those meanes, whereby they attained their felicitie? That oft-times there is but little difference betwixt the greatest and lowest fortune. Thou knowest not the value of friendship, if thou vnderstandest not, that thou shalt giue him very much to whom thou giuest a friend, a thing not onely rare in houses but in ages, which is no where so deficient, then where it is supposed to be most abundant. What thinkest thou, that these books of thine, which scarce thy remembrancers, or registred memory, or handes can comprehend, are the names of thy friends? These are not thy friends which in great troupes knocke at thy dores, who are disposed according to the first and second admissions to visit. This is an old custome of Kings, and those that counterfeit Maiestie, to number a multitude of friends. It is the propertie of pride to make great account of his doore, & touch of his threshold, to giue it as a fauour to sit neerest to his closet, that thou step the first foote into his house, in which besides there are many doores, which exclude those that are admitted to enter.

Few friends, many flatterers.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

THe first amongst vs that commanded their troupes should be separated, and that some should be receiued in secret, other some with manie, and other some with all men, were *Caius Gracchus*, and after him *Liuius Drusus*. These therefore had their first friends: they had their second also, but neuer any true. Callest thou him thy friend, whom thy seruants successiuely admit to salute thee; or can this mans faith be apparant vnto thee, who entreth not, but slippeth and throngeth into thy doores, that are so hardly gotten open? May that man presse in to thee with full vse of his libertie, which may not salute thee with *God saue thee*, a common and vsuall word to all persons, yea, euen to those that are strangers; but in his turne. To whomsoeuer therefore of these thou shalt come, whose salutation shaketh the citie: know thou likewise, if thou marke it, that although thou see the streets besieged with a great assembly of people, and the passages locked vp with the presse of those that go and come to salute thee, yet that thou commest to a place filled with men, but voyde of friends. A friend is sought in the brest, not in the Court of thy house: there must he be entertained, there retained, and in the very entrails must he be lodged. Teach him this thou art gratefull. Thou esteemest

esteemest verie basely of thy selfe if thou art vnprofitable, except it be to one in affliction, or if thou thinke thy selfe vnnecessarie in time of prosperity. Euen as thou demeanest thy selfe wisely both in doubtfull, aduerse, and prosperous affaires, that in doubtfull thou handlest them wisely, in aduerse constantly, in prosperity moderately: so likewise maist thou shew thy selfe profitable in all things in thy friends behalfe. Although thou neither forsake him in his aduersities, neyther wish his miserie; yet in so much varietie many things may fall out that thou shouldest not wish, which will affoord thee mattter to exercise thy faith. Euen as he that wisheth riches to any man, to this end, that he himselfe may partake a part thereof, although hee seeme to wish for him: hath a respect vnto himselfe. So he that wisheth his friend any necessitie, which by his assistance and faith hee may releeue (which is the part of an vngratfull man) preferreth himselfe before his friend, and maketh so great accompt, that hee should be miserable, that he himselfe might be gratefull, for this very cause is himselfe vngratefull. For hee would disburthen himselfe, and discharge himselfe of a burthen too heauie to sustaine. There is a great difference, whether thou hastnest to giue thankes to the end thou maist restore a benefit, or to the end thou mightest not owe it. He that will bee gratefull will apply himselfe to his friends commoditie, and desireth that he may haue a fit opportunitie. He that desireth nothing else, but that himselfe may bee discharged, desireth by anie meanes to accomplish the same, which is an argument of a most euill will.

What true frieds are and where they should be found.

He that reiects his friends miserie to the end he may succour him is vngratefull.

CHAP. XXXV.

THis to much hastning say I, is the act of an vngratefull man, this can I not more manifestly expresse, then if I should repeat what I said. Thou wilt not restore a benefit thou hast receiued, but thou wilt flie from it. This seemest thou to say: When shall I be rid of this fellow? I must endeuour by all the meanes I can, that I may not be beholding vnto him. If thou shouldest wish that thou mightest pay him with his owne, thou shouldest seeme to bee very dishonest and vnthankfull, but this thou wishest is farre more wicked. For thou cursest him, thou desirest that mischiefe might fall on his head, whom thou shouldest accompt both Holy and Sacred. No Man as I thinke would doubt of the impietie of thy minde, if thou shouldest openly wish him pouertie, if captiuitie, if famine and feare. And what differēce is there whether this be thy voice or thy vow? wish any of these in thy right wits. Go to now, and suppose this to be a point of thankfulnes, which the most vngratefull Man would not attempt, that were not growne so farre as to hate but onely to denie his benefit.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHO would intitle *Æneas* by the name of pious, if hee would haue his Countrie sacked, to the end he might deliuer his Father from captiuitie? who would not imagine the yong men of *Sicily* vnnaturall, if to shew good example to their children, they had wished that *Ætna* burning with an vnmeasurable force of fire a-

The precedent reasons are confirmed by example.

boue cuſtome ſhould giue them occaſion to expreſſe their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midſt of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wiſhed the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warres: nor beholding to the *Decians* who ſaued their Countrie by their owne ſlaughter, if they had formerly wiſhed that extreame neceſſitie ſhould make place for their conſtant deuotion. It is the greateſt diſgrace for a Phyſition that may bee, to wiſh for buſines. Many who increaſed and exaſperated diſeaſes, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwardes expell them, or to the great agonie and vexation of the miſerable patients, haue at laſt ouercome them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An other answere to the former by the examples of Caliſtratus and Rutilius.

They ſay that *Caliſtratus* (for truly *Hecaton* teſtifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the ſeditious and intemperately free Citie, had expulſed many with him: when a certaine man wiſhed, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their baniſhed men, was much diſtaſted with ſuch a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*, for when as a certaine man comforted him, and aſſured him that ciuill warre was intended ſhortly, and that in few dayes all baniſhments ſhould bee reuerſed. *What euill* (ſaith hee) *haue I done thee, that thou wiſheſt me a worſer returne, then I had a departure? I had rather my Countrie ſhould be aſhamed of my baniſhment, then bewaile my returne.* This is no exile where no man is more aſhamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the dutie of good Citizens, that would not recouer their natiue homes with a publique ſlaughter, becauſe it was more fitting that two ſhould be puniſhed vniuſtly, then all periſh publikely; ſo obſerueth hee not the affection of a gratefull man, who wiſheth that hee who hath deſerued well at his handes ſhould bee oppreſſed with difficulties, which hee might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wiſheth euill. It is a poore excuſe and a weake glorie to extinguiſh a fire, which thou thy ſelfe haſt kindled. In ſome Cities a wicked wiſh hath beene reputed for a wicked crime.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A third confirmation hereof.

True it is that *Demades* in *Athens* condemned him that ſould neceſſaries for funerals, when as he had prooued that hee wiſhed for great gaine, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deathes. Yet is it wont to bee demanded whether hee were worthily puniſhed. Perhaps hee wiſhed, that he might not ſell vnto many, but that he might ſell deere; that they might coſt him little which he was to ſell. Whereas negotiation conſiſteſt on that which is bought and ſould, why wreſteſt thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Beſides thou mayeſt condemne all that are in this negotiation, for all will the ſame, all wiſh the ſame in their hearts: thou wilt condemne the moſt part of men. For who hath not profit by an other mans incommoditie? The Souldier, wiſheth for warre: Dearth of Corne ſets vp the Huſbandman. The greateſt Lawiers deſire moſt pleas. A ſicke yeare is the Phyſitians haruеſt. Such youthes

as

as are prodigall and dissolute, rich the Merchants of delicate wares. Let houses bee neither hurt by fire or tempest, the Carpenter may betake him to his rest. One mans vowe was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkest thou that *Aruntius* and *Aterius* and all others that professed the art of Executorship had not the same vowes and wishes, as the masters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Ministers in burying the dead? yet know not they whose death they wish: they desire that some one of their neerest familiars should die, in whom for friendship sake they had most hope. No man liueth by the losse of those, whosoeuer differreth the other vndoeth them. They therefore wish, not only that they may receiue that which they haue deserued by base seruitude, but also that they may bee freed of a grieuous tribute. It is not therefore to bee doubted, but that these men rather wish that which is condemned in one man. They by whose death any profit may accrewe, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all these mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpunished. To conclude let each one take counsaile of himselfe and examine his inward conscience, and see what hee hath secretly wished, how many wowes are they which we are ashamed to confesse vnto our selues? how few which wee dare iustifie and effect before a witnesse?

One mans pleasure is anothers preiudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.

BVt euery thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this present we entreat, abusing his good will, and falling into that which hee flieth from. For whilest he hasteneth to expresse a gratefull minde, hee is vngratefull. This man saith, let him fall into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be secure, in esteeme, or safe without me, let him be so poore and miserable, that whatsoeuer is restored him, may serue him in stead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domesticall treasons circumuent him, which I alone may suppresse. Let a potent and heauie enemie assault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuser vrge him.

CHAP. XL.

SEe how iust thou art, thou haddest wished him none of these, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerslip the rest more hainous, which thou committest by returning the worst for the best, truely thou art faultie in this, that thou expectest not the proper time of euery thing, which, who so followeth not, sinneth as much as he that preuenteth it. Euen as a benefit is not alwayes to be receiued, so is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldest restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldest be vngratefull, how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so hastie to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell Vsurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldest thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

It is better neuer to be obliged, then to requite out of season.

CHAP. XLI.

Instructions to take oportunitie in requitall.

ABoue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly, and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the deserts of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to thinke our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and lincketh two together. Say I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldest receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue still that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen, in the meane space the gods shall bee my witnesses.

CHAP. XLII.

What means are to be obserued in acknowledging a good turne.

OFtentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou feareſt and fretteſt, leſt thou shouldeſt be tardie in any office. Anxietie becommeth not a gratefull mind, but contrariwise an assured confidence of himselfe. The conscience of true amitie should put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughteſt not, as not to giue that which thou oughteſt to giue. Let this be the first law of a benefit giuē, that he which gaue the same, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back again. But I feare me, leſt men should speak sinisterly of me: He doth badly that is gratefull rather for reputation & fame sake, then for conscience and honestie. Thou hast two iudges of this thing; thy selfe whom thou canst not deceiue, and him whom thou canst. What then if no occasion shall happen? Shall I alwayes be indebted? Thou shalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment shalt thou behold, the gage laid vp by thee. He repenteth himselfe of a benefit receiued, that is sorie that as yet he hath not requited it. Why should hee that seemed worthie to bestow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthie to haue thee his debter?

CHAP. XLIII.

GReat are their errours, who beleeue it to bee the act of a great and generous minde to doe many courteſies, to giue and fill another mans bosome, and enrich his house, whereas sometime it is not a great minde, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is somewhiles to receiue, then to lauish courteſies. For to the end I may detract from neither, because

cause both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no lesse proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that wee restore not time enough, nor hasten to doe it out of season, because he sinneth as much that hasteneth to recompence a good turne out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly assured, he cannot lose this benefit, but with me, no not with me also. I haue giuen him thankes, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the restoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his satisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if hee had rather continue it in our custodie. Why should we dig vp his treasure? Why refuse we to keepe it? He is worthie to doe what he listeth. Touching opinion and report, let vs so prise them, as that they should attend vs, and not lead vs.

He that requiteth vnseasonably, is no lesse faultie, then he that requiteth not in time and place.

The end of the sixt Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

Like vnto the first: Certaine questions, and yet things profitable, intermixed with subtill. That in the beginning serious: that curiositie is to be restrained, and too much desire of knowledge; that the mind is rather to be applied to manners and vertue, that is, to wisedome. After this a question, vpon occasion of the word, Whether any man may giue ought to a wise-man, whereas all things are his? He saith that he may, because he possesseth all things in minde, but not in vse. Another, whether he that hath endeuoured or assayed to restore a benefite, hath restored it. He hath: yet notwithstanding he teacheth him to endeuour againe and againe. The third, whether thou art to restore that thou hast receiued from a good man, to the same man being now euill. Thou shalt restore it, but with caution, not that he vse them wickedly or to his own or anothers mans harm. The fourth, whether he that giueth, ought to forget himselfe of that benefite he hath bestowed. By no meanes: nay, more he saith he may keepe the same in memorie, yea, and somtimes exact it. The last, how gratefull men are to be borne withall, with a pleasing, milde, and great mind.

CHAP. I.

COurage my LIBERALIS;

Now haue we got the shore, I will not here
Tire thee with long discourse, or taske thine eare
To lingring prohemes, or dilated words.

A good proiect to finish our mens manners, followed somewhat interrupth, but learnedly to the end.

The remainder this book concludes, & the matter being spent, I look about me, not what I shall say, but what I haue not said: yet accept thou in good part whatsoeuer is the remainder, whereas it is reserued to thy selfe. Had I had an intent to polish my worke, it should haue increased by little and little, and that part had beene reserued till the conclusion, which euery one would haue longed for, although he had beene satisfied.

fied. But whatſoeuer was moſt neceſſary, I preſently gathered and congeſted into the beginning of the Booke: now if any thing hath eſcaped me I recollect it. Neyther truely if thou aske me, doe I thinke it much pertinent to the matter, wheras thoſe things are ſpoken which gouerned manners, to proſecute the reſt, which were inuented, not for the cure of the minde, but for the exerciſe of the wit. For *Demetrius* the Cynique (a man in my iudgement great, although he were compared with the greateſt) was wont very worthily to ſay this: *That it is more profitable for thee, if thou remember a few precepts of wiſdome, and haue them in vſe and readineſſe, then if thou learnedſt many things, and hadſt not the ready vſe of them.* For (ſaith he) like as that man is a worthy wreſtler, not that hath perfitly learned all the trickes and ſleights, which hee ſhall ſeldome haue occaſion to make vſe of againſt his aduerſarie: but hee that is well and diligently exerciſed in one or two, and intentiuely expecteth and waiteth the occaſions of them (for it skils not how much he knoweth, if he know ſo much as ſufficeth for the victorie) ſo in this ſtudie, many things delight, but few ouercome. Although thou be ignorant what cauſe it is, that moueth the Ocean to ebbe and flowe, why euery ſeauenth yeare impreſſeth an alteration and ſigne in our age, why the latitude of a gallery to thoſe that beholde it a farre off, keepeth not his proportion, but gathereth his ends or ſides into a narrowneſſe, ſo as the fartheſt ſpaces of the pillars are ioyned in one: what it is that ſeparateth the conception of twins, and ioyneth their birth: whether one act of conception be diuided into two diſtinct creatures, or elſe they are begotten at ſeuerall conceptions: why their deſtinies be different who are borne twinnes together, and their conditions proue ſo greatly different, whoſe birth was one, or at leaſt in the ſame inſtant. It ſhall not much hurt thee to ouerſlip thoſe things which neyther thou canſt know, nor is profitable for thee to know. Truth lieth couered and hidden in the depth: neither can we complaine of the malignitie of nature, becauſe the inuention of any thing is not difficult, but onely of that which yeeldeth vs not any fruit, except the onely inuention thereof: whatſoeuer ſhould make vs better or more bleſſed, nature hath eyther laid open before vs, or neere vnto vs. If the minde hath contemned caſualties: if ſhe hath raiſed her ſelfe aboue feare, and with greedy hope embraceth not things infinite, but hath learned to aske riches of her ſelfe: if ſhe hath caſt out from her the feare both of gods and men, and knoweth that there is a very little to be feared from men, neither any thing from god: if contemning all things whereby life is tortured, whilſt it is moſt adorned; he hath attained ſo much, that it manifeſtly appeareth vnto him, that death is no matter of any miſchiefe, but the end of many: if he haue conſecrated his minde vnto vertue, and thinketh that way playneſt whither ſoeuer ſhe inuite him: if he be a ſociable creature, and borne to communitie: if he reſpecteth the world as one houſe, and openeth his conſcience to the gods, and liueth alwayes as it were in publique: if more afraid of himſelfe then others, being diſcharged of theſe tempeſts, he hath retired himſelfe to an aſſured and quiet repoſe, he hath conſummated a very neceſſary and profitable ſcience. The reſt are but the delights of leaſure: for now is it lawfull (the mind once withdrawn into ſafetie) to expatiate and ariue at theſe alſo, which rather yeelde ornament then courage to our mindes.

He meareth that many times delight the vnderſtanding, and there are few things that conquer the will.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THese are the things which our friend *Demetrius* willeth him that is proficient to lay hold on with both handes, to abandon them neuer, nay, rather to affix them to himselfe, and make them a part of himselfe, and by daily meditation to be instructed so farre, that these wholsome instructions may present themselues before his eyes freely; and being desired for, might be at hand at all times and places, and that instantly that distinction betwixt good and euill may bee remembred, whereby hee may know, that neyther there is any vice, which is not vicinous, nor any good which is not honest. Let him dispose his actions by this rule of life: according to this lawe let him execute and exact all things, and iudge those the most miserable amongst men (how rich & refulgent in wealth whatsoeuer) that are slaues to their bellie and lust, whose minds are benummed with sloathfull idlenesse: let him say vnto himselfe, Pleasure is fraile and fleeting, she is quickly wearied of her obiect; the more greedily she is deuoured, the more hastily is she disposed to a contrarie desire: she is alwayes of necessitie accompanied with repentance or shame: there is nothing in her that is honourable or vertuous: there is nothing in her that is eyther noble or worthy the nature of a man, who would resemble the goddes. It is a bare thing, proceeding from the most loathsome and vildest ministeries of our bodies, shamefull in the end. This is the pleasure that is worthy a man and a noble minde, not to fill and flatter the bodie, not to prouoke his lustfull desires, which are least hurtfull when they are most quiet. But to liue exempt from the passions of the minde, especially of that which enkindleth the ambition of those men, who entertaine quarrels and contentions among themselues, & also of that intollerable passion, which comming from high, hath made vs beleeue all that of the gods, which report and fables haue forged, and hath planted this opinion in vs, to measure them by our owne vices. This equall, dreadlesse, and neuer-loathing pleasure doth this man enioy, whom we heere fashion and describe, who (as I may say) being skilfull both in diuine and humane lawes, contenteth himselfe with the things that are present, and dependeth not on those that are future: for neuer liueth that man in assurance that doateth on vncertainties. Exempted therefore from mightie cares, and such as distract the minde, he hopeth nothing, he coueteth nothing, he hangs not on expectation, but contenteth himselfe with his owne: neyther suppose you that such a man is contented with small riches; for all things are his: yet not in such sort as they were *Alexanders*, who although he had conquered as much as to the shore of the red Sea, yet wanted he more then he left behinde him from whence he came. Those very countries, which eyther he possessed, or had conquered, were not his. When as hee had sent *Onesicritus* the generall of his Gallies to discouer the Ocean and to search out further warre in an vnknowne Sea: did it not sufficiently appeare, that he was poore, who extended his warres beyond the limits of nature, and thrust himselfe headlong through his blinde couetousnesse into a vast, vnattempted, and boundlesse Sea? What skils it how many Kingdomes hee hath violently taken, how manie hee hath giuen, how many countries hee hath loaden with tributes? He wants as much as he desireth.

CHAP. III.

NEyther was this *Alexanders* errour onely, whom happy temerity inforced beyond the tract of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, but of all those whom fortune hath made greedy by ouer-glutting. Run ouer and reckon vp *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, and all the progenie of the Kings of Persia, whom wilt thou finde contented and satisfied with his Empire? that ended not his life in thinking on some further proiect? Neyther is this to be wondred at, what so falleth into a couetous hand, is forthwith exhausted and hidden: neither skilleth it much, how much thou throngest into that which will neuer be satisfied. The wise-man is onely he that is Master of all things, neyther costeth it him much to keepe them. He hath no Embassadors to send beyond the Seas, nor campes to pitch in his enemies country, nor garrisons to dispose in conuenient fortresses, he needes no legions or troups of horsemen. Like as the immortall gods, without the assistance of any armes, do gouern their Kingdoms, & entertain their greatnes in all assurance, without disturbance, or forsaking the place high & eminent wherin they repose: euen so the wiseman executeth and gouerneth his offices, although they haue a large extent without tumult, & beholdeth all other mankind, being himselfe the powerfullest and best of all vnder himself. Mock him as thou listest, yet is it a matter worthy of a generous spirit, after thou hast in mind diligently considered both East and West, whereby also thou mayest penetrate into the remote and most retired solitudes, when as thou hast beheld so many liuing creatures, such affluence of all things which beautifull nature most blessedly lauisheth, to break into this discourse, beseeming a god, *All these things are mine*. So commeth it to passe that he desireth nothing, because there is nothing which is not his.

CHAP. IIII.

THis is that (sayest thou) that I expresly willed, I haue ouertaken thee now, and intend to see how thou wilt rid thy selfe of these incombrances, whereinto thou art wilfully fallen. Tell mee, how may any man giue ought to a wise-man, if all things are his? For that also which he giueth him is his owne. A benefite therefore cannot be bestowed vpon a* wise-man, who can haue nothing giuen him which is not his owne: yet say you, a man may giue somewhat vnto a wise-man. But know this, that I demand the like in respect of friends. You say that all things are common amongst them, therefore can no man giue any thing to his friend: for he giueth that which is common to him. There is no cause but that somewhat may be both a wise-mans, and his that possesseth it, to whom it is giuen and assigned. In ciuill lawe all things are the Kings: and yet those things whose intire possession appertaineth to the King, are distributed amongst seuerall lords, and each thing hath his possessor. Therefore may we giue the King our house, our bond-slaue, and our money: neyther for all this are we said to giue him his owne. For to Kings appertaineth the power ouer all, but to seueral men the property. We cal them the bounds of the Athenians, or Campanians, which otherwise the neighbours by priuate termination distinguish amongst themselues: and all the lands belonging to this or that man, are the Common-weals, and

* *Vnder this name Wise-man, he intends to signifie thorow the whole body of this discourse, the same which it signifieth in the booke of Prouerbes and Ecclesiastes, and Wisedome, where this word wisdom signifieth vertue or iustice; and the name of Wise man is in this sense a vertuous or iust mã.*

In what manner a man may giue vnto a wise man.

and yet each part hath his determinate owner, we therefore may giue our lands to the Common-weale, although they be said to be the Common-weales, because in one sort they are theirs, in another sort mine. Can it bee doubted, but that a slaue, and whatsoeuer substance he hath is his masters? Yet may he giue him a present. For a man cannot therefore say that the seruant hath nothing, because he could not haue, if so be his lord said he should not; neither therefore faileth it to be a present, when as he gaue it willingly, because it might be taken from him, although hee would not. Euen as we haue approued that all things appertaine vnto a wise man (for we are alreadie agreed in this point) so we must at this present expresse, that we haue more matter then we need, to giue liberally vnto him, whom wee confesse to be the master of what we haue. All things are the fathers, which are in the possession of his children; yet who knoweth not that the sonne also may giue his father somewhat? All things appertaine vnto the gods, yet haue we sacrificed at their Altars, and offered many times in their Temples. That therefore which I haue, faileth not to be mine, because it is thine, for one and the same thing may be thine and mine. He (sayest thou) is a Baud, that is the owner of common harlots, but a wise man is owner of all things, and amongst all things the prostitute are comprehended: therefore a wise man is a Baud. In like manner they forbid him to buy, for they say no man buyeth his owne, but all things appertaine vnto a wise man, a wise man therefore buyeth nothing. In like manner restraine they him from borrowing any thing, because no man payeth interest for his owne money. Innumerable are the things they contend and cauill about, whereas notwithstanding they fully conceiue what is spoken by vs.

CHAP. V.

VNdoubtedly in such sort conclude I all things to be a wise mans, that each one notwithstanding remaine master and lord of that hee hath, euen as vnder the gouernment of a good Prince: the King possesseth all things by regall authoritie, and euery priuate man by particular tenure and title. The time will come when we shall proue this; meane while let this suffice for this question, that I may giue a wise man that, which in one kinde is his, in another mine: neither is it a strange matter that somewhat may bee giuen him, who is Lord of all. I haue hired a house of thee; in this house there is something thine and something mine. The house it selfe is thine, the vse of this house is mine. Thou therefore shalt neither touch the fruit, if the Farmer forbid thee, although they grow on thine owne soile, and there should be a scarcitie of corne; or famine:

Alas, how all in vaine shalt thou
Behold anothers mightie mow.

That grew in thine owne ground, was stacked in thine owne barne, and must be stored in thine owne garners. Thou shalt not enter my hired tenement, although thou be lord thereof, neither shalt thou carrie away thy slaue, which is my hireling; and if I hire a wagon of thee, thou shalt take it for a kindnesse, if I giue thee leaue to sit in thine owne wagon. Thou seest therefore that it may so be, that man receiuing that which is his owne, may receiue a courtesie.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

IN all these things which I lately recited, both one and the other are masters of one and the same thing. But how? Because the one is the lord of the thing it selfe, the other of the vse. We say that these bookes are *Ciceroes*, and *Dorus* the Booke-seller saith those very same books are his; and both these are true, the one challengeth them as the author therof, the other as the buyer, and rightly are they said to appertaine to both; for the right is in both of them, yet not after the same manner. So may *Titus Liuius* receiue in gift, or buy for money his owne books at *Dorus* his hands. I can giue that to a wise man, which particularly appertaineth vnto me, although all things be his. For since after a kingly manner he possesseth all things freely, and the proprietie of euery thing is distributed to euery particular person, he can receiue a present, he can owe, and buy, and hire. All things are *Cæsars*, yet nothing but that which is his owne patrimonie and particular demeanes is returned into his Exchequer: all things are subiect to his soueraigne power, but his peculiar heritage is properly his owne. The question is, what is his, and what is not his without diminution of his empire. For euen that which is adiudged to be none of his, is in another sort his owne. So a wise man in mind possesseth all things, but by law and right onely that which is his owne.

He answereth the former obiections.

CHAP. VII.

BION somewhiles in his Arguments concludeth all men to be sacrilegious, sometimes no man, when he would cast all men from the * rocke, he saith, whosoeuer hath taken away or lauished that which appertaineth to the Gods, and conuerted the same to his owne vse, is sacrilegious, but all things are the Gods, whatsoeuer euery one taketh away, hee taketh it from the Gods, to whom all things appertaine, therefore whosoeuer taketh away any thing, is sacrilegious. Againe, when he would haue Temples broken open, and when he commandeth that the *Capitol* should be pillaged without feare or vengeance of the Gods, he saith, That no man is sacrilegious, because that whatsoeuer is taken out of that place, which appertaineth to the Gods, is transferred into another place, which appertaineth likewise vnto the Gods. To this it is answered, that true it is that all things are the Gods, but that all things are not dedicated to the Gods, and that sacriledge is obserued and committed onely in those things, which religion and deuotion hath consecrated to the Gods. So say wee likewise, that the whole world is the Temple of the immortall Gods, onely worthie to containe their Maiestie and magnificence, and yet that prophane things are different and distant from sacred, and that it is not lawfull to act all things in a corner of the earth, that hath been called a Temple, which we may lawfully doe in the sight of heauen, and view of all the Starres. Vndoubtedly the sacrilegious cannot do any iniurie to God, whose diuinitie hath planted him without the shot, yet is he punished, because he hath done it, as it were, to God: for both our and his owne opinion obligeth and maketh him subiect to the penaltie. Euen as therefore he seemeth to be sacrilegious that taketh away any sacred thing, although

* *This was the Tarpeian rocke, whence hamous offenders were headlong cast downe.*

Capitol is a place in Rome dedicated to Iupiter, *which in times past was called Tarpeia.*

whitherſoeuer he transferreth that he hath taken away, it is within the limits of the world: in like manner a man may rob a wiſe man, for that is taken from him, not which is his, as he is Maſter of all things in this world, but that whereunto he had a peculiar title, which he reputeth and vſeth as his owne in ſeuerall. That other poſſeſſion he acknowledgeth, the other he would not haue though he might: and into this diſcourſe will he breake, which the Roman Emperour vttered, when as for his vertue and good gouernment, ſo much land was decreed and allotted him, as in one day he could enuiron with his plow: *You haue not need* (ſaith he) *of ſuch a Citizen, that hath need of more then one Citizens liuing.* How much more worthie, thinkeſt thou, was this man in refuſing this gift, then in deſeruing it? For many great Captaines haue broken and defaced other mens bounds, but neuer a one of them hath limited his owne.

CHAP. VIII.

WHen as therefore we behold a wiſe mans mind, powerfull ouer all things, and ſpreading his Empire ouer all the whole world, wee ſay that all things are his, when as we referre him to the right of daily cuſtome, he ſhall be taxed by the powle, if the cauſe ſo require. There is a great difference whether his poſſeſſion be eſtimated by the greatneſſe of his minde, or by his reuenues; he would hate to be lord ouer all theſe things whereof thou ſpeakeſt. I will not reckon vp *Socrates*, *Chryſippus* or *Zeno*, and ſuch other great perſonages, who in this are greater, becauſe Enuie obſcureth not the praiſe of ſuch, who haue liued in times paſt. A little before I made mention of *Demetrius*, whom nature, in my iudgement, ſeemeth purpoſely to haue bred in our time, to ſhew that neither we could corrupt him, nor he correct vs. A man (though himſelfe deny it) of exact wiſdom, and of firme conſtancie in thoſe things which he determined, yea and of that eloquence which beſt fitted matters of greateſt ſtrength, not poliſhed or painted in words, but proof, cutting his cauſes with great courage, according as the heat carried him. I doubt not but the diuine prouidence gaue this man ſuch a life and ſuch abilitie in diſcourſe, to the end our age might want no good example, nor reproch.

CHAP. IX.

IF ſome one of the Gods would deliuer all our goods into *Demetrius* poſſeſſion vpon this condition, that it might not be lawfull for him to giue it away, I dare auerre it, he would refuſe them, and would ſay I will not entangle my ſelfe with this inextricable waight: I will not plunge this man ſo cleane and free from auarice, into this deepe bog and ſincke of theſe things. Why bringeſt thou me the miſchiefes and infelicities of all men, which I would not receiue, although I could giue them away preſently, becauſe I ſee many things which I might not honeſtly giue? I will contemplate thoſe things which dazle the eyes of Kings and Nations. I will behold thoſe things for which you ſpend your blouds, and hazard your ſoules. Set before mine eyes the chiefeſt ſpoiles of ſuperfluitie, whether it be that thou wilt vnfold them in order, or (as it is better) deliuer them

them in groſſe. I ſee a vaulted roofe moſt cunningly carued with curious varietie: and the ſhels of diuers the moſt loathſome and ſluggiſh creatures bought at exceſſiue prices. Wherein that very varietie which moſt pleaſeth, is made of counterfeit colours, according to the ſimilitude of the things themſelues. I ſee in the ſame place tables and wood, eſtimated at no leſſe then a Senators ſubſtance, by ſo much more precious, by how much the infelicitie of the tree had writhed and wreſted it into infinit knots. I ſee in the ſame place veſſels of Chrytall, whoſe brittleneſſe enhanſeth the price. For amongſt ignorant men, the pleaſure of all things is augmented, euen by that very danger, which ſhould cauſe vs hate them. I ſee pots and veſſels of Murrhine, as if ſuperfluity and riotous expence had not beene ſufficiently prized, if they had not vomited in great veſſels of pretious ſtone the exceſſiue wine they had drunke to one an others health. I ſee pearles not ſeuerally fitted for euery eare one; for now the eares are accuſtomed to beare burthens, diuers of them are tyed together, and if there be but two, a third is hanged vnder them. The madneſſe of women had not ſufficiently brought their huſbands into ſubiection, except they hanged at eyther of their eares the worth of two or three mens patrimonies. I ſee ſilken garments (if they may be called garments) wherein there is nothing that may couer eyther their bodies, or at leaſt-wiſe their ſhames; which when a woman hath put vpon her, ſhe may ſcarcely ſweare that ſhe is not naked. Theſe for a great ſum, are by way of commerce fetched from forraine Nations, that our matrons may ſhew no more of themſelues to their adulterers in their chambers, then in publique.

CHAP. X.

WHat doeſt thou auarice? How many things are they, which in value ſurpaſſe thy gold? All theſe things which I haue reckoned vp are of more honour and better price. Now will I recognize thy riches, the plates of both mettals, at which our couetouſneſſe is dazeled. But the earth which produced what ſoeuer was profitable for our vſe, hath drowned theſe mettals, yea, and with her whole waight hath caſt her ſelfe vpon them, as vpon hurtfull and hatefull things which could not come to light: but to the common hurt of all nations I ſee that Iron is taken out of that very darkeneſſe, whence gold and ſiluer were had, to the end that neyther inſtruments for mutuall ſlaughters, neyther price for the murtherers ſhould be wanting, yet haue theſe things ſom matter of eſteem in them. There is ſomewhat wherein the mind may follow the errour of the eyes. I ſee theſe Patents, theſe Indentures, and Obligations, the emptie images of couetouſneſſe, certaine ſhadows of licke auarice, by which they deceiue the mind, that delighteth in the opinion of tranſitorie things. For what are theſe? What is intereſt? What day-bookes and vſurie, but certaine names of humane couetouſneſſe, which nature neuer heard of? I can complaine of nature, becauſe ſhee hath not hidden gold and ſiluer deeper, becauſe ſhe hath not caſt a heauier burthen on them, then that it might be remoued. What are theſe Regiſters, theſe computations, & ſailable time, * theſe bloudie vſuries of twelue for a hundreth? They are voluntarie euils depending on our conſtitutions, in which there is nothing that may be ſubiected to the eyes, or held in the hand; the dreames of vaine couetouſneſſe. O how wretched is he, who taketh delight to reade ouer the great rentall

* *Theſe were called* Centeſima, *which was a kind of vſury amongſt the Romans: the creditor was wont to giue his debtor* 100. *crowns, and for the vſe therof he paid for euery moneth a crowne for his intereſt, till a hundreth months were paſt; at the end whereof he returned the principall to his creditor.*

rentall of his patrimonie, or large demeanes to be tilled by his bondmen, or infinite heards of cattell, that need whole countries and Kingdomes to feed them, or his family greater then warlike nations, & priuate buildings, that in bigneſſe exceede great cities! When he hath well examined theſe things, whereby he hath diſpoſed and ſpread out his riches, and made himſelfe proude; if he compare that which he hath with that which he deſireth, he is a poore man. Let me go, and reſtore me to thoſe riches of minde: I know the Kingdome of wiſedome to be great and ſecure: ſo enioy I all things as all men may enioy theirs in particular.

CHAP. XI.

WHereas therefore *Caius Cæſar* gaue *Demetrius* two hundreth talents, he ſmiled and refuſed them, not deeming the ſame of ſuch value, as he might iuſtly glorie that he had refuſed them. O gods and Goddeſſes, with how ſmall a thing would he either haue honoured or corrupted ſuch a minde! I muſt teſtifie for ſo worthy a man: I haue heard a great matter reported by him, that when he had wondred at *Cæſars* indiſcretion, in that he thought that he could be changed for ſo ſleight a matter, he ſaid thus: If, ſaid he, he had intended to tempt me, he ſhould haue tempted me with his whole Empire.

CHAP. XII.

SOmething therefore may be giuen to a wiſe-man, although all things be his: ſo likewiſe nothing letteth but that ſomething may be giuen to a friend, though we ſay that all things are common amongſt friends. For in ſuch ſort are not all things common betwixt me and my friend, as they are with a partner, ſo as my part and his ſhould be all one: but as children are common to their fathers and mothers, who hauing two betwixt them, haue not each of them one, but two a peice. Firſt of all I will make him know whatſoeuer hee be that will be copartner with me, that there is nothing common betwixt him and me: and why? becauſe this aſſociation cannot be but amongſt wiſe-men, who onely vnderſtand and practiſe the vſe of true friendſhip; the other are no more friends then they be co-partners. Againe, goods are common in diuers kindes. The ſieges in the Theater ordained for Knights, appertaine to all the Knights of Rome; and yet in theſe, the place that I ſate in is mine owne. If I haue yeelded vp my place to any, although I giue him place in a thing common to all, yet ſeemeth it that I haue giuen him ſomewhat. There are things which appertaine to ſome men, vnder certaine conditions: I haue my place amongſt the Knights, not to ſell, not to hire, nor to poſſeſſe continually; but onely to this end, to behold the publik ſports. I ſhal not therfore lie, if I ſay I haue a place amongſt the knights; but when I come into the Theater, if the places be all taken vp, yet in right haue I a place there, becauſe it is lawfull for me to ſit there: and I haue it not becauſe it is occupied by thoſe, who haue as much title to the place as my ſelfe. Suppoſe the care is the ſame amongſt friends. Whatſoeuer our friend hath is common to vs, yet the propertie is his that poſſeſſeth it: I cannot vſe it againſt

againſt his will. Thou mockeſt me (ſayeſt thou) if that which appertaineth to my friend be mine, I haue libertie to ſell the ſame: but I haue no libertie; for thou canſt not ſell my Knights place, yet is it common to thee, with thoſe of the ſame order. It is no argument therefore that a thing is not thine, becauſe thou canſt not ſell it, becauſe thou mayeſt not conſume it, becauſe thou mayeſt not change it for worſe or better: for it is thine, although it be thine but vpon a condition. I haue taken the place, yet haſt thou it neuertheleſſe.

CHAP. XIII.

NOt to dallie or delay with thee any longer, one benefite cannot be greater then another: but thoſe things whereby a benefit may be giuen, may be greater and more; into which beneuolence may extend it ſelfe, and ſo pleaſe it ſelfe: as louers are wont, whoſe many kiſſes, and cloſer embracements increaſe not, but exerciſe their loues. This queſtion alſo that enſueth, is fully debated in our former, and therefore it ſhall be ſhortly handled: for the arguments we haue vſed in the other queſtions, may be employed here. The queſtion is, whether hee that hath done his beſt to reſtore a benefite, hath giuen ſatisfaction. That thou mayeſt know, ſayeſt thou, that he hath not satisfied, he hath done all he can to recompence him: it appeareth therefore that that thing is not done, becauſe he had not the meanes to do it, as he hath not paide the ſiluer which he ought vnto his creditor, who, to performe the ſame, had ſought him euery where, and could not finde him. Some things are of that condition, that they muſt needes be effected, and in ſome things it is as much to haue attempted what a man could, as to haue effected the deed. If the Phyſitian hath done his vttermoſt to heale his patient, he hath performed his part. The Orator although his clyent be condemned, if he haue ſhewed the vttermoſt of his art, hath not loſt the honour of his eloquence. The Generall and Captaine, although conquered, is commended, if in as much as in him lay, he proceeded with prudence, induſtrie and fortitude, he hath attempted all meanes to recompence thy courteſie, but thy felicity letted him. No calamitie hath falne vpon thee, whereby thou mighteſt make tryall of his true friendſhip. He could not giue vnto a rich man, ſit by a healthfull man, ſuccour a happie man. He was thankefull vnto thee, although thou receiuedſt no benefit. Beſides, intending this matter alwayes, and expecting the time & opportunitie of this ſame; he that hath ſpent manie cares to this end, and imployed much diligence to finde an occaſion of requitall, hath endeuoured more then he whoſe fortune it was, to make ſatisfaction ſuddenly.

CHAP. XIIII.

THe example of the debitor is farre different from this, who hath done little in gathering in his money, except he hath paide it: for there his importunate creditor ſtandeth ouer his head, who ſuffereth not a day to paſſe without intereſt; but here thou art matched with a bountifull creditor, who when he ſhall ſee thee trotting vp and downe, carefull and penſiue to ſatisfie, ſaith vnto thee

Diſlodge this care from out thy breaſt.

Ceaſe to be ſo vrgent in thine owne trouble: I am wholly ſatisfied. Thou doſt me iniurie, if thou thinkeſt that I deſire any thing more at thy hands: I am fully poſſeſſed of thy good mind. But tell me (ſaith he) wouldſt thou ſay that he had reſtored a benefite that had onely beene thankefull? By this reckoning he that hath requited, and he that hath not ſatisfied are of like reckoning. Contrariwiſe, put caſe; if any other hath forgotten the benefite he hath receiued, and hath no wayes endeuoured himſelfe to requite the ſame: wouldeſt thou ſay that he had requited? But this man (of whom we ſpeake) hath wearied himſelfe day and night, and renouncing all other offices only to thinke vpon this, hath wholly intended ſatisfaction, and laboured that no occaſion ſhould ouer-ſlip him. Shall therefore the like reſpect be had of him, that hath caſt away the care of returning gratuitie, as of him that neuer thought of ought elſe? Thou dealeſt vniuſtly with me, if thou exacteſt that recompence at my hand, when thou ſeeſt my minde euer addicted to content thee. To be ſhort; put caſe thou wert in captiuitie, and that to ranſom thee (hauing engaged all my goods vnto a creditor, who had taken them in aſſurance of the mony which I borrowed for thee) I put forth to Sea in a ſore ſtormie winter, by coaſts and promontories beleagred by Pyrats; and furthermore ſuffered all the perils that may chance euen in a peaceable Sea and after that hauing trauerſed all the deſerts, which all men liuing fled, and ſought to finde thee; and comming at laſt to the Pyrats, from whoſe hands alreadie another had diſcharged thee: wilt thou denie that I haue not requited thy goodneſſe, if in vndertaking this iourney, I haue by ſhipwrack loſt that money which I borrowed for thy ranſome? If I fall my ſelfe into that captiuitie from whence I would deliuer thee; wilt thou not confeſſe that I haue beene thankefull vnto thee? Yet vndoubtedly the *Athenians* called *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton* Tyrant-quellers, and *Mutius* hand left vpon the enemies Altar, was as much as if he had ſlaine *Porſenna:* and vertue likewiſe wreſtling againſt fortune, although the intended action was not effected, was alwayes honoured. He hath performed more, who hath followed flying occaſions, and euer hunted after new by which he might be thankefull, then hee whom the firſt occaſion made gratefull, without paine or trauell.

CHAP. XV.

HEe hath (ſaith hee) employed two things for thee, his will and goods: thou likewiſe oweſt him two. Worthily mighteſt thou ſay this vnto him, that had onely yeelded thee an idle will, but thou canſt not ſpeake it to him, who both willeth, and endeauoreth and leaueth nothing vnattempted, for he performeth both, as much as lieth in his power. Againe, a number is not alwayes to be equalled by a number, for ſometimes one thing ouer-valueth two. Therefore ſo forward and deſirous a will to make reſtitution, ſtandeth in ſtead of the benefite. But if the minde without the act bee not ſufficient to requite a benefit, no man is thankfull to the gods, on whom there is nothing beſtowed but the will, wee can (ſaith he) giue nothing to the gods but our will, but if I haue no other thing to giue him to whom I am obliged, why ſhould I not bee reputed gratefull toward men, in yeelding herein that more, then which I cannot giue vnto the gods?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

YEt if thou aske me what I thinke, and wilt ſubſcribe vnto mine anſwere, let this man iudge that hee hath receiued the benefit, and that man know that he hath not requited it. Let the one releaſe the other, and the other confeſſe the debt. Let this man ſay I haue it, and that man I owe it. In all controuerſies, let vs reſpect the common good, let vngratefull men be exempted from excuſations, to which they may flie, and vnder which they may colour their refuſall. I haue done all that I could. Doe it now likewiſe. What, thinkeſt thou our anceſtors were ſo imprudent, that they vnderſtood not that it were an vniuſt act to ſet no difference betweene him, who had ſpent the money he had borrowed of his creditor in royot and ſports, and him, who either by fire or theeues, and by any other misfortune, both loſt his owne and other mens? Truely they admitted no excuſe, to the end that men ſhould know that faith was to be obſerued euery way. For it was better that a iuſt excuſe amongſt few ſhould not be accepted, then that all men ſhould attempt any. Thou haſt done all thou canſt to ſatisfie. Let this ſuffice him, and thee a little. For euen as he is vnworthie to receiue any requitall, who ſuffereth thy ſerious and ſedulous endeuour, to ſlip away vnregarded; ſo likewiſe art thou vngratefull, if thou thinke not thy ſelfe more freely obliged to him, who taketh thy good will for payment, and by this meanes acquiteth thee of that thou oweſt. Lay not hold of this, neither conteſt, yet ſeeke thou occaſions of reſtitution. Requite the one, becauſe he asketh it, the other, becauſe he releaſeth thee. Repay this man, becauſe he is wicked, and the other, becauſe he is not euill. And therefore thou haſt no cauſe to thinke this queſtion may ſtand thee in any ſtead: whether hee that hath receiued a benefit from a wiſe man, when he is wiſe, is bound to reſtore it afterwards, when hee is become fooliſh, and ſhall no more be a good man. For thou wouldeſt reſtore a thing committed to thy truſt, which thou haddeſt receiued from a wiſe man, yea and to an euill man, wouldeſt thou ſatisfie that he had lent thee: why then likewiſe wouldeſt thou not reſtore a benefit? Becauſe hee is changed, ſhall he change thee? What if thou hadſt receiued any thing from a man in health, wouldeſt thou not reſtore it when he were ſick, whereas we are alwaies moſt obliged to our friend when hee is weakeſt? Truely this man is ſicke in minde, let him bee helped, let him be borne withall, folly is a ſickneſſe of the minde. To the intent that this may bee the better vnderſtood, mee thinketh it good to vſe ſome diſtinction herein.

CHAP. XVII.

THere are two kinds of benefits, the one which a wiſe man cannot giue, but to a wiſe man; and this is an abſolute and true benefit: the other vulgar and of little value, whereof the vſe is ordinarie amongſt vs ignorant men. Of this there is no doubt, but that, that I ought to reſtore it to him I owe it, whatſoeuer hee bee, whether he be become a Homicide, a Theefe, or an Adulterer. There are lawes to puniſh crimes and bad actions: the Iudge better chaſtiſeth theſe, then an vngratefull man. Let no man make thee bad, becauſe he is bad himſelfe. I will

will fling away my benefit to a wicked man, and reſtore it to a good man, to the one, becauſe I owe it, to the other, leſt I ſhould be in his debt.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF the other kinde of benefit there is ſome queſtion, which if I be not capable to receiue, except I be wiſe, I ought not likewiſe to reſtore but to a wiſe man. For put the caſe I ſhould tender it, yet cannot he receiue it, for why he is not capable of it, but hath loſt the ſcience how to vſe it. What if you command me to bandie backe the ball to a maimed mans hand, it is but a folly to giue him that hath no power to receiue? And that I may begin to anſwere thee to thy laſt ſpeeches, I will not giue him that which hee cannot receiue, yet will I recompence the good he hath done me, although he cannot receiue it. For I cannot oblige any man, but him that receiueth, yet may I be diſcharged, if I giue ſatisfaction. Cannot he make vſe thereof? Let him looke to that, the fault ſhall bee in him and not in me.

CHAP. XIX.

TO reſtore, ſaith he, is no other thing, but to deliuer it to his hands that ought to receiue it. For if thou oweſt wine vnto any man, and he willeth thee to powre the ſame into a net or ſieue, wouldeſt thou ſay that thou haddeſt repaid him, or wouldeſt thou returne him that, which whileſt it is reſtored, is ſpilt betweene both. To reſtore, is to giue that which thou oweſt to him, to whom it appertaineth, and that hath a will to receiue the ſame; this is the onely thing I ought to performe. That he may receiue, that which he receiued, at my hands, is now a further charge. I owe him not the cuſtodie thereof, but the acquitall of my faith: and farre better is it, that he haue it not, then that I ſhould not reſtore it. I will preſently ſatisfie my creditour, although I know that hee will ſuddenly ſend that I owe him vnto the ſtewes. Although he aſſigne it ouer to be ſatisfied to an adultereſſe, I will pay it. And if he would powre the money, which he is to receiue, into his boſome, being vntied, yet will I giue it. For I muſt repay it, yet am I not bound either to keepe or defend it. I ought carefully to keepe the good I haue receiued, & not that which I haue reſtored. As long as it remaineth with me, I will ſee it ſhall not be loſt, but if it be called for, it muſt be ſatisfied, although it ſhould ſlip out of his hands that receiued it. I will reſtore it to a good man, when it ſhal be profitable for him, to an euil man when he ſhal demand it. Thou canſt not, ſaith he, redeliuer a benefit vnto him in ſuch a ſort as thou receiuedſt it, for thou receiuedſt it frō a wiſe man, thou repaydſt it to a foole. Neither is it embaſed by me, but by him. I will render that which I haue receiued, and if he recouer his wiſdome, I will redeliuer it intirely, ſuch as I receiued it; as long as he is euill, I will render ſuch a one as he may receiue. But (ſaith hee) what if he be not only made euil, but cruell and enraged as *Apollodorus* or *Phalaris* were, wilt thou reſtore the benefit thou haſt receiued at his hands? Nature ſuffereth not ſo great a change in a wiſe man, for falling from the beſt into the worſt, it muſt needs follow alſo, that ſome impreſſion of goodneſſe remaineth in him, e-

uen

uen in his wickednesse. Vertue is not so much extinguished in men, but that she impresseth some markes, which cannot be defaced by any change. Wilde beasts that haue beene brought vp amongst vs, when as they breake out into the woods, retaine some part of their former tamenesse, and looke how much they be wilder then the tamest beasts, so much are they tamer thē the wildest beasts, and such as neuer were many tractable by mans hand. No man hath euer fallen into extreame wickednesse, that hath euer stucke vnto wisdome: hee is tainted more deepely, then that it may be wholly washed out, and changed into any other colour. Furthermore, I aske thee whether he, of whom we speake, bee onely sauage and cruell in minde, or if he take pleasure to procure the ruine and publike misfortune of the whole world. For thou hast proposed vnto me *Apollidorus* and *Phalaris* the tyrant, whose nature, if an euill man haue in himselfe, why should not I restore him his benefit back againe, to the end I may be wholly acquit of him for euer? But if not only he delighteth and taketh pleasure in humane bloud, but exerciseth his vnsatiable crueltie on all ages, and rageth not for anger, but of a certaine thirst and desire he hath to shed bloud: if hee killeth children in their fathers presence, if not contented with a simple death, he tortureth them, and not onely burneth those that are to die, but scorcheth them: if his altar be alwayes soyled with new murthers and massacres. It is a small matter to keepe backe a benefit from such a one. Whatsoeuer it was, whereby he and I were lincked and vnited together: that hath beene dissolued, by reason that by his crueltie and tyrannie hee hath broken the rights and lawes of humane societie. If he had done any thing for me, if I had receiued any good at his hands, and afterwards he had taken armes, and made warre against my country, whatsoeuer he had deserued he had lost, and to be thankfull to him, would be reputed a haynous crime. If he assaile not my country, but be tedious to his owne, and doing no iniurie to my nation, he persecuteth his owne: notwithstanding that so great impiety of his minde, dissolueth the bonds whereby we were vnited: and if this be not sufficient to make him mine enemie, at least-wise I shall haue occasion to loath and hate him, and the respect of duetie which I ought to beare to the common good of men, deserueth to haue more power ouer mee, then the obligation that I owe to one particular person.

CHAP. XX.

BVt although this be so, and that I may freely act whatsoeuer me listeth towards him from that time since, whereby violating all lawes, he hath brought to passe, that nothing may be vnlawfully attempted against him, yet beleeue I that my actions must bee so limited, that if the good I intend in my benefit, shall neither augment his forces to the destruction of all men; neither confirme that power which he hath already, that is to say, that I may doe it without the ruine of the Common-wealth, I will restore his benefit: I will saue his childe being an infant. What doth this benefit wrong any of those whom his crueltie dismembreth. I will not furnish him with money to pay the souldiers of his guard. If he shall want either marble or rich rayment, it shall be no wayes preiudiciall to any man, that shall supply his excesse and superfluitie. Souldiers and furniture I will not helpe him with. If he request me in way of great kindnesse, to send him cunning *Comedians* and *Courtezans*, and such other delights as may temper his cruelty, I wil willingly

lingly offer them. Though I would not ſend him armed Gallies and ſhippes of warre, yet would I ſend him whirries and couered barges, and other ſuch like things wherein Kings take their paſtime, when they intend to ſport themſelues vpon the ſea. And if the hope of his amendment were vtterly loſt, yet with the ſame hand that I giue benefits to all men, I wil returne him his; becauſe the beſt remedie for ſuch euill diſpoſitions is not to be, and it is beſt for him to be dead, whoſe life will neither be reclaimed nor rectified. But ſeldome is ſo great wickedneſſe ſeene, it is rare; and reputed alwayes for ſtrange and wonderfull, they are feared as the gaping and openings of the earth, or as great fires which burſt forth from the deepeſt caues of the ſea. Let vs therefore leaue theſe, and ſpeake of thoſe which we deteſt without horror. To this euill man whom I may find in euery market-place, whom priuate men feare: will I returne the benefit I haue receiued: I muſt not make my profit of his wickedneſſe. Looke what belongs not to me, let it returne to him that oweth it, be hee good, or bee he bad. How diligently ſhould I examine theſe things, if I ſhould not reſtore but giue? This place craueth a merrie fable.

CHAP. XXI.

A Certaine *Pythagoriſt* had vpon his credit bought a paire of clowniſh ſhooes of a Cobler (a great matter I warrant you) ſome few dayes after he came vnto the ſhop, to make ſatisfaction, and when he had long time knocked at the doore, there was one that anſwered him: *Why loſe you your labour? That Cobler you ſeeke for is carried out and burned. This may be a griefe to vs which loſe our friends for euer, but not to you that know he ſhall be borne anew.* Thus ieſted he at the *Pythagoriſt*. But our *Philoſopher* carried home his three or foure pence very merily, ſhaking them diuers times in his hand, as he went homeward. Afterwards accuſing himſelfe of the pleaſure he had conceiued in non-payment, and perceiuing how much that little gaine of his was pleaſing to him, he returned to the ſhoppe, and ſaid vnto himſelfe; *Hee lieth to thee, pay thou that which thou oweſt.* With that word hee thruſt the foure pence into the ſhop at a crany of the wall, where the cloſing of the panell was ſhrunke; chaſtiſing himſelfe for his curſed auarice, leſt he ſhould accuſtome himſelfe to detaine another mans goods.

CHAP. XXII.

SEeke thou then to whom thou mayeſt returne that which thou oweſt, and if no man require payment at thy hands, call thou thy ſelfe to account. It appertaines not to thee, whether he be good or euill. Reſtore & accuſe thy ſelfe, not forgetting how offices are diuided betweene you. Haue we commanded to forget thee, we haue enioyned him to remember; notwithſtanding he deceiueth himſelfe, that thinketh that when we ſay, that he who hath giuen the benefit, ſhould neuer more thinke on the pleaſure he hath done; that wee would haue him entirely loſe the remembrance of the honeſteſt thing that may be done in this world: wee command ſome things more ſtrictly then we ought, to cauſe them to returne to their true and particular proportion, when we ſay that he muſt not remember

member our meaning is, that he must not publish it abroad, hee ought not to vaunt, he should not reproach. For som there are that make the courtesies they haue done, their table-talke amongst their companions; of this talke they when they are sober, of this they talke being drunke, this discouer they to strangers, this commit they to their friends. That this inordinat and reproachfull memorie might be repressed: we commanded that he that had done the courtesie to his friend, should neuer remember it, and commanding him more then he could performe, we perswaded him to silence.

CHAP. XXIII.

AS oft as thou distrustest those ouer whom thou hast command, thou mayest exact farre more then thou needest, to the end that that may be performed which is sufficient. Euery *Hyperbole* aimeth at this issue; that by a lie a man may attaine vnto the truth. He therefore that said,

That did exceed the snow in whitenesse,
And did surpasse the windes in lightnesse.

That which could not be said, to the end the most that could be, should be beleeued. And he that said,

More fixed then these rockes, more headlong then this torrent.

did not thinke that he should perswade this, that any one was so immoueable as a rocke. This excessiue and superlatiue kinde of speech neuer hopeth so much as it dareth; but it affirmeth incredible things, to the end it may attaine vnto credible. When we say, Let him that hath giuen a benefite forget it; our meaning is, that he should be as one that had forgotten it: let no man perceiue that he hath remembrance thereof, or that his memorie is awakened. When we say, That we ought not to redemand a benefit againe, we do not wholly take away the meanes of redemanding it; for oft-times euill men haue neede of an exacter, and good men also of an admonisher. Why then, shall I not shew an ignorant man the opportunity of requitall? shall I not discouer my necessities vnto him? why eyther should hee belie himselfe, or be sorie that hee knew it not? now and then let some admonition be intermixed; yet such as is modest, which neyther sauoreth of importunity or matter of plea.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SOCRATES in the hearing of his friends, said, *I had bought me a cloake had I had money.* He required of no man, he admonished all: the contention was, who should supply him. And why not? For how small a matter was it that *Socrates* receiued? but it was a great matter to be worthy to be such a one, from whom *Socrates* would receiue. He could not more mildely chastise them. I had (said he) bought me a cloake had I had money. After this whosoeuer was the forwardest he gaue

too

too late : for *Socrates* was already in neceſſitie. For theſe intemperate exactors ſakes we forbid the redemand of benefits, not that it ſhould neuer be put in vſe, but that it might be done modeſtly and ſparingly.

CHAP. XXV.

ARISTIPPVS hauing ſometimes taken pleaſure in good ſauors and perfumes, ſaid; *Beſhrow theſe effeminate fellowes that haue defamed ſo worthy a thing.* The ſame muſt be ſaid, Euill betide theſe wicked and importunate exactors of their benefits, who haue extinguiſhed ſo worthy an admonition amongſt friends: yet wil I vſe this loue of friendſhip, and will redemand a benefit from him from whom I would haue requeſted it if I had need, who will receiue it in ſtead of another benefite. If he haue meanes to requite that which I haue done for him, I will neuer ſay in way of complaint,

I tooke thee vp caſt vp vpon this ſhore
Forlorne and poore, and that which mads me more
I made thee partner of my Princely ſtate.

This is no admonition, but rather a reproch: this is no leſſe then to bring benefits into hatred: this is the direct meanes to make it eyther lawfull or delightfull to be thankeleſſe. It is enough, and too much to refreſh the memorie with ſubmiſſe and familar words;

If I haue ought demerited from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeard in me.

Let the other likewiſe ſay, How can it otherwiſe be, but that thou haſt deſerued? Thou haſt entertained me in thy houſe, after that by tempeſt I was caſt on ſhore, denied of all ſupplies, ſhipwrackt and poore.

CHAP. XXVI.

BVt (ſaith he) we haue done no good, he diſſembles, he is forgetful, what ſhould I doe? Thou propoſeſt a very neceſſary queſtion, and in which it becommeth vs to conclude this diſcourſe, How ingratefull men are to be borne withall? Truely with a peaceable, milde, and great minde. Let neuer ſo inhumane, forgetfull, and vngratefull man ſo offend thee, that the delight of thy bountie be extinguiſhed in thee, neuer let iniurie inforce theſe ſpeeches from thee: I would I had not done it. Let the infelicitie of thy benefite content thee likewiſe. It ſhall repent him euer, if thou hitherto repent thee not. Thou muſt not be grieued as if ſome new caſualtie had befalne thee, thou oughteſt rather to wonder if it had not happened. One is affrighted with labour, another with charge, another with danger, and another with vnſeemly baſhfulneſſe, leſt in his requitall he acknowledge that he hath receiued. Some forget their duetie, another is idle in his affaires, another ouer-buſie. Marke how the immeaſurable deſires of men doo alwayes gape & graſpe after mony. Thou wilt not wonder then to ſee no man addreſſed

dreſſed to requite where no man receiueth enough, which one of theſe is of ſo firm and ſolid a mind, that thou mayeſt ſafely truſt thy benefits with him. This man is mad with luſt, that man ſerueth his bellie, another is wholly addicted to lucre, whoſe ſubſtance thou hardly mayeſt equall: this man is ſicke with enuy, another with ſuch blinded ambition, that he is readie to runne vpon the ſwords point. Adde hereunto dulneſſe of minde and olde age, and contrariwiſe the agitation and perpetuall tumult of an vnquiet breaſt. Annex hereunto the too much eſteeme, and inſolent pride of a mans ſelfe, for which he is to be contemned. What ſhould I ſpeake of their contumacie, that incline to the worſt; or of their inconſtancie and leuitie, that are ſetled in nothing? Adde vnto theſe headlong temerity and feare, that neuer giueth faithfull counſell, and a thouſand errours wherewith we are intangled, the boldneſſe of the moſt cowards, the diſcord of moſt familiars; and (which is a common miſchiefe) to truſt to vncertainties, to loath things in poſſeſſion, to wiſh for thoſe things which we may not any wayes hope to attaine.

CHAP. XXVII.

SEekeſt thou for faith, a thing ſo peaceable amidſt the paſſions of the mind, that are moſt reſtleſſe? If the true image of our life were preſented before thine eyes, thou wouldeſt ſuppoſe that thou ſaweſt the pillage of a great Citie taken by aſſault, wherein without reſpect of ſhame or any iuſtice, the enemie in ſtead of counſaile vſeth force and violence, as if by publique proclamation he were permitted to exerciſe at his pleaſure all kinde of outrage. Neyther fire nor ſword is ſpared, murthers and miſchiefes are not puniſhed: Religion it ſelfe, which hath oftentimes amongſt the armed enemies ſaued their liues, who humbled themſelues at her feete, cannot now containe thoſe men that are ſet vpon pillage: the one forcibly defaceth the goods of a priuate houſe, another of a publique: that man ſtealeth prophane things, and that man ſacred; the one breakes vp, the other paſſeth ouer. This man being diſcontented with the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſage, ouerthroweth that which ſtoppeth his way, and makes his profite of this ruine. This man ſpoyleth without ſlaughter, that man beareth his bootie in a bloudie hand: there is no man but catcheth ſomething from another. Amidſt this greedineſſe of mankind, I feare me thou art too much forgetful of our common fortune, who ſeekeſt to finde a gratefull man amongſt ſo many robbers. If thou art agrieued that there are vngratefull men, be ſorie that there are ſome luxurious men, be vexed becauſe there are couetous men, be diſpleaſed becauſe there are impudent men, be angrie that there are deformed, ſicke and pale olde men. This vice I confeſſe is grieuous and intollerable, that breaketh the ſociety of men, that deuideth and deſtroyeth that concord whereby our weakeneſſe is ſupported; yet ſo common is it, that he himſelfe who complaineth againſt it cannot auoyd it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BEthinke thy ſelfe, whether thou haſt beene thankfull to euery one of thoſe to whom thou art óbliged, whether any of thoſe pleaſures that haue beene done thee, are loſt; whether thou haſt alwayes remembred the benefites which thou haſt receiued from others, and thou ſhalt ſee, that thoſe things which were giuen thee when thou wert a childe, were forgotten by thee ere thou wert a ſtripling, and that thoſe things which were beſtowed on thee in thy youth, continued not in thy memorie vntill olde age. There are ſome things which we haue loſt, ſome things we haue reiected, ſome things haue vaniſhed out of our ſight by little and little, and from ſome things we our ſelues haue turned our eyes. But to excuſe thy weakeneſſe, firſt of all memorie is fraile, and cannot long time apprehend ſo great a number of affaires; it muſt needes loſe as much as it entertaineth, and ouerwhelme the elder with the later. So commeth it to paſſe that the authority of thy nurſe preuaileth little with thee, becauſe ſucceeding yeares haue layed the benefits ſhe hath done thee, farre from thy thought. Hence groweth it that thou yeeldeſt no reuerence to thy Maſter: ſo commeth it to paſſe, that whileſt thou art buſied in labouring for a Conſulſhip, or pretendeſt a Prieſthood, thou forgetteſt him that once gaue thee his voyce to be a Queſtor. Happely if thou diligently examine thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt finde that vice whereof thou complaineſt in thine own boſome: thou doeſt amiſſe to be angrie with a publique crime, and fooliſhly to be angrie againſt thy ſelfe; to abſolue thy ſelfe forgiue others. By thy ſufferance thou mayeſt make him better, but worſe by thy reproches: thou muſt not harden his heart; let him, if any ſhame be left in him, retaine it ſtill. Oft-times publique and notorious reproaches exile that doubtfull modeſtie, which a man would retaine. There is no man feareth to be that which he is ſeene to be: ſhame once diſcouered is loſt.

CHAP. XXIX.

IHaue loſt a benefit. Shall we ſay we haue loſt thoſe things which we conſecrate to good vſes? A benefite ought to be numbred amongſt thoſe things that are conſecrated; prouided that a man hath well employed the ſame, although it be badly requited: if he haue not ſhewed himſelfe ſuch as we hoped he would be, let vs be ſuch as wee haue beene, let vs be vnlike vnto him; the wrong was then done, and now it appeareth. An vnthankfull man is not accuſed by vs, but with our owne diſgrace, becauſe the complaint of the loſſe of our benefit, is a ſigne it was badly giuen. As neere as we can let vs pleade his cauſe with our ſelues, and ſay happely hee could not, peraduenture he knew not, perhaps he will doe it hereafter. The wiſe and patient creditor ſometimes recouereth his debt which he reputeth loſt, in forbearing his debtor, and giuing him time: the like muſt we do; let vs nouriſh the languiſhing faith of thoſe that forget themſelues.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

I Haue loſt my benefite. Thou foole, thou knoweſt not the times of thy detriment. Thou haſt loſt, but when thou gaueſt; now the matter is diſcouered. Euen in theſe things which ſeeme to be loſt, moderation hath profited very much. As the infirmities of the bodie, ſo thoſe of the minde are to be handled gently; oft-times that thing which patiente and delay hath diſcouered and vnfolded, is broken by his pertinacie and ſtubbornneſſe that haſteth the ſame. What neede theſe reproaches? What need theſe plaints? What needes purſuit? Why doeſt thou acquit him? Why diſmiſſeſt thou him, if he be vngratefull? Now oweth he thee nothing; what reaſon is there to prouoke and incenſe him, whom thou haſt many wayes pleaſured, to the end that of a doubtfull friend he may becom an aſſured enemie, and to giue him means to defend his cauſe the better by procuring thine owne ſhame? There bee ſome will ſay, I am ſure there is ſome great matter in it; but what it is I know not, that hee could not abide him to whom he was ſo much indebted. There is no man that in any ſort complained of a ſuperior but ſtained, though he could not deface his greatneſſe and honor, neyther is a man content to faine trifles, when he ſeeks for credite by the greatneſſe of his lie.

CHAP. XXXI.

HOw farre better is that way whereby the hope of friendſhip is reſerued to him, and the opinion of our friendſhip likewiſe, if he be thankefull and entertaine a better thought? Inceſſant goodneſſe conquereth euill men; neyther is there any man of ſo hard and hatefull a minde againſt thoſe things that are to be beloued, that loueth not thoſe, who euen in their greateſt wrongs continue good men, to whom he beginneth to owe this alſo, that he ſuſtaineth no diſpleaſure at their hands for not requiting. Reflect thy thoughts therefore vpon theſe: there is no correſpondencie held with me: what ſhall I doe? euen that which the gods the beſt authors of all things do, who begin to beſtow their benefites on thoſe, that know not whence they come, and perſeuer alſo to do good to thoſe that are vngratefull. One chargeth them with little regard of vs, another that they haue iniuſtly diſpenſed their graces, another thruſteth them out of his world, and leaueth them there alone in ſloth and heauineſſe, without light or doing any thing; another ſaith that Sun (to whom we owe this, that we haue diſtinguiſhed the time betweene labour and reſt, that being deliuered from darkeneſſe wee haue eſcaped the confuſion of a perpetuall night; for that by his courſe he tempereth the yeare, and nouriſheth our bodies, and haſteneth our haruеſt, and ripeneth our fruit) is ſom ſtone or globe of caſuall fires, and call him any thing rather then god. All this notwithſtanding, the gods like good parents that ſmile at the iniuries of their little children, ceaſe not to heape benefites vpon thoſe who ſuſpect that they are not the authors of all benefites, but with an equall hand diſtribute their bleſſings amongſt al nations, reſeruing only to themſelues the power to do good. They water the earth with timely ſhowers, they moue the Seas with fitting windes, they diſtinguiſh times by the courſe of the ſtarres,

they weaken both winters and ſommers by the gratious intercourſe of gentler winds; they pardon and mildely winke at, and ſuffer the errours and ſinnes of our ſinfull ſoules. Let vs imitate them; let vs giue although many things haue beene giuen in vaine, yet let vs giue vnto others, let vs giue euen vnto thoſe by whom we haue ſuſtained the loſſe, no man forbeareth to build a houſe for feare it ſhould be ruinated, and when as fire hath conſumed the place of our aboad, we ſuddenly lay a new foundation againe ere the floore be halfe colde, and oft-times we build cities in that very place where they were deſtoyed and ſunke: ſo conſtant and confirmed is the mind to good hopes; mens labors would ceaſe both by land and ſea, if they had not a will to re-edifie and re-attempt the ruines that were paſt.

CHAP. XXXII.

HEe is a thankeleſſe man, he hath not iniured me but himſelfe, I had the vſe of my benefit when I gaue it, neyther therefore will I giue more ſlowely but more diligently; what I haue loſt in him I will recouer in others: yea, to this man alſo will I giue a benefit again, and like a good huſbandman, with care and labour I will conquer the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle; I haue loſt my benefit, and that man his credite with all men. It is not the action of a generous minde, to giue and loſe; this is the marke of a mightie minde to loſe and giue.

The end of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of Benefits.

THE EPISTLES OF LVCIUS ANNÆVS SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER.

Written vnto LVCILIVS, Together with the *Arguments vnto euery Epistle of* IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

LONDON
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LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

HIS EPISTLES TO LVCILIVS:

With the Arguments of *Iuſtus Lipſius*.

EPISTLE I.

He commendeth to LVCILIVS *the eſtimation and vſe of time, that it ought not to be deferred nor let ſlippe, neither ill employed.*

DOE ſo, my *Lucilius*, recouer thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe, and that time which hitherto hath beene either taken from thee, or ſtollen from thee, or that otherwiſe hath eſcaped thee, recollect and reſerue to thy ſelfe. Perſwade thy ſelfe that it is ſo as I write: there are ſome times which are taken away frō vs, ſome other which are ſtolne from vs, and other ſome which ſlip away from vs: But the ſhamefulleſt loſſe that may be, is that which proceedeth from our negligence, and if thou wilt ſeriouſly and neerely obſerue, thou ſhalt perceiue that a great part of life flitteth from thoſe that doe euill, a greater from thoſe that doe nothing; and the whole from thoſe that doe not that they doe. What man wilt thou ſhew me that hath put any price vpon time, that eſteemeth of a day, and that vnderſtandeth that he daily dieth? For herein are we deceiued, becauſe wee ſuppoſe death to bee farre off from vs, and yet notwithſtanding the greater part thereof is alreadie ouer-paſſed, & all our years that are behind death holdeth in his poſſeſſion. Do therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which as thou writeſt vnto me thou doeſt. Embrace and lay hold on each houre, ſo will it come to paſſe, that thou ſhalt be leſſe in ſuſpence for to morrow, if thou lay hold, and faſten thy hands on to day. Whileſt life is deferred it fleeteth. All other things, my *Lucilius*, are forren to vs: time onely is our owne. Nature hath put vs in poſſeſſion of this fraile and fleeting thing, from which we may be expelled by any man. But ſo great is the folly of mortall men, that they ſuffer all things, yea euen the leaſt and vileſt, truly recouerable, to be imputed vnto them, when as they haue obtained them. Let no man thinke that he oweth any thing, who hath receiued time, when in the meane while this is the thing, which indeed the gratefull man cannot reſtore. Happily thou wilt aske me what I doe, who command thee theſe things? I will ingeniouſly confeſſe vnto thee, I doe that which befalleth a luxurious man; but diligent:

diligent: I take a very ſtrict account of my expence: I cannot ſay that I loſe nothing, yet know I well what I loſe, and why, and how. I am readie to yeeld a reaſon of my pouertie. It befalleth me, as to many others, brought to pouertie, not by their owne fault; all men pardon them, no man ſuccoureth them. What is it then? I think him not poore, who ſuppoſeth that little remainder which he hath, to be ſufficient: yet I had rather thou ſhouldeſt keepe thine owne, and begin to vſe good time while thou mayeſt. For as our Elders were of opinion, the ſparing that beginneth in the bottome is too late, becauſe not only the leaſt, but alſo the worſt remaineth in the lees.

Epist. II.

He approueth the quiet of the bodie, and of the mind alſo in ſome one thing or ſtudie. He condemneth the ouer curious, that runne ouer and reade diuers Authors and writings. He perſwadeth rather to reade a few, and thoſe good, and to dwell vpon them. He counſelleth alwaies to cul out ſome one thing, and commit it to memorie, by his example who then made vſe of a ſaying of Epicvrvs *touching pouertie.*

I Conceiue a good hope of thee, by reaſon of thoſe things which thou writeſt vnto mee, and that which I heare ſpoken of thee. Thou art no wanderer, neither diſquieted with the deſire of tranſporting thy ſelfe from one place vnto another; this is but the toſſing of a ſicke minde. In my iudgement, the chiefeſt teſtimonie of a well compoſed minde, is to be able to conſiſt and dwell with her ſelfe. But beware leſt this deſire to reade many Authors, and all ſorts of bookes, containe not giddineſſe and inconſtancie of mind. Thou muſt be ſtayed, and after a maner nouriſhed with certain ſpirits, if thou wilt apprehend any thing that ſhall conſtantly remaine in thy memory. He is no where, that is euery where. Thoſe that paſſe their life in trauel take vp many Innes, but entertaine few friendſhips. It muſt needs ſo befall ſuch, who acquaint not themſelues familiarly with one ſpirit, but lightly trauers, and ſlightly ouer-runne many things. That meat neuer nouriſheth the bodie, which is no ſooner taken in, but is deliuered out. There is nothing that ſo much hindereth a mans health, as the often change of remedies. The wound can hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers ſorts of medicines. The tree proſpereth not that is tranſported from one place to another. To be ſhort, there is nothing ſo profitable, that profiteth by paſſing it ouer. The multitude of bookes diſtracteth and diſtempereth the vnderſtanding. Being therfore vnable to reade as much as thou haſt, it ſufficeth to haue as much as thou canſt reade. But now, ſayeſt thou, will I ouer-runne this booke, now that. The ſtomacke is diſtempered, that longeth after diuers ſorts of meats, which beeing different and diuers, doe rather choake then comfort or nouriſh. Reade therefore (if thou wilt credit me) ſuch bookes alwaies as are moſt approued, and though for varieties ſake thou ſometimes change, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, thoſe as thine ordinarie retreat and houſe. Purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe euery day ſome new forces againſt pouertie, and ſome counſels againſt death, & fortifie thy ſelf with other preſeruations againſt the other plunges of life, and after thou haſt taſted diuers things, lay hold on one which that day thou mayeſt digeſt. This likewiſe doe I of diuers things which I reade, I apprehend ſomewhat. See heere what I haue learned to day of *Epicurus* (for I

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am wont ſometime to paſſe into mine enemies campe, not as a fugitiue, but as a ſpie) A contented pouertie, ſaith he, is an honeſt thing; but that is no pouertie which is contented: for he that contenteth himſelfe with his pouertie, is a rich man, not he that hath little, but he that deſireth the moſt, is the poore man. For what skilleth it how much a man hath in his cheſt, how much lieth in his barns, how much he feedeth, how much he profiteth by vſurie, if he ſtill gape after other mens gaines, if he make reckoning not of thoſe things he hath gotten, but of that which remaineth to be gotten? Thou requireſt of me what meaſure or proportion there is of riches? The firſt is to haue that which is neceſſarie, the next that which ſufficeth.

EPIST. III.

That ſome are oftentimes badly and raſhly called friends. If any ſuch there be that deſerueth the name of friend, all things are to be repoſed and truſted on his faith, and communicated vnto him, as another our ſelues. Such as are fearefull and baſe minded are reprehended, as likewiſe thoſe that are ouer-credulous, or to open. The meane is the beſt.

THou haſt deliuered thy letters to be conueyed to my hands, as thou ſayeſt, by a friend of thine, by which thou aduertiſeſt me, not to communicate all thy pertinent affaires with him, becauſe as thou ſayeſt, thou art not accuſtomed to doe the like: ſo that in one and the ſame letter, thou alloweſt and diſauoweſt him to be thy friend: I beleeue firſt of all, that thou haſt giuen him this name of friend at aduenture, and as a common name in ſuch ſort, as we cal euery man that paſſeth by vs by the name of Sir, if ſo we be ignorant by what name he is called. But let me tell thee this, that if thou thinkeſt to haue a friend, in whom thou wilt not put as much confidence, as in thy ſelfe, thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe very much, and vnderſtandeſt not ſufficiently the force of true amitie: deliberate all things with thy friend, but firſt of all reſolue thy ſelfe, that he is thy friend. After the friendſhip is contracted, then ought wee to truſt; before it bee formed we ought to iudge. But they prepoſterouſly confound offices, who contrarie to the precepts of *Theophraſtus*, loue before they iudge, and after they haue iudged loue not at all. Thinke therefore long time with thy ſelfe, whether any man is to bee entertained into thy friendſhip; but when thou ſhalt be reſolued to accept of his loue, diſcouer vnto him readily thy whole hart, and as boldly communicate thy ſecrets with him, as with thy ſelfe; yet ſo liue thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be ſuch, that thou mayeſt commit them to the ſerious obſeruation of thine enemie. But becauſe ſometimes diuers things fall out, that cuſtome hath made ſecret, impart freely vnto thy friend all thy deſignes and cogitations, if thou ſuppoſeſt him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no leſſe. For many haue taught how to deceiue, by fearing leſt they themſelues ſhould be deceiued, and haue miniſtred other men a priuiledge of offence by their own vaine ſuſpicion. What is the cauſe therefore, why I ſhould conceale any thing from my friend? Why before him thinke I not my ſelfe alone? Some there are which commit thoſe things which are onely communicable with their friends to euery one they meete, and diſburthen in euery eare whatſoeuer is diſtaſtefull vnto them: ſome againe likewiſe are diſtruſtfull of their faith, whom they eſteeme moſt deare,

dearest, yea and if they could, they would scarcely trust themselues, but inwardly oppresse themselues with their owne secrets. But neither of these things is to be done, for both of them sauour of infirmitie, both not to credit all men, and not to credit any: but the one in my opinion is the more laudable vice, the other more secure. So reprehend both of them, both those that are alwayes disquiet, as those that are alwayes idle. For the manner of liuing in the first is not industrie, but rather the course & recourse of a tempest that agitateth their soules: and as touching those that thinke that all motion is trouble and vexation, it is rather a dissolution and languor in them than moderation. Commit that therefore to memorie which I haue read in *Posidonius*, There are some, saith he, that are in such sort retired and hidden, that they thinke all things to be in garboile, which are open to the light. It behoueth thee to temper these things together, and to chuse certaine intermissions which are proper to action and repast. Deliberate with nature, and she will tell thee, that she made both the day and the night.

Epist. IIII.

He exhorteth him to persever in Philosophie, wherby he may be esteemed a serious, graue and perfect man. For the rest hee concludeth them to be children that feare such things as are not to be feared, as especially death. And this concludeth he to be the end of our euils; and that eyther by sudden motion or desperation many haue contemned the same: and why not with reason? He concludeth therefore that life is not to be loued, but that we ought daily to thinke, vpon how diuers and light causes death approacheth vs. Finally, he proposeth an Embleme of Epicvrvs *of true riches.*

COntinue as thou hast begun, and indeuour thy selfe as much as in thee lieth, to the end thou mayest more plentifully enioy a reformed and gouerned minde. And in reforming and moderating the same thou shalt enioy it, but the contentment that a man receiueth by the contemplation of a conformed minde, and that is repleniſhed with perfect innocencie, is farre more pleasant and agreeable. Thou doest remember what pleasure thou diddest feele, when hauing left thy childish liuerie, thou tookest vpon thee the abilements of a man, being brought before the Pretor into the marketplace. I expect a far greater, beyond comparison, when thou shalt cast off thy childish mind, and that Philosophie hath inrouled thee amongst the number of men: for childe-hood ouerslippeth vs easily; but that which is most grieuous, childishnesse remaineth with vs, and the worst that I see, is that we haue alreadie the authoritie of old men, and neuertheless possesse as yet the vices of children; and not onely of children, but of infants. For those are affraid of things of small value, and these other of such things as are false: we feare both the one and the other. If thou wilt well bethinke thy selfe, thou shalt vnderstand that there are certaine things, which for the same cause for which they bring vs much feare, ought the lesse to be feared; No euill is great which commeth the last. We might feare death if it could abide alwayes with vs: but it is necessarie that eyther it befall vs not, or that it ouerpasseth incontinently. And if thou tell me that it is a difficult thing to perswade the mind to contempt of life, doe but consider vpon how light occasions some haue attempted the same: one hath strangled himselfe with the halter before his Mi-

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ſtris doores, another hath caſt himſelfe from the top of the houſe to the bottom to auoyde his Maſters diſpleaſure, another hath ſtabbed himſelfe into the breaſt, rather then he would be brought back to the place from whence he was fled. Thinkeſt thou that vertue cannot inforce as much as exceſſiue feare could? Truſt me, no man can enioy a peaceable and ſecure life, that laboureth ouer much to prolong it, and that eſteemeth it for a great benefite, to ſee and obſerue the reuolution of of many yeares. Meditate then euery day to haue the power to leaue thy life freely and willingly, which diuers men entertaine in another maner then they do who embrace bryers and thorns, which haue beene driuen athwart them by the violence of ſome furious ſtreame. They float betwixt the feare of death, and the torments of life; they will not liue, and they know not how to die. Faſhion therefore vnto thy ſelfe a pleaſant life, by forſaking ſollicitude that may befall thee for the loue of the ſame. There is no good more plauſible to the poſſeſſor then that, to the loſſe whereof the minde is alreadie prepared; and there is nothing, the loſſe whereof is more eaſie to be ſupported, then of that which being loſt cannot be redeſired. Take thee courage and aſſurance againſt thoſe things that are ſubiect to the ſame neceſſitie as thou art, euen thoſe that are moſt mightie. A *Pupill & an *Eunuch gaue ſentence on great *Pompeys* head, of *Craſſus* the cruell and inſolent Parthian. *Caius Cæſar* commanded that *Lepidus* ſhould preſent his necke to the Tribune *Decimus*, and hee himſelfe gaue his owne to *Chæreas*. Fortune hath neuer ſo much fauoured any man, but that ſhe hath affronted him with as many menaces. Truſt not ouermuch vnto this calme. In an inſtant the Sea is turned, and thoſe ſhips are ſwallowed the ſame day, where they wantonly played on the water. Thinke that eyther a thiefe or an enemie may ayme his ſword at thy throat: and although a greater power be wanting, not the baſeſt ſlaue that liueth, but hath power of thy life and death. I aſſure thee that whoſoeuer contemneth his life is Lord of thine. Take account of thoſe that are dead, by the complots of their ſeruants, or by open outrage, or by treaſon, and thou ſhalt ſee that there are no leſſe made away by the indignation of their ſlaues, then the diſpleaſures of their Kings. What importeth it then how mightie he be whom thou feareſt, if euery man may do that which thou feareſt? And if by chance thou falleſt into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be ledde and kept in a place, where he may haue thee alwayes at his mercy. Why deceiueſt thou thy ſelfe? Why beginneſt thou then only to vnderſtand that which thou haſt ſuffered from thy birth? I tell thee, that from the houre thou wert borne thou art led to die. Theſe and ſuch like things ought continually to liue in our remembrance and mind, if we will moderately expect this laſt houre, the feare whereof repleniſheth all others which diſquiet. I will heere make an end of my Letter, in making thee partaker of the fruit which this day I haue gathered in another mans garden. *Pouertie meaſured according to the rule of nature, is great riches.* But knoweſt thou well what limits this rule of nature giueth vs? Neyther to haue hunger nor thirſt, nor cold. But to the end to driue away this hunger and thirſt, thou haſt no need to wait or attend on theſe proude and great gates, nor to ſuffer theſe diſdainfull and imperious contemners, nor to expoſe thy ſelfe to the baites of theſe contumelious courteſies. Thou needeſt not for the ſame to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. That which nature deſerueth is found euery where: we take paines to obtaine ſuperfluous things: theſe are they that weare our gownes in peace, that make vs watch in our Tents, and that caſt vs on forraine ſhoares. That which ſufficeth vs is already at hand.

* *King of Egypt.*
* *Pothinus Eunuchus.*
* *Caligula.*

Epist. V.

Hee keepeth backe his friend from the ostentation of Philosophie, and counselleth him not to make himselfe noted by his habit or diet: he perswadeth him not to contemne all things that are vulgar, but to make moderate vse of them, and without abuse: hee detesteth vncleanlinesse, and calleth vs to the lawe of nature: he vrgeth a clause out of Hecaton *of the coniunction of hope and feare; auowing him to be free of one that hath cast off the other; and obnoxious to both, whosoeuer is to one.*

Whereas thou trauellest continually, and all other things set apart, endeuourest to make thy selfe daily more vertuous; I praise thee, and am glad to heare it: and not onely do I counsell thee to perseuer therein, but I likewise intreat thee. But thereof I am to admonish thee, that according to the maner of those that seeke not so much to profit as to be seene, thou applie not thy selfe to doe certaine things which are ouer-singular, and remarqueable for their strangenesse, eyther in the manner of thy life, or in thy habit. Flie all sluttish behauiours, as to weare thy haire ouer-long, knotted and filthie, thy beard vncombed, to lie on the ground, and to make profession to haue a sworne hatred against golde and siluer, and whatsoeuer followeth ambition by a wrong course. The sole name of Philosophie, how modest soeuer it be, is of it selfe sufficiently subiect to enuie. What if we separate our selues from the companie of men? Well may we inwardly be in all things vnlike vnto them; but our looks and behauiours must be agreeable to the good liking of the people. Let not our garment eyther be too gay, or too slouenly: let not our siluer be enchased with gold; and yet let vs be assured that it is no token of frugalitie to be destitute eyther of gold or of siluer: let vs so doe that we leade a better life then the common sort are wont, yet not altogether contrarie to theirs; otherwise in stead of correcting them we shall driue and banish them from vs, and we are the cause that in disliking all our actions they will not imitate one of them. Philosophie promiseth this first of all, common sense, humanitie, and entercourse and societie, from which we shall become separated by this dissimilitude of profession. Let vs rather take heede lest these fashions for which we would be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others. Our intent is to liue according to the direction of nature: but it is a thing altogether contrarie vnto her, to afflict the bodie and to hate ordinarie cleanlinesse, and to be loathsome and sordid, to vse not onely grosse meates, but also harmefull and distastefull. For euen as to affect and seeke after delicacie is riot, so also is it a kinde of madnesse to flie from those things which are vsuall and may be recouered without great expence. Philosophie requireth frugalitie, and not miserie: and since an honest and well seeming frugalitie may be had, I thinke it good for a man to keep this measure. It behoueth vs that our life be balanced betwixt good and publike maners. I can be well content that men admire our life, but yet let it be within their knowledge. What then? shall we doe the same that the rest? shall there be no difference betwixt vs and them? yes, a great deale: but he onely shall reknowledge the same that obserueth vs neerely. He that shall enter our houses, let him rather looke on vs then on our moueables. That man is great and generous, who vseth earthen platters like siluer vessell, and no lesse is hee that vseth siluer vessell as earthen platters. Not to be able to endure riches is the part of a weake mind. But to impart vnto thee the profit I haue made this day: I haue found in *Hecaton*, that the

the end of coueting ſufficeth to remedie feare. *Thou wilt giue ouer, ſaith he, to feare, if thou ceaſeſt to hope.* But thou wilt ſay, How can theſe things being ſo diuers, be together? So is it my *Lucilius*, although that theſe things ſeeme to be contrarie, yet are they ioyned and vnited the one with the other. Euen as one and the ſame chaine bindeth both the officer and the priſoner, ſo likewiſe theſe things although they ſeeme different, are conioyned and martch together. Feare flyeth hope, and I wonder not thereat; both of them are paſſions which proceed from an inconſtant and moueable minde, and that is in thought and care for that which is to come. But the greateſt cauſe both of the one and other is, for that we moderate not our ſelues, and content not our ſelues with things that are preſent, but ſend our thoughts out farre before vs. So prouidence which is the greateſt benefit that betideth mortall men, becommeth hurtfull and harmeful vnto vs. Brute beaſts flie thoſe dangers which they ſee before their eyes, and hauing eſcaped them, their preſent ſecuritie extinguiſheth the memory of their feare: but we are affrighted not onely with our dangers paſt, but with thoſe alſo that are to come. Many of our goods do harme vs; for our memorie reuiueth and repreſenteth vnto vs the torment of the feare paſt, and prouidence anticipateth it. There is no man miſerable alone by preſent euils.

Epist. VI.

He declareth that it is an argument that he profiteth in Philoſophie, becauſe he acknowledgeth his vices. He expreſſeth his affection to communicate all things with him as his true friend, eſpecially ſuch as are profitable. That the counſaile of wiſe-men ſeemeth verie effectuall and aboue their precepts, which he teacheth by example of ſome Philoſophers.

I Know, my *Lucilius*, that I am not onely amended, but transfigured and reformed; not that I eyther vaunt my ſelfe, or ſuppoſe that there remaineth not any thing in me that may not be amended: I know there are many things, that both ought to be corrected, extenuated, and wholly lifted vp; but euen this is a teſtimonie of a mind that beginneth to be changed for the better, when it knoweth in it ſelfe thoſe vices that before times it was ignorant of. There is ſome hope in thoſe that are ſeazed with certaine ſickneſſes, when as they feele themſelues to be diſeaſed. I would therefore wiſh to communicate with thee this ſudden change that is made in me; then ſhould I begin to haue a more certaine confidence of our friendſhip, of that true friendſhip I meane, which neyther hope nor feare, neyther any other conſideration of particular profit ſhould diſioyne, with which men die, and for which they die. I will reckon vp vnto thee diuers men that haue not had want of a friend, but want of friendſhip: ſuch a thing cannot happen when as two ſoules are coupled together by a ſtrict alliance, and vniformitie of will in deſiring honeſt things. Why can it not? for they knowe that all things are common vnto them, and chiefly aduerſitie. Thou canſt not coniecture in thy minde how much profit I perceiue that euery day bringeth me. Send me, ſayeſt thou, thoſe things whoſe efficacie I haue ſo tried. Truely I could wiſh that I might in ſome ſort poure them all into thee: I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; and there is not any thing, how rare and commodious ſoeuer it be, that can or ſhould yeeld me content, if I might only know

it for my particular profit. If wisedome it selfe were giuen me vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I would refuse the same. The possession of no benefit is contenting without a companion. I will send thee therefore the bookes themselues: and lest thou shouldest take too much paines in following those things which profite publikely, I will put certaine markes to finde those things quickly, which I proue and admire; yet our speaking and liuing together will profit thee more, then onely reading. It therefore behooueth thee to transport thy selfe hither: first of all, because men giue better credit to their eyes then to their eares. And againe, because the way of precepts is long, where that of example is more short, and far more fruitful. *Cleanthes* had neuer expressed *Zeno* had he onely heard him: but he alwaies was conuersant with him, and had an eye into the secrets of his studie, and warily obserued whether he liued according as he taught. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and all other Sages which afterwards spread themselues into diuers families, haue receiued more instructions by the manners then the words of *Socrates*. *Metrodorus*, *Hermacus*, and *Poliænus* were great men, not because they had frequented the Schoole of *Epicurus*, but for that they had conuersed with him. But I call thee not onely vnto me, to the intent thou shouldest receiue profit, but to the end thou shouldest profit others: for we will continually assist one another; mean while to acquit my selfe of the rent I owe thee, I will tell thee that which pleased me to day in *Hecaton: Askest thou* saith he, *wherein I haue profited? I haue begun to be a friend to my selfe.* He hath gotten much: he will neuer be alone. Know this, that he that is friend to himselfe is a friend to all men.

Epist. VII.

To him that is proficient too much company is to be auoyded, and that vices are contracted thereby, Playes and Showes also, chiefely those that are bloodie: neyther is it beseeming publikely to recite or dispute amongst vnequals. Let, saith hee, one or two auditors of iudgement be esteemed, or none at all.

Wilt thou know that which in my iudgement thou oughtest especially to flie? The multitude. For as yet thou canst not safely commit thy selfe vnto them: and for mine owne part I confesse my weakenesse: I neuer returne backe againe with those manners that I carried out with me. Somewhat of that which I had composed is troubled; somewhat of those things which I had chased away returneth backe againe vnawares. That which befalleth the sicke who are in such sort attainted with a long debility, that they can neuer be remoued, except they grow worse. So fareth it with vs, whose spirits begin to recouer from a long sicknesse. The conuersation of the people is contrarie vnto vs; euery one lendeth vs some staine, or imprinteth it in vs, and leaueth an impression in vs before we can beware: and the greater the companie is wherewith we conuerse the greater is the danger. But nothing is so hurtfull to good manners as to sit in a Theatre, for there by the pleasures we conceiue, the vices steale on vs more easily. What thinkest thou that I say? I tell thee that I not onely returne more couetous, more ambitious, more luxurious, but more cruell and inhumane, because I haue beene amongst men. By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, expecting some sports and wittie jests, and recreation whereby mens eyes might

might be repoſed awhile, that in the morning had beene, fedde with the ſhedding of mens bloud. But I finde it contrarie; whatſoeuer was fought before was mercie. Now letting paſſe trifles, there is nothing but deteſted murther: combatants haue not wherewith to couer them, but expoſe their naked bodies to the ſtroake, and neuer ſtrike without wounding. This ſpectacle doe many preferre before that of the ordinarie couples, or that of the extraordinarie, asked for by the people. And why ſhould they not preferre the ſame? The weapon is kept off neyther by Helmet nor Target: whereto ſerue theſe fencings and Gladiatorie Arts? All theſe are but the delayes of death. In the morning men are expoſed to Lions and Bears, at noone to the ſpectators. The killers are commanded to be ſet againſt thoſe that are to kill, and they reſerue him that is conqueror for another ſlaughter: the end and ayme of thoſe that fight is death, by fire and ſword the matter is managed. Theſe are done during the intermiſſion of the ſpectacle. But ſome man hath committed a theft: what therefore deſerueth he? To be hanged. He ſlew a man: he that ſlew him deſerued to ſuffer no leſſe. But what, haſt thou deſerued to behold this ſpectacle? Kill, burn, whip, why runnes he ſo fearfully on the weapon? Why killes he not couragiouſly? Why dies he not willingly? By ſtroakes are they compelled to wounds, and with naked and expoſed bodies they receiue the ſtroakes of one another. Is the ſpectacle intermitted? in the meane time men are ſlaine, leſt nothing ſhould be done. Go too, vnderſtand you not this, that euill example reflecteth on thoſe that doe this? Giue thankes vnto the immortall gods, that you teach him to be cruell who cannot learn. A tender mind and too little apprehenſiue of the truth is to be withdrawn from the common people: it is eaſie to find out many. The frequentation of a different multitude might peraduenture haue ſhaken the great mindes of *Socrates*, *Cato*, and *Lælius*. So farre is any of vs (though in height of our compoſed iudgement) from being able to ſuſtaine the force and charge of vices, comming with ſo great a troupe. One onely example of luſt or auarice cauſeth much miſchiefe. The companie of a delicate man by little and little effeminateth thoſe that conuerſe with him. A rich neighbour kindleth our couetouſneſſe. A miſchieuous and corrupt man rubbeth on the ruſt of his infirmities, and ſoileth the moſt ſimple and vprighteſt man. What thinkeſt thou then will befall thoſe to whom all the world flocketh and approacheth publikely? Theſe of force muſt thou eyther imitate or hate; but both the one and the other of theſe ought to be auoyded, for feare leſt thou be eyther like vnto the wicked, by reaſon they are manie, or enemie to diuers, becauſe they are vnlike to thee. Retire thy ſelfe therefore into thy ſelfe: haunt thoſe who can make thee better, admit thoſe whom thou canſt better; for theſe things are reciprocally done. Men in teaching others learne themſelues. Aboue all things beware leſt thou expoſe thy ſelfe to great aſſemblies, or affecteſt to diſpute or teach by way of oſtentation, or deſire to ſhew thy ſelfe. I could well wiſh that thou ſhouldeſt doe ſo, if thou couldeſt in any ſort be profitable to the people: but there is not any one amongſt them that can vnderſtand thee; and if happely thou finde out one or two, yet muſt thou inſtruct them how they may vnderſtand thee. Why then wilt thou aske me, Haue I learned theſe thing? Feare not that thou haſt loſt thy labour, if thou haſt learned theſe things for thy ſelfe. But leſt I ſhould reſerue vnto my ſelfe the profit I haue gotten this day, I will communicate with thee three moſt worthy ſentences to one ſenſe; of which the one ſhal be to acquit this Epiſtle of that which it oweth thee; the other two ſhall be giuen thee aforehand. *Democritus* ſaith, *I count one onely for a whole multitude*,

titude, and a whole multitude as one. And he whosoeuer he was (for it is doubted of the author, when it was demaunded of him, why he tooke so great paines to preferre an arte, which should profit but a few, answered very wisely, *A few,* saith he, *suffice me, one is enough, none is enough.* And the third is most excellent. *Epicurus* writing to one of the consorts of his studies. These things, saith he, write I not to manie, but to thy selfe; for we our selues are a Theatre great enough for one another. Such things as these, friend *Lucilius*, are they which thou must commit to memorie, to the end to contemne this pleasure which proceedeth from the reputation and consent of diuers. For to be praysed by manie, what cause findest thou to reioyce at the more? Then if thou be such as diuers do esteme thee, let them see thy goods within thee.

Epist. VIII.

This present dependeth on the former Epistle, and is as it were an Obiection: what, wilt thou that I auoyde the multitude and the people? But thy Stoicks teach to follow businesse, and to die in affaires. He answereth, that he perswadeth not idlenesse, but a retirement by his example, who dismissing other offices, intendeth wisedome, and propagateth the precepts thereof in writing. This, saith he, is of all actions the greatest and most excellent. In conclusion, he inserteth that of Epicvrvs: *that Philosophie giueth true libertie.*

THou commaundest me by thy aduice to flie the people, to retire my selfe apart, and to be contented with my conscience: What shall then becom of all those precepts of thine, that commanded me to end my life in action? What, seeme I then in this interim to intertaine idlenesse? To this end haue I withdrawne my selfe, to this intent haue I shut vp my doores, that I might profit many men. I spend not a day in idlenesse; yea, and for the most part of the nights, I spend them in studie, maintayning and forcing mine eyes against sleepe. I retired my selfe not from me onely, but from affaires, and principally from mine owne particular: I wholly traffique for posteritie, by writing that which may be profitable vnto them: I set before their eyes in writing many good and wholsome counsailes, as it were receipts of profitable medicines, which I haue found fruitfull in mine owne vlcers; the which although they be not altogether healed, haue desisted to fester. I shew others the right way, which I haue learned too late: and after I haue beene too long wearied with wandring and tracing heere and there, I cease not to crie out. Flie all those things which eyther please the common sort, or casualtie attributeth: runne not after casuall benefites, but rather suspiciously and fearfully apprehend, and intertaine all vncertaine pleasures. Both wilde beast and fish is bewitched with the baite is laid for them. Thinke you that these are the giftes of Fortune? Trust mee, they are her lyings in waite; what one soeuer of vs would liue a sweet life, let him flie as much as he may these limed benefits, wherein we most miserably be deceiued. We think to enioy them, and they enioy vs: this course carrieth vs to a downefall. The issue of a life so eminent is to fall; and that which is worse, it is impossible for vs to stand, when as felicitie hath begunne to transport vs, and carrie vs hither and thither: at least wise eyther content thy selfe with such things as are good and certaine, or be thou possessor and lord of thy selfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only

ouerturne

ouerturne them, but caſteth headlong and cruſheth them. Remember therefore to obſerue this wholſom and fruitfull forme of life, in affoording thy body no further nourifhment, then may ſuffice to continue thee in good health: chaſtiſe the ſame ſeuerely, leſt it rebell againſt the ſoule. Let thy meat appeaſe thy hunger, thy drinke aſſwage thy thirſt, thy coat couer thee from cold, thy houſe be a defence againſt thoſe things as may offend thy bodie. It skilleth not whether it be builded of Turfe or rich Marble. Know that a man is as well couered with Thatch as with Golde. Contemne all theſe things which ſuperfluous labour preferreth eyther for ſhew or ornament. Thinke that there is nothing admirable in thy ſelfe, but thy minde, to which nothing is great, which euen it ſelfe is great. If I diſcourſe this with my ſelfe, if I conferre this with poſteritie, thinkeſt thou not that I profit more, then when as vpon demaund I paſſe my bond for my friend, or ſet my hand and ſeale in teſtimonie to a Teſtament, or ſhould giue my hand and ſuffrage to a candidate in the Senate houſe? Beleeue me, thoſe that ſeeme to do leaſt, doe the greateſt things; for they intreat both of diuine and humane matters. But it is high time for me now to make an end, and to pay that impoſt that I owe for this Epiſtle: it ſhall not be at mine owne expence, but on *Epicurus* charges; in whom this day I read this ſentence: *Thou muſt of neceſsitie ſerue Philoſophie, to the end thou mayeſt obtaine true libertie.* Hee that ſubmitteth and ſubiecteth himſelfe to her, is on the inſtant made a freeman; for to ſerue her is to be at libertie. Thou wilt thinke it ſtrange peraduenture why I vſurpe ſo often the *Epicures* words, rather then thoſe of other men; but wherefore thinkeſt thou not that thoſe ſayings are common and publique? How manie things are they which the Poets haue written, which haue beene or ought to be ſpoken by the Philoſophers? I mention not the Tragedians nor thoſe Poems of ours, which are called *Togatæ*; for theſe haue alſo ſome ſeuerity, and are the mean betwixt Comedies & Tragedies: how many eloquent verſes are there in vſe euen amongſt the Cynicks? How many things of *Publius*, which not only exceed the Commodies, but are worthy to be inſerted in Tragedies? I will repeat one of his verſes, which appertaineth to Philoſophie, and to this part which now laſt of all we debated of, wherein he denieth that we ought to account caſuall things our owne;

Each thing is forraine that befals by wiſhing.

I remember this Verſe likewiſe of thine, not much better but more ſuccinct;

It is not thine that fortune made thine.

Neyther will I let ſlip that likewiſe which was farre better ſet downe by thee:

The good that might be giuen, may be bereft.

I require no acquittance for theſe; for I pay thee with thine owne.

Epist. IX.

A part and explication also of the former: that a wise-man seeketh not men, but is contented with himselfe. What then? Not a friend also; yea can he likewise be without him: he can lose him, and hauing lost him, can repaire him againe. In himselfe is the fruit and pleasure whilst he prouideth him. What for his owne cause as the Epicures thinke? No, but rather for another, whom he may profit, for whom he may vndergo danger, for whom he may die: the reward of vertue is it selfe. At length more copiously and subtilly: how farre content with himselfe, how farre not; and in words some Stoicall distinctions.

THou desirest to know, whether vpon iust ground the Epicure in a certaine Epistle of his, reprehendeth those that say, thathee that is perfectly wise is content with himselfe, and that for this cause he hath no neede of a friend: this is obiected by the Epicure to *Sculpho*, and those who think that the impassibilitie of the mind is their chiefest good. We shall fall into ambiguitie, if we shall striue significantly to expresse the Greeke word ἀπάθειαν in one word, and call it *Impatience*. For the contrarie of that which we would expresse may be vnderstood: for we intend, him that despiseth all sense of euill, let him be conceiued that can endure no euill: see therefore whether it be better eyther to say an inuulnerable mind, or a minde setled beyond all patience. The difference which is betwixt them and vs is this; our wise-man ouercommeth each incommoditie whatsoeuer, but feeleth the same; theirs hath not so much as a sense thereof. In this we accord, we say that a wise-man is contented with himselfe, yet notwithstanding that he will haue a friend a neighbour, a companion, although he himselfe sufficeth, and in such sort sufficeth, that sometimes he is contented with a part of himselfe. For if eyther a sickenesse or enemie hath taken his hand from him, if any accident hath bereft him of his eye, that which remaineth with him shall suffice him, and as ioyfull shall he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as hee could be were it whole. He had rather that he wanted nothing; neuertheless he desireth not that which he wanteth. Thus is a wise-man so farre content with himselfe, not that he will be without a friend, but that he can be; which is as much to say, as that he beareth patiently the losse of a friend, without a friend he shall neuer be; it lyeth in his power to repaire him as soone as him listeth. As *Phidias* hauing lost one statue, can suddenly fashion another; so this good Artesan of amitie suddenly substituteth another friend in the place of him that is lost. If thou demandest of me, how he can so suddenly make and repaire so many friendships, I will tell thee, if this first all be agreed betweene vs, that I remain acquit of the debt of this letter. *I will shew thee*, saith Hecaton, *a means to increase loue without medicine, hearb, or inchantment: if thou wilt be beloued, loue.* But there is not only a pleasure in the fruition of an old & ancient amitie, but likewise in the creation of a new: and the same difference is between him that hath a friend alreadie gotten, and him that is a getting, as between the laborer when he soweth and when he reapeth. *Attalus* the Philosopher was wont to say, that it was a farre more pleasant thing to make a friend, then to haue a friend; as it is more agreeable to a painter to paint, then to haue finished his picture. This attention which he applyeth to his worke, hath in it selfe such sweetnesse, that he cannot be partaker of that that hath set his last hand to his labour: after hee hath painted, he possesseth the fruit of his art, but he tooke pleasure in the arte

it ſelfe when he painted. The youth of our children is more fruitfull vnto vs, but their infancie more ſweet. And to returne to our purpoſe; the wiſe-man although he be content with himſelfe, will notwithſtanding haue a friend, if to no other end but to exerciſe his amitie, will not endure that ſo great a vertue ſhould remaine without vſe, not (as *Epicurus* ſaid in the ſame Epiſtle) to haue ſome one to aſſiſt him when he is ſicke, or to ſuccour him if he be in priſon and neceſſitie, but contrariwiſe to the end he may haue ſome one whom he may aſſiſt and ſuccour being ſicke, relieue and ranſome being in need and captiuitie: for he hath an euill intention, that onely reſpecteth himſelfe, when he maketh friendſhip: ſo ſhal he end his friendſhip euen as he began the ſame. He that hath purchaſed himſelfe a friend, to the intent he may be ſuccoured by him in priſon, will take his flight as ſoone as he feeleth himſelfe deliuered from his bonds. Theſe are thoſe kindes of friendſhips, which the common ſort call *Temporarie*. He that is made a friend for profit ſake, ſhall pleaſe as long as he may be profitable: ſo thoſe that are in felicitie ſee themſelues inuironed with a multitude of friends, & where the diſtreſſed make their abode there is nothing but ſolitude: for ſuch manner of friends flie thoſe places where they ſhall bee proued: from thence we ſee ſo many wicked examples of ſom forſaking for feare, of ſome betraying for feare. It is neceſſarie that the beginning & the end haue correſpondence. He that hath begun to be a friend becauſe it is expedient, he that hath thought that there is a gaine in friendſhip beſide it ſelfe, may well be induced and ſuborned againſt the ſame, by the offer of a greater gaine. For what cauſe then doe I entertaine a friend? To the end to haue one for whom I may die, whom I may accompanie in baniſhment, and for whoſe life and preſeruation I may expoſe my ſelfe to danger and death. For the other, which onely regardeſt profit, and that makeſt account of that which may yeelde thee commoditie, is rather a traffique then a friendſhip. Certaine it is that friendſhip hath in ſome ſort a ſimilitude and likeneſſe to the affections of louers. And not vnfitly may a man call this paſſion a fooliſh amitie. But the ſcope of loue is neyther gaine, nor ambition, neyther glorie; but deſpiſing all other conſideration of himſelfe, hee kindleth in our ſoules the deſire of the beloued forme, vnder hope of a mutuall and reciprocall amitie. And who dare ſay that a vicious habitude is produced from a cauſe more honeſt. But if thou wilt ſay vnto me, that if friendſhip be ſo deſired a thing in it ſelfe, it behoueth not a wiſe-man who is contented with himſelfe to follow the ſame for any other conſideration, how honeſt ſoeuer it be, then for the beautie that remaineth in the ſame: and that it is an abatement of the maieſtie and dignitie thereof, to obtaine the ſame for any other reſpect. I will anſwere thee my friend *Lucilius*, that where we ſay that the wiſe-man is contented with himſelfe, is badly interpreted by diuers men. They exclude euery way the wiſe-man from euery place, and incloſe him within himſelfe. But we muſt diſtinguiſh what and how farre this word extendeth. The wiſe-man is contented with himſelfe to liue happely, but not to liue. To this diuers things are requiſit; to that there needeth no more then an intire and erected minde, and ſuch as deſpiſeth fortune. I will ſhew thee how *Chryſippus* diſtinguiſheth them: He ſaith that a wiſe-man wanteth nothing, and yet hath neede of many things: a foole hath neede of nothing, becauſe he can make vſe of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wiſe-man hath neede of hands and eies, and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vſes of life, yet neuertheleſſe he wanteth nothing: for to haue neede importeth neceſſitie; but to him that is wiſe nothing is neceſſarie. Thus although he be content with himſelfe, yet deſireth

ſiſteth he not to make vſe of his friends, but deſireth to haue more, but not in regard that he hath need of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends. The ſoueraigne good ſeeketh not externall inſtruments, it is wholly accompliſhed in it ſelfe. It beginneth to bee ſubiect vnto fortune, if it haue neede to ſeeke any part of it ſelfe out of it ſelfe. But yet what ſhall a wiſe-mans life be, if he be left in priſon without friends, or if in ſome ſtrange country he be abandoned of all the world, or retained in ſom long Nauigation, or caſt on ſome deſert and vnknowne ſhoare? Euen as *Iupiter*, when in the diſſolution of the world, and the confuſed mixture of the gods all into one, when the nature of things beginning to ceaſe by little and little, he repoſeth himſelfe, and retireth himſelfe into himſelfe, giuen ouer to his owne thoughts. The like doth the wiſe-man, he is hidden in himſelfe, he is only with himſelfe: but whilſt it is lawfull for him to order his affaires, he is contented with himſelfe: he marrieth a wife, he is contented with himſelfe: he bringeth vp children, hee is content in himſelfe; and yet would he not liue, if he ſhould liue without mankinde. No profit but a naturall inſtinct inciteth him to entertain friendſhip: for as in other things we haue a certaine inbred ſweetneſſe, ſo haue we of friendſhip. Euen as ſolitude is odious, ſo is companie agreeable: euen as nature aſſociateth man with man, ſo likewiſe is there a certaine inſtinct in this, that maketh vs deſirous of friendſhips; notwithſtanding although he be moſt affectionate to his friends; although he equall and oftentimes preferre them before himſelfe, yet ſhall all his good be incloſed, and bounded within himſelfe, and he ſhall ſpeake as *Stilpon* did, I meane him againſt whom *Epicurus* diſputed in his Epiſtle: for hauing, vpon the ſurpriſall and taking of the Cittie wherein he liued, loſt his wife and children, and himſelfe left deſolate (yet neuertheles happie and content) deliuered from the publique ruine & deſolation. *Demetrius* he that was ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, that is to ſay the deſtroyer of Citties, demanded of him if he had loſt nothing. *No* (ſaid he) *I haue loſt nothing, becauſe all my goods are with me.* Behold how this great and generous perſonage is victorious ouer the victorie of his owne proper enemie. I haue not (ſaith he) loſt any thing. He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no. All my goods, ſaith he, are with me, that is to ſay, iuſtice, vertue, temperance, prudence, and eſpecially to thinke nothing good that may be taken away. We wonder at ſome creatures that trauerſe the fire without any harme; how much more admirable was this man, that without loſſe or harme eſcaped both fire, ſword and ruine? Doeſt thou ſee how farre more eaſie it is, to conquer a whole Nation then one man? This voyce is common to him with the Stoicke, who in his owne perſon beareth away his goods without hurt, thorow the middeſt of Citties burned downe, becauſe he is content in himſelfe: himſelfe is the ſcope of his owne felicitie. Thinke not that we alone are they that vtter theſe great and generous words. *Epicurus* himſelfe that reprehendeth *Stilphon*, hath ſpoken to the like effect; which take in good part, although I haue payed thee this daies rent already: *Whoſoeuer* (ſaith he) *ſuppoſeth not his owne ſufficient to content him, though he be the Lord of this whole world, yet is he miſerable.* Or if thou thinke it better ſpoken in this ſort (for we muſt relie on ſenſe, not on words) *Hee is miſerable that thinketh not himſelfe moſt happie, although he command the whole world.* And to the end thou mayeſt know, that theſe ſenſes are common, which nature infuſeth into all in generall, thou ſhalt finde that in the Cynique Poet,

He is not bleſt that thinkes himſelfe not ſo.

For

For what preuayleth it thee of what reckoning or eſtate thou art of, if in thine owne iudgement it ſeeme but abiect? What then mayeſt thou ſay, if he that is vnworthily rich, and he who is lord ouer diuers other men, but ſlaue vnto farre more, calleth himſelfe happie; ſhall he be ſo? I tell thee that thou oughteſt not to regard that which he ſaith, but that which he thinketh; and not that onely which he thinketh one day, but ordinarily. But doe not feare leſt an vnworthy man ſhould enioy ſo great a good: to no one but a wiſe-man can his goods yeeld any pleaſure; all follie laboureth with loathing of it ſelfe.

Epist. X.

That ſolitude is only good to thoſe that are good, and haue profited in goodneſſe, to others otherwiſe: for wicked and fooliſh men commit moſt ſinne therein, being remoued from a reformer and left to themſelues. By the way ſome precepts of vowes, and that we ought not to conceiue any thing, except that which we durſt make knowne to euerie man.

SO it is, I change not mine opinion, but counſaile thee to flie the great aſſemblies, yea the leaſt; and not the leaſt onely, but the frequentation of one alone. I finde not any man with whom I would haue thee to converſe. Conſider a little the iudgement that I haue of thee; I dare well truſt thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe. *Crates* the Auditor of that *Stilpon*, of whom I made mention in my former Epiſtle, when he perceiued a young man walking apart by himſelfe, asked him what he did there all alone? I ſpeake, ſaid the young man, vnto my ſelfe. Take heed, I pray thee, replyed *Crates*, that thou ſpeake not with a wicked man. We are accuſtomed to obſerue thoſe that mourne and feare, when they retire themſelues apart, for feare leſt they abuſe their ſolitude. There is no imprudent man that ought to be left alone: for then is the time that they complot and deuiſe their euill deſignes, and ſtudie how to effect their euill intents, both to themſelues and others: then diſpoſe they their vnlawfull deſires: at that time the minde diſcouereth and publiſheth that which before time their feare or ſhame enforced them to conceale: then animate they their boldneſſe, quicken they their luſts, and awaken their choler. To conclude, the onely good that ſolitude hath in it ſelfe, which is to commit nothing to any man, and to feare no reuealer, that is loſt to a foole: for he diſcouereth and betrayeth himſelfe. Conſider thou that which I hope, or rather that which I promiſe my ſelfe of thee (for to hope is a word of vncertaine good) I finde not any man with whom I could better finde in my hart that thou ſhouldſt be conuerſant, then with thy ſelfe. When I called to remembrance the high and generous diſcourſes that I haue heard thee vtter, I did congratulate with my ſelfe, and ſaid, Theſe are not words onely, but theſe wordes haue their foundations; this man is not of the vulgar, he tendeth to ſafetie. Continue then my friend *Lucilius*, and ſpeake alwayes after this manner, liue continually thus, that one thing abaſe thee not, neyther maſter thy courage. Giue thankes vnto god for the auncient vowes thou haſt made vnto him, and recommend vnto him all the new thou haſt conceiued: aske at his hands a good mind, and firſt of all pray vnto him for the health of thy ſpirit, and next for that of thy bodie. Why ſhouldeſt thou not oftentimes make theſe vowes vnto him? boldly beſeech god, ſince thou intendeſt to aske nothing of him that is another

another mans. But to the end that according to my custome I may accompany this letter of mine with some present, receiue that which I haue found to day in *Athenodorus*: *Then know that thou art disburdened of all euill desires, when thou hast attained so farre, that thou demand nothing at gods hands, but that which may be required of him openly.* For how great at this day is the madnesse of men? They mumble betwixt their teeth some vileinous prayers, and are suddenly silent if any man yeeld an eare vnto them, supposing to hide that from men which they are not ashamed to discouer vnto God: iudge then if this precept should not be profitable; So liue with men as if God saw thee, so speake with God as if men should heare thee.

Epist. XI.

That he hoped well of Lvcilivs *his friend, in whom appeared much shamefastnesse and blushing. That the same is sometimes naturall, and cannot be shaken off by any precepts, and so followeth a wise-man also. that somtimes it appeareth in euill men, and is a signe of euill. Then he citeth a wholsome admonition of* Epicvrvs. *That we ought alwayes represent vnto our selues a good man, who might restraine vs as a Tutor; and that we should doe and speake all things as if he were present.*

THat honest natured man thy friend hath spoken with me. The first words he vttered, incontinently testified vnto me how great his hurt was, and how good his spirit, and how much he had profited in the study he had enterprised: he left me a taste, whereunto I assure my selfe he will answer; for I haue taken him vpon the sudden, and he hath spoken vnto me without preparation. When he recollected himselfe he easily blushed, which is a good signe in a young man, yea, so blushed as he could not moderate it. I doubt not but when he shall be best retired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompanie him, yea, euen then when perfect wisedome hath possessed him. For those vices which are connaturall eyther in minde or bodie, cannot be wholly defaced by any industrie. That which is borne with vs may be sweetned and corrected by arte, but neyther mastered or rooted out. It hath bin noted that the most assured men in this world, at such time as they presented themselues before a great assembly, to discourse of any thing, were no lesse troubled with a cold sweat, then they that are wearie and pant with traueil: to some their knees tremble, to others their teeth chatter, their tongue varies, their lips simper. Neyther discipline nor vse can wholly take from them these imperfections: for nature exerciseth his force herein, and admonisheth each one of his defects and weakenesse, and I know that blushing is to bee numbred amongst these things. For oftimes wee obserue that it spreadeth it selfe, and flusheth euen in the face of the graueſt men, yet is it more apparent in young men, who haue more heate and are of a soft nature, notwithstanding the eldest are not exempt from the same. Some there are that are neuer so much to be feared then when they blush, as if at that instant they had lauished out all their shamefastnesse. Then was *Sylla* most violent when his face was most redde. There was nothing more soft then *Pompeis* countenance. For he neuer spake in solemne companie without blushing. And I remember that *Fabianus* did as much, being summoned by the Senate to depose in a certain matter, and herein his blushing did marueilously become him, This happeneth not thorow the feebleneſſe of the mind, but

but rather from the noueltie of the accident, which although it ſhake not, yet moueth it theſe which are not accuſtomed and exerciſed, and who by a naturall facilitie and tenderneſſe of their bodie, are ſubiect to bluſhing. For as there are ſome who haue their bloud both good and well tempered, ſo otherſome haue it moueable, and readie to flush vp into the face. No wiſedome, as I haue ſaid, can take away this infirmitie, otherwiſe nature it ſelfe ſhould be ſubiect therunto, if wiſedome had power to raze out thoſe vices which ſhe had imprinted in vs. That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth, and the temperature of our bodies, when the mind hath much and long time compoſed it ſelf, will remain continually. We cannot eſchue theſe things at our pleaſures, no more then we can command them to come at our will. The Commedians who imitate affections, who expreſſe feare and trembling, who repreſent ſorrow, are accuſtomed to counterfeit ſhamefaſtneſſe after this manner: they caſt downe their countenance, they ſpeak ſoftly, they fix their eyes on the ground, but bluſh they cannot; for bluſhing may neyther be prohibited nor commanded. Wiſedome promiſeth nothing againſt thoſe things; profiteth nothing: ſuch things as theſe receiue no law but from themſelues; they come againſt our wils, and depart without asking leaue. Now this Epiſtle requireth a clauſuall; receiue then from me this precept, as moſt neceſſarie and behouefull for thee, & which I wiſh thee alwayes to retain in memorie: *We ought to chuſe out ſom good man, and alwaies fix him before our eies, that we may ſo liue as if he alwayes lookt on, & do al things as if he continually beheld vs.* This, O my friend *Lucilius*, is one of *Epicurus* precepts. He intendeth to giue vs a Guardian and a Tutor, and not without cauſe. The greateſt part of ſinnes is taken away, when a witneſſe is alwayes preſent with him that would offend. Let the minde therfore propoſe vnto it ſelfe ſome perſonage that ſhe reſpecteth, by whoſe authoritie ſhee may make her ſecret more holy and more religious. O how happie is he that not onely reformeth his actions but his thoughts! Happie is he that can reſpect one of that ſort, that by the onely remembrance of him he can reforme his minde: who can reſpect in that ſort ſhall ſuddenly be made worthie to be reſpected himſelfe. Chooſe therefore *Cato*, or if he ſeeme vnto thee ouer-ſharp and ſeuere, chooſe *Lælius*, who is more facile and ſweet: chooſe him whoſe life and wordes ſhall be moſt agreeable vnto thee, and fixing alwayes before thine eyes his minde and countenance, take him eyther for thy guide or thine example. It behoueth vs to haue ſome one, according to whoſe maners we may conforme our own. Such things as are depraued, are not corrected but by rule.

Epist. XII.

He pleaſantly diſcourſeth of his olde age, and ſheweth how he was admoniſhed thereof in his countrey-houſe, but ſo admoniſhed that it was without griefe. That his olde age muſt not be tedious but pleaſant, and leſſe ſubiect to vices. That all life is ſhort, but whatſoeuer to be made ours by vſe, and that hand is to be laide thereon. Let vs daily ſay and thinke we haue liued.

ON which ſide ſoeuer I turne my ſelfe I perceiue the proofes of mine olde age: I repaired lately to my countrey-farme, which adioyneth the Cittie, and complayned of my daily expence in reparations, and my Bayliffe that had the keeping thereof anſwered me, that it was not his fault, alleaging that he had done the beſt

beſt that he could, but that the building was ouer-olde and ruinous; yet notwithſtanding it was I my ſelfe that builded it, I leaue it to thee to iudge of mee, ſince the ſtones of mine age decay ſo much through antiquitie. Being touched herewith I tooke occaſion to be diſpleaſed with him vpon euery firſt thing that encountreth me in my walke. It well appeareth, ſaid I, that theſe Plane trees are not well laboured, they are altogether leaueleſſe, their boughes are knottie and withered, and their ſtockes couered with moſſe and filthineſſe: this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they ought to be. He ſweareth by my *Genius*, that he doth his vttermoſt indeuour, and that he hath neglected them in no manner, but that the trees were olde. Then remembred I my ſelfe that I had planted them with mine owne hands, and ſeene them beare their firſt leafe. Turning my ſelfe to the doore, what decrepit fellow is that, ſaid I, that for his age is left at the gate as dead bodies are wont to be, for he looketh outward? Whence came he? What pleaſure haſt thou to carrie forth the carkaſſe of a ſtrange man? Knoweſt thou me not, ſaith he? I am *Felicio* to whom thou wert wont to bring childiſh gifts; I am the ſonne of *Philoſitus* thy Bayliffe, thy play-fellow. Vndoubtedly, ſaid I, this man doateth. My darling then is become an infant; vndoubtedly it may ſo be, for he is almoſt toothleſſe. This owe I to my Farme, that my olde age appeareth vnto me which way ſoeuer I turne my ſelfe. Let vs then embrace and loue the ſame: it is wholly repleniſhed with agreeable delights, if a man know how to make vſe of it. The Apples are neuer ſo good then when they begin to wither and ripen. Infancie is moſt agreeable in the end thereof. To thoſe that delight in carrowſing, the laſt draught is moſt pleaſant, that which drowneth him in wine, and conſummateth his drunkenneſſe. Whatſoeuer moſt contenting, all pleaſure hath contained in her ſelfe, is deferred till the end. The age that declineth is alſo moſt agreeable, when as yet it is not wholly decrepit and ſpent: neyther iudge I that age, without his particular pleaſure, whoſe foote is almoſt in the graue, or thus ſucceedeth in place of pleaſure that he needeth none. O how ſweet and pleaſant a thing is it to ſee a mans ſelfe diſcharged of all couetouſneſſe! But thou mayeſt ſay that it is a tedious thing, to haue death alwayes before a mans eyes: firſt of all this ought as well to be preſented to a yong as to an olde mans eyes; for we are not called by the Cenſor according to our eſtate, and there is none ſo old that hopeth not to liue at leaſt one day longer: and one day is a degree of life; for all our age conſiſteth of manie parts, and is a ſpheare that hath diuers circles, the one incloſed within the other. And one there is that incloſeth and comprehendeth all the reſt, which is that of the Natiuity vntill death; another that excludeth the yeares of youth, another that containeth all child-hood; after theſe ſucceedeth the yeare which incloſeth all, the time by the multiplication whereof life is compoſed. In the circle of the yeare is the moneth, and in that of the moneth is the day, which is the leaſt of all: yet notwithſtanding he hath his beginning and his end, his riſe and his ſet. And for this cauſe *Heraclitus* that was called *Scotinus*, by reaſon of the obſcuritie of his ſpeech, ſaid that one day is like to all which another hath interpreted after another manner to wit, that one day is like to all in number of houres: and he ſaid true; for if a day be the time of foure and twentie houres, it is neceſſarie that they ſhould be all alike, becauſe the night hath that which the day hath loſt: another ſaid that one day was like to all, by reaſon of the conformitie and reſemblance; for there is nothing in the ſpace of a very long time, that thou ſhalt not finde in one day the light and the night, the turnes and returnes of the heauens.

uens. The ſhortneſſe and length of the nights make theſe things more plainely appeare. Therefore ought we to diſpoſe of euery day, in ſuch ſort as if it did leade vp the rereward of our time, and ſhould conſummate our liues. *Pacuuius* he that vſurped ouer *Syria*, being buried in the euening, being buried in his wine, and thoſe meates which hee had cauſed to be richly and ſumptuouſly prepared for him, as if he himſelefe had ſolemnized his owne obſequies, cauſed himſelfe to be tranſported from his banquet to his bedde, in ſuch manner, that amidſt the dances and clapping of hands of his curtezans, it was ſung to the Muſique, *He hath liued, he hath liued:* and no day ouer-paſſed his head wherein he buried not himſelfe after this manner. That which he did of an euill conſcience let vs performe with a good, and addreſſing our ſelues to our reſt, let vs ioyfully and contentedly ſay,

I haue liued, and ended the courſe that fortune gaue me.

If God vouchſafe vs the next morrow, let vs receiue the ſame with thankſgiuing. He is thrice-happie, & aſſuredly poſſeſſed of himſelfe that expecteth the next day without care. Whoſoeuer hath ſaid I haue liued, doth daily riſe to his profite. But now I muſt cloſe my letter: What, ſayeſt thou, ſhall it come to me without any preſent? Doe not feare, it ſhall bring ſomwhat with it. Why ſaid I ſomewhat? It will be a great deale. For what can be more excellent then this ſentence, It bringeth vnto thee? It is an euill thing to liue in neceſſitie, but there is no neceſſitie to liue in neceſſitie: for the way that leadeth vnto libertie is on euery ſide open, ſhort, & eaſie to keepe. Let vs giue God thanks for this, that no man can be conſtrained to liue, and that it is lawfull for euery one to treade neceſſitie vnder his feete. Thou wilt ſay, that theſe words are of *Epicurus*. What haſt thou to doe with another mans? That which is true is mine, I will perſeuer to vrge *Epicurus* vnto thee, that they who ſweare and conſent to the words, and conſider not what is ſpoken, but by whom; let them know, that thoſe things are beſt that are common.

Epist. XIII.

He excellently informeth againſt caſualties, and encourageth againſt them: But eſpecially he aduiſeth vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come; he auoweth them to be vncertaine, and ſuch as may not fall out. He concludeth therefore that all feare is to be tempered by hope. Then addeth he this, full of farre more confidency; Doe and teach things to come, they are of God, and for our good.

I Know that thou haſt much courage; for before I inſtructed thee with wholſom precepts, and ſuch as ſubdue aduerſitie, thou wert contented enough to exerciſe thy ſelfe againſt fortune, and haſt aſſured thy ſelfe alſo farre more, ſince thou haſt made tryall of thy forces, and grapled with her hand to hand; which can neuer giue an aſſured proofe of themſelues, but where as many difficulties ſhall appeare on euery ſide, yea, ſometimes neerely aſſault them. In like manner a true mind, and ſuch as will not ſubiect it ſelfe to other mens wils, approueth it ſelfe: This is his touch-ſtone. The wreſtler cannot enter liſts with an vndaunted courage, who hath neuer beene ſharpely encountred and beaten. He that hath

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oftentimes ſeene his bloud ſhed, whoſe teeth haue beene ſhattered by a fiſt. He that hauing beene ouerthrowne hath made his enemie loſe his footing, that being caſt downe hath not loſt his courage, that as oftentimes as he hath been foyled recouered new footing and became more fell and furious, he that, I ſay entreth the fielde with the greateſt aſſurance. And to perſiſt in this ſimilitude; Fortune hath oftentimes been aboue thee, yet haſt thou neuer at any time yeelded thy ſelfe her priſoner, but haſt alwayes reſtored thy ſelfe, and made head againſt her with more courage and alacritie: and in truth alſo a generous mind getteth ordinarily ſome aduantage when he is prouoked; notwithſtanding if thou thinkeſt it good, accept ſome forces from me to ſtrengthen and defence thy ſelfe more and more. Diuers things, my *Lucilius*, do more feare then hurt vs, & oftentimes we are more troubled by opinion then effect. I reaſon not with thee at this time in a Stoicall language, but ſomewhat more ſubmiſſly and vulgarly: for we ſay that all theſe things, which cauſe in vs theſe feares and gronings, are but light and contemptible. Let vs omit theſe great words, yet notwithſtanding moſt true. I onely admoniſh thee not to make thy ſelfe miſerable before thy time, by fearing that thoſe things are wholly neere vnto thee, which happily will neuer befall thee, or at leaſtwiſe are not yet happened. Somethings therefore doe more afflict vs then they ought, ſome before they ought, otherſome torment vs when they ſhould not at all. We eyther augment our euill, or preſuppoſe the ſame, or imagine them to our ſelues vpon no ground at all: that firſt becauſe the matter is in controuerſie, and the pleas are alreadie recorded; let vs deferre for the preſent. That which I terme light thou contendeſt to be moſt grieuous: I know that ſome doe laugh in their tortures, others groane for a little ſtroake. We afterwards ſhall ſee whether theſe things are to be valued by their owne forces or our weakeneſſe. Firſt graunt me this, that as oftentimes as thou ſhalt be amongſt men, that ſhall endeuour to perſwade thee that thou art miſerable, thou wilt grow into conſideration with thy ſelfe, not of that which thou heareſt, but of that which thou feeleſt: conſult firſt of al with thy patience, & ask thou thy ſelfe. Who ſhould better know that which toucheth thee then thy ſelfe? Speake vnto thy ſelfe thus; Why is it that theſe men lament my fortune? Why tremble they, as if they feared that the contagion of my misfortune ſhould attaint and torment them? That which I feare, is it not more infamous then dangerous? Enquire of thy ſelfe after this manner: Am I not perplexed and ſorrowfull without cauſe? Make I not that an euill which is not? How ſayeſt thou, ſhall I vnderſtand whether the things I feare be eyther vaine or true? Take this rule to diſcerne the ſame: eyther preſent, or future, or both terrifie vs: the iudgement of the preſent is facile, if the bodie be free, healthfull, and without any griefe, cauſed by ſome iniurie done vnto thee. We ſhall ſee what ſhall happen hereafter, to day thou haſt no neede to complain. But it will come. Firſt conſider whether there be any certaine arguments of thy future misfortune; for, for the moſt part we are troubled with ſuſpicions, and affrighted by the illuſions of common report, which is accuſtomed to end whole warres, but much more particular men. Vndoubtedly ſo it is my friend *Lucilius*, we are quickly conceited and ouer-ruled by common opinion: we checke not thoſe things which cauſe our feares, neyther ſhake them off: but tremble thereat, and turne our backs like thoſe whom a cloude of duſt, raiſed by the triumphing of a troupe of beaſts putteth to flight, or thoſe that are diſmayed by a report that runneth abroad, that hath neyther ground nor author. And by miſhap, I know not how it commeth to paſſe that falſe and fained

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things doe trouble vs farre more then true; for the true haue a certain measure, the others are deliuered vs to a wandring coniecture, and licenſe of the fearefull minde, which is alreadie affrighted: whence it happeneth that there are no diſmayes ſo pernicious and irremediable then thoſe that are mad and diſtracted; for all the reſt are without reaſon, but this without minde. Let vs diligently inquire vpon this buſineſſe; Is it likely ſome miſchance will happen? It is not ſtraight-wayes true. How many vnexpected things haue chanced? How manie expected neuer came to paſſe? And put the caſe it ſhould happen, what helpeth it to meet with a mans ſorrow? We ſhal partake the pain too ouertimely when it commeth, meane while let vs promiſe to our ſelues ſome better ſucceſſe; at the leaſtwiſe it ſhall be ſo much good time gotten. And againe, many things may fall out, by meanes whereof the danger when it ſhall be more, yea, almoſt borne by vs, eyther ſhall ſubſiſt or wholly paſſe away, or happily ſhall be diuerted on another mans head. Oft-times the flames haue broken and giuen paſſage thorow the middeſt of their furie, to auoyde themſelues. Such a one hath falne from the top of a houſe that was ſoftly layde when hee light on the ground. Sometimes he that was expoſed to his laſt puniſhment, hath beene ſaued euen in the verie attempt of execution, and ſome haue ſuruiued to burie thoſe who ſhould haue beene their hangmen: euill fortune it ſelfe is neuer without her inconſtancie and leuitie. It may be the miſchance ſhall come, it may be it ſhall not come: and meane while that it is not come, at leaſt propoſe vnto thy ſelfe that better fortune may befall thee. But contrariwiſe, that happeneth ſometimes, that euen then when there is no appearance of euill preſage, the minde faineth to it ſelfe falſe imaginations, or interpreteth ſome word of a doubtfull ſignification to the worſt, or propoſeth to it ſelfe the indignation and diſpleaſure of ſom one greater then it is, and dreameth not how much hee is incenſed, but how much he may if ſo be he be prouoked. But there is no more occaſion of liuing, there is no end of miſerie, if a man feare as much as he may feare. It behoueth contrariwiſe to reiect and contemne the feare it ſelfe, which is attended euerie way with apparant occaſions. Herein it is, wherein our prudence and the force of our vnderſtanding ought principally to ſerue vs, leaſtwiſe it befitteth vs to driue away one vice by another, and to temper [illegible] hope. For there is nothing ſo certaine of all that which a man may [illegible] that is not alſo more certaine, that the things that are feared may flee away and vaniſh, and thoſe that are hoped for deceiue. Balance therefore thy feare with thy hope; and if there be doubt on all ſides, beleeue that which beſt liketh thee, and thou couldeſt deſire ſhould fall out; and although thou ſhalt haue more and more probable appearances for to feare, notwithſtanding diſpoſe thy ſelfe to fauour the better part, and ceaſe to afflict thy ſelfe. Diſcourſe alwayes in thy vnderſtanding, that the greateſt part of mortall men are troubled and perplexed in themſelues for a thing wherein there is no euill, neyther can there be any euill, and the reaſon hereof is, becauſe no man reſiſteth himſelfe when he beginneth to be ſhaken and aſſaulted. No man pretendeth to take the paines to verifie his feare, no man thinketh with himſelfe that the author is a vaine man, that eyther might haue dreamed the ſame, or beleeued it lightly. We yeelde our ſelues wholly to him that firſt commeth and reporteth any thing vnto vs: we feare the incertaine as certaine, neyther can we keep any meaſure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare. But I am aſhamed to talke after this manner with thee, and to applie vnto thee ſo ſleight remedies: when any other man ſhall ſay vnto thee; be confident that which thou feareſt ſhall not befall thee, ſay thou quite

contrary,and when it ſhall happen, what of that ? Perhaps it ſhall be for my good and aduantage if it happen, and this death ſhall doe honour to my life. *Ceuta* hath made *Socrates* moſt famous and renowned. Wreſt from *Cato* the ſword that aſſured his libertie, and thou ſhall detract from him the greateſt part of his glorie. True it is,that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who haſt no need to bee exhorted, but inſtructed and admoniſhed onely. Theſe are not contrarie to thy nature, thou art borne to accompliſh all that which wee ſpeake of; and by ſo much more oughteſt thou to be carefull, to augment and beautifie the graces that nature hath giuen thee. But now is it high time to finiſh my Epiſtle,as ſoone as I haue ſigned it with ſome high and generous ſentence,to be conuayed vnto thee: *Amongſt other euils ſolly hath likewiſe this,that it beginneth alwayes to liue.* Conſider, worthy *Lucilius*, what theſe things ſignifie, and thou ſhalt vnderſtand how loathſome mens leuitie is,who are alwayes occupied to proiect new foundations of life, and in their laſt time bethinke them of new hopes. If thou caſt thine eye on euery man, thou ſhalt meete with olde men that addreſſe themſelues to ambition,trauell,and negotiations. And what is there more abſurd,then for an olde man to begin to liue ? I would not alledge the author of this ſentence, if that it were not one of the moſt ſecret, and not couched amongſt the vulgar ſpeeches of *Epicurus*, which I haue permitted my ſelfe both to vſurpe and adopt as mine owne.

Epist. XIIII.

A moſt wiſe Epiſtle. He admoniſheth that care muſt be had of the bodie and of life,but not too much: but that three things are feared touching the bodie; Pouertie, Sickneſſe,and Violence,but eſpecially this laſt,which proceedeth from powerfull men and tyrants: To the end thou mayeſt not feare, three things are to be auoyded; Hatred, Enuie,and Contempt. But how wiſedome ſhall inſtruct,and in ſhort words he.

I Confeſſe that nature hath imprinted in euery one of vs an affection & care of his owne perſon. I confeſſe that our bodie is vnder our tutelie and protection. I denie not but that we ought to vſe ſome indulgence in the behalfe thereof, yet ought it not to holde vs in ſeruitude. He ſhall be ſlaue to many that will be ſlaue to his owne bodie,ſhall too much feare for the ſame,and referre all things vnto that. So ought we to behaue our ſelues,not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the ſame. The too tender affection we beare vnto it,diſquieteth vs with feares,chargeth vs with diuers thoughts, & expoſeth and ſubiecteth vs to diſgraces. Honeſtie is baſe to him,that maketh too much account of his bodie. Reaſon it is that it be kept carefully,yet ſo,as when reaſon, honour,and faith requireth it,a man be ready to caſt it into the middeſt of a fire. Let vs flie notwithſtanding as much as in vs lieth,not onely the dangers,but the incommodities. Let vs ſecure our ſelues and retire vs into a place of ſecuritie, thinking hourely,by what means we may ſeparate from vs thoſe things which are to be feared; of which (if I deceiue not my ſelfe) there are three ſorts: we feare pouertie,we feare ſickneſſe,we feare thoſe things that may befall vs thorow the violence of the mightie. Of all theſe three is no one thing more that ſhaketh vs,then that which hangeth ouer vs from another mans greatneſſe, for that commeth with a great noyce and tumult. The naturall euils which I haue

reckoned

reckoned vp, ſuch as are pouerties and infirmities, doe ſilently aſſault vs: they neyther affright our eyes nor our eares, but the other miſchiefe marcheth forth with greater pompe. He hath about him fire, ſword, and bonds, and a troupe of greedy wilde beaſts to glut themſelues on our entrails. So many priſons, ſo many gallowſes, ſo many rackes and hookes, and the ſtakes which men are ſplitted on, the tortures of drawing a man with wilde horſes, and ſuch other types of tyrannie, the variety whereof is ſo great, and the preparation ſo terrible. No maruell though they bring much feare with them: for euen as the hang-man, the more inſtruments of torture he preſenteth to the condemned, the more he afflicteth him; ſo amongſt thoſe things that ſurcharge and wound our minds, thoſe haue the greateſt force that preſent the moſt obiects to the eie. This is not to inferre that other plagues, I meane famine, thirſt, vlcers, and impoſtumes of the inwards, and the feuor which dryeth and burneth our bowels, are not as tedious and painfull, but that they are hidden, hauing nothing that they may produce, or cauſe to marteh before them. Theſe as great armies obtaine the entry by the greatneſſe of their ſhowe and preparation. But the true remedie againſt theſe dangers, is to abſtaine to prouoke them. Sometimes the people are thoſe whom we ought to feare; ſometimes, if the diſcipline of the Cittie be ſuch, that diuers things are concluded by the Senate, ſome gratious men therein, or ſome one particular man that beares the ſway of the Common-wealth, and hath the gouernement ouer the people. To haue all theſe thy friends is too difficult, it is enough for thee that thou haſt them not thine enemies. A wiſe man therefore will neuer prouoke the diſpleaſure of the mightie, but rather will decline the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as in ſayling the Marriner ſhunneth a ſtorm. When thou ſhippedſt for *Sicily*, thou diddeſt cut ouer the Sea, and the vnaduiſed Maſter of thy ſhip contemned the threatning Southernly windes, which is that winde which exaſperateth the *Sicilian* Seas, and driueth on the ſhoales and whirlpooles; he ſhapeth not his courſe by the left ſhoare, but ſayleth by that ſhoare which is neerer *Charibdis*. But ſome other more skilfull, would haue enquired of thoſe of the countrey before he had embarqued himſelfe, of the nature of this Sea, and of the ſignes which the cloudes imported, and had held his courſe farre aloofe from theſe dangerous places and whirlepools. In like ſort doth the wiſe-man, he flyeth thoſe that may hurt him, hauing an eſpeciall regard to this, that he ſeeme not to flie them: for the greateſt part of ſecuritie conſiſteth in this, to make no ſhow or appeareance to ſearch the ſame; becauſe that thoſe things which a man flieth he condemneth. We muſt therefore looke about vs, how we may be ſecure from the common ſort, which wee ſhal bring to paſſe, if firſt of all we couet not any of thoſe things, which ſet competitors together by the eares; and then, if we haue not any thing, that by appearance of profit may make vs ſubiect to treacheries: I alſo counſaile thee that thou haue not any thing in thy bodie that thou mayeſt be ſpoyled of. No man thirſteth after a mans bloud onely, or at leaſt-wiſe very few. The greater ſort rather hunt after the prize then the life. A naked man walketh freely before the thief & in a dangerous paſſage a poore man findeth no man to bid him ſtand. Afterwards it behoueth thee, according to the auncient precept, to endeuour thy ſelfe to auoyde three things; that is, to be hated, enuied, and deſpiſed. Wiſedome onely can ſhew vs how this may be affected, otherwiſe it is a hard thing and much to be feared, leſt diſtruſt of enuie bring vs into contempt, leſt whilſt we will not be trod vpon, we ſeeme able to be trod on. It hath beene a cauſe of much feare to manie by hauing power to be feared. Let vs euery

way retire our ſelues: it is no leſſe harmefull to be contemned then to be admired at. Let vs therefore haue recourſe vnto Philoſophie, the inſtructions whereof ſhall be as markes of dignitie vnto vs, not onely with good men, but ſuch alſo as are indifferently euill: for eloquence and ſuch other profeſſions, which tend to moue the common ſort, haue their aduerſarie; but it is peaceable and retired, and ſuch as intermixeth it ſelfe with nothing but it ſelfe, that neyther can be contemned, which is reſpected by all other artes, yea by the conſent of the moſt wicked. Neuer ſhall vice obtaine ſo great force, neuer ſhall any conſpire ſo much againſt vertue, but that the name of Philoſophie ſhall alwaies remaine holy and venerable; yet muſt Philoſophie it ſelfe be moderately and peaceably handled. True it is, that happily thou wilt obiect vnto me, that *Marcus Cato* hath not handled the ſame with that modeſtie, who perſwaded himſelfe, that he might repreſſe by his onely counſailes the heate of ciuill warres, that thruſt himſelfe amidſt the armies of two diſpleaſed and inraged Princes, that whereas ſome diſpleaſed *Pompey*, other ſom *Cæſar*, he feared not to offend them both at once. But I will anſwer thee, that it may be debated, whether during that time it was wiſely done of him to buſie himſelfe with publique affaires? What pretendeſt thou to doe *Cato?* The title of libertie was not then in queſtion; for long time before it was troden vnder foot: the queſtion is onely whether of theſe two eyther *Cæſar* or *Pompey* ſhall bee maſter of the Commonweale: what haddeſt thou to doe with this quarrell? Thou haddeſt no part herein; the queſtion was to chooſe a Soueraigne: what could it auaile thee which of them it were that conquered? The better cannot conquer, and hee may be the worſt that ſhall be ſubdued; he cannot be the better that getteth the maſterie. I haue touched the laſt parts of *Catoes* life, but neyther were his former yeares euer ſuch, that it was conuenient for a wiſe-man to intermeddle with the Common-weale, which was already expoſed for a pray. For what other thing did he but exclaime, and caſt out vnprofitable ſpeeches, whilſt the people taking him vp, playde with him like a foot-ball, ſpit in his face, and drew him perforce out of his place, and from the Senate-houſe ledde him vnto priſon? But we ſhall ſee hereafter, whether a wiſe-man ought to imploy his labor in a place where it ſhould be vtterly loſt? Meane while I recall thee to theſe Stoicks, who excluded from the Common-weale, retired themſelues to reform mens liues, and to make lawes for all mankinde, without incurring the indignation of the mightie. Vndoubtedly it is more expedient for a wiſe-man to behaue himſelfe thus, then to goe and trouble publique cuſtomes, and cauſe himſelfe to be pointed at through the ſtrangeneſſe of his life. What then? ſhall he that followeth this courſe be wholly ſafe and ſecured? No more may a man promiſe this then health to a temperate man, and yet temperance entertaineth and cauſeth the ſame. It hath beene ſeene ſometimes that ſhips haue beene loſt in the Hauen, but the danger is greater when they ſaile in the maine Sea: how much more at hand ſhould his danger be, that intermedleth with manie affaires, and complotteth more, who cannot aſſure himſelfe, no not in his ſolitude? The innocent is ſometimes condemned, but the faultie farre more often. His arte coſteth him deare, that is harmed by the verie ornaments of arte. Finally, the wiſe-man regardeth that which is moſt expedient in euery thing, and not the ſucceſſe: for our deliberations are in our hands; but fortune diſpoſeth of the euents, to whoſe iudgement a wiſe-man neuer ſubmitteth himſelfe, yet will it bring ſome vexation and aduerſitie. The thiefe is not condemned but when he killeth. But I perceiue thou ſtretcheſt out thy hand to receiue a

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rent which this letter ſhould bring thee, I will pay thee in golde: ſee thou how the vſe and fruition of the ſame may be more gratefull vnto thee; *He moſt of all poſſeſſeth riches, that leaſt needeth them.* Tell me, thou wilt ſay, who is the author? That thou mayeſt know how bountifull I am, I intend to praiſe another mans; it is eyther *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus* ſaying, or ſome one of that ſect: what skilleth it who ſpake it? he ſpake to all men. He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man enuieth a good that breedeth feare: whilſt he thinketh to encreaſe the ſame, he forgetteth the vſe of them; it behoueth him alwaies to haue the counters in his hand, to aſſiſt at the burſſe time, and viſit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Maſter he becommeth a Factor.

Epist. XV.

Exerciſe tendeth to the care of the bodie; but let it not be laborious or troubleſome: eaſie and ſhort ſufficeth, as running, leaping, carriage of the bodie, intention of the voyce. A clauſe from the Epicure, to the end that life ſhould not be deferred, content thee with the preſent.

THE auncients had a cuſtome, which hath been obſerued as yet to my time, to begin their letters with theſe words; *If thou art in health, it is well; for mine owne part I am healthie.* Now thinke I that he ſhould ſay as well, who ſhould begin thus: If thou attendeſt thy Philoſophy, I am glad of it, for that in truth is to be in health. Without it the minde is ſicke, and the bodie alſo notwithſtanding it be ſtrong and able: for it is no otherwiſe healthie then as a man might ſay, the bodie of one that is madde and troubled with the frenſie. Haue care therefore eſpecially of this firſt health, afterwards of the ſecond, which will not coſt thee much, if thou behaue thy ſelfe wiſely. For it is an vnſeemely thing for a man that trauelleth to obtaine wiſedom, to imploy himſelfe in exerciſing his armes, to feed himſelfe fat, and to ſtrengthen his ſides. When thou ſhalt make thy ſelfe fleſhy and brawny to the vttermoſt thou canſt imagine, yet neyther in force or waight ſhalt thou equall a fat and growne Oxe. Beſides this, the mind being choaked vp with the great charge of thy bodie, is farre leſſe agile and quicke of conceit. Containe therefore and reſtraine thy bodie the moſt that thou mayeſt, to the end thou mayeſt giue a fayrer and more ſpacious place and harbor vnto thy minde. They that are ouer-carefull of the ſame, draw after them diuers incommodities: firſt of all the trauell of exerciſe ſpendeth the ſpirit, and diſableth it to apprehend the ſtudie of the moſt ſecret and hidden ſecrets. And they leade with them a traine of moſt dangerous reuolts and debauchments, as that foule and vilainous cuſtome of men, occupied betweene the wine and the oyle, in whoſe opinion the day is happily paſſed, if they haue ſweat well; and if in ſtead of that which is exhaled by ſweat, they haue anew repleniſhed their emptie ſtomacks with ſtore of another liquor. To drinke and ſweat is the life of him that is ſicke of the *Cardiacque* conuerſions of the ſtomacke. There are certaine kindes of exerciſe, which are eaſie and ſhort, which looſe and ſupple the body, without great loſſe of time, to which we ought to haue a principall regard, as to runne, dance, leap and vault. Chooſe of all theſe which thou wilt: the vſe will make it eaſie vnto thee: whenſoeuer thou doſt retire ſuddenly from thy bodie to thy minde, exerciſe the ſame day and night. Shee is nouriſhed and entertained with

a little labour: neyther cold nor heat hinder not her exercise, no not olde age it selfe. Trauell therefore carefully after this good, which is bettered by waxing olde, yet will I not alwayes that thou hang ouer thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the minde; yet so, that it be not giuen ouer altogether, but remitted onely. The carriage of a man in a Litter or otherwise, stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest reade, dictate, speake and heare also in walking. Contemne not also the eleuation of thy voyce, which I forbid thee to raise by certaine degrees and manners, and afterwards to depresse. Againe, if thou wilt learne how thou shouldest walke, admit those whom hunger hath taught new cunnings: some there be that will temper thy pace, and obserue thy mouth as thou eatest, and will proceede so farre, as by the leuitie of thy patience thou shalt giue way to their boldnesse; what then? shall thy voyce and discourse begin with clamorous accents, and in the entrance be most violently enforced? Vndoubtedly it is a thing so naturall to raise the voyce by little and little, that such as pleade are ordinarily accustomed to begin their discourse in an humble and submisse manner, and to prosecute the same with a more liuely and lowder accent. No man at the first imploreth the mercie of the Iudges. How soeuer therefore the force of thy minde shall perswade thee sometimes to exclaime on vices vehemently, sometime more moderately, according as thy voyce and force shall enable thee: when thou hast humbled the same, and drawne it to a lower straine and pitch, so let it fall that it faile not: let it be tempered according to the abilitie and discretion of the speaker, and not breake out after a rusticke and vncouth manner. For it is not our intention to exercise the voyce, but our minde is, that our voyce should exercise vs. I haue disburthened thee of no small businesse of requitall, now will I adde a gratefull office to these benefits. Behold a worthy precept: *The life of a foolish man is ingrate, and full of feare and wholly transported with expectation of future things.* But who, sayest thou, speaketh after this manner? The same that spake before. Now what life is that which in thy opinion may be called foolish, that of *Babæ* and *Ixion*, the noted fooles of our time? It is not so. It is, and is called our life whom blinded couetousnesse casteth headlong vpon those things which torment vs, or at least whiles neuer content vs, to whom if any thing had beene sufficient, already it should be. Who consider not how pleasant a thing it is to demand nothing, and how magnificent a thing it is to be full in himselfe, and not to holde or acknowledge any thing from fortune. Remember thy selfe therefore euery houre, friend *Lucilius*, how great those things are to which thou hast attained hitherto, when thou hast beheld those things that march before thee. behold also those that march after. If thou wilt not be vngratefull towards God, and towards thine owne life, consider how many thou leauest behinde thee. But why compare I thee with others? Thou hast, if thou obseruest thy selfe well gone beyond thy selfe. Prefix thy selfe certaine bounds which thou wilt not exceede or breake although thou mightest. The flattering and deceiueable blessings, and such as proue better to those that hope for them then those that enioy them, will vanish in the end. If there were any solid thing in them, they would sometime satisfie vs: or contrariwise they inuite vs to taste them onely for their appearance; and the more a man tasteth the more is he altered. But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with it selfe, why should I rather intreat fortune to bestow vpon me, or my selfe not to demaund the same? And why in demanding the same should I forget the frailtie of mankinde? Shall I

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hoord vp wealth? To what? Shall I take paines? Beholde here the last day, or if it be not, it is the next neighbour to the last.

Epist. XVI.

That Philosophie is necessarie to life; but that is the true onely which is in action and proficient. Dispose by that thine actions and counsailes. It skilleth not whether fate or fortune be: for Philosophie teacheth to obey God, and contemne fortune and casualties. There is a clause likewise of Epicvrvs. *He that liueth according to nature is rich. Despise opinion.*

I Know, friend *Lucilius*, that thou perfectly vnderstandest that no man can liue happily, nay, scarcely tollerably without the studie of wisedome, and that the life is made happie by the perfection of the same, and tollerable by her onely beginning. But it sufficeth not onely that thou know this, it behoueth thee also to imprint it in thy soule, and assure the same by continuall contemplation. For there is lesse to do to propose a thing which is honest, then to conserue the same, when a man hath proposed the same to himselfe. We must persever, and by continuall diligence adde strength, till that which is now only a good will, may become an habituall good minde. Thou needest not therefore to court me with many affirmatiue and long discourses: for I know that thou hast profited very much. I know from what minde the things thou writest do proceed, and that they are neyther fained nor disguised: yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion. I haue alreadie some hope of thee, but not as yet an entire assurance; and if thou wilt beleeue, thou shalt conceiue no otherwise of thy selfe. Beleeue not thy selfe so suddenly and so easily. Sound and obserue thy selfe, and aboue all things see whether thou hast profited, eyther in thy science or in thy life it selfe. Philosophie is no vulgar craft, neyther is it for ostentation: it consisteth not in wordes but in deedes. She must not be made vse of to passe the time withall, or extinguish the tediousnesse of idlenesse. She it is that formeth and conformeth the minde, that disposeth life, and guideth our actions, and sheweth vs what wee ought eyther to flie or follow. She it is that guideth the helme, and directeth their course that saile amidst the shoales and rockes of this life: without her no man is assured. Daily and hourely there fall out innumerable things which require counsel, which no man may receiue from any other but her selfe. But som one may say, whereto serueth Philosophie, if there be a destinie or a God that ruleth all things, or a fortune that commandeth ouer all men? For such things as are certaine cannot be changed, and against those that are vncertaine what prouision may be made, if God hath preoccupated al the deliberations of men? If alreadie he hath determined that which ought to be done? or if fortune permitteth nothing vnto my counsaile? whatsoeuer be of all this, or if all this were so, we must, my *Lucilius*, intend Philosophie, whether that destinie detaine vs captiues to her irreuocable lawes, or God the gouernor of the world, disposeth of all things; or fortune confusedly enforceth, or altereth humane affairs, Philosophie must be our retreat. She will exhort vs to obey God willingly, and to resist fortune constantly: she will teach vs to follow God, and to beare with casualties. But we are not now to call in question, whether we haue any interest, and whether prouidence be in our will or power, or whether fate with ineuitable bonds

bondes draweth vs to his ſubiection, or any ſudden or caſuall power be our abſolute miſtris. I returne to exhort thee not to ſuffer thy ſelfe to waxe colde, or permit this heate and conſtancie of thy minde to be weakened. Entertaine the ſame in ſuch ſort, that the viuacitie and agilitie that at this preſent is contained therin may grow into a habitude. From thy very infancie (if I haue knowne thee well) thou haſt fixed thine eie on that which this preſent letter importeth. Peruſe it well, and thou ſhall finde it, thou needeſt not maruaile at me. I continue ſtill to be liberall of other mens goods; yet are they not others, becauſe that all that which is well ſaid, by whomſoeuer it be ſpoken, I may tearme mine owne. *Epicurus* ſaith, *If thou liueſt according to nature, thou ſhalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou ſhalt neuer be rich: nature hath neede but of a little, opinion of infinite.* Be it thou were Lord of all that wealth which many mightie men doe poſſeſſe, or that fortune enricheth thee beyond the meaſure of a priuate man: although ſhe couer thee with golde, and cloath thee in purple, and bring thee to that height of delights and riches, that thou mayeſt couer the earth with marble, and mighteſt not onely poſſeſſe riches, but treade on them: adde herevnto moreouer pictures and ſtatues, and what elſe ſoeuer any arte or engine hath inuented; thou ſhalt learne from thoſe to couet alwayes more. Our naturall deſires are limited; thoſe that are deriued from falſe opinion haue no end: for there is no limit from a falſe ground; to him that goeth in the right way, there is an end; error is infinite. Retire thy ſelfe therefore from vaine things, and when thou wouldeſt know, whether that thou askeſt haue a naturall or blinde deſire, conſider whether it may reſt any where: if the neerer thou approacheſt it, the farther daily it flieth from thee, be aſſured it is not according to nature.

Epist. XVII.

That Philoſophie is not to be deferred, but, all other things laide aſide, to be embraced. But I ſhall be poore. What if this were to be wiſhed for? Thou ſhalt play the Philoſopher more freely. Nature deſireth but a little, and that ſhall not be wanting. A clauſe. To him that accounteth pouertie grieuous, riches will be likewiſe burthenſome, for the defect is in the minde.

CAſt away all theſe things if thou beeſt wiſe, or rather to the ende thou mayeſt be wiſe: then addreſſe thy ſelfe ſpeedily and withall thy power to get a good minde. If any thing detaine thee, eyther vnbinde thee alſo out of the bond or breake it. I am (thou wilt ſay) hindered by my home-affaires: I will take ſuch a courſe that my reuenue may maintain me, without doing any thing; to the end that pouertie may not be a hinderance to me, nor I to any other. Whilſt thou ſayeſt this, thou ſeemeſt not to know the power and ſtrength of that thing whereof thou thinkeſt. Thou ſeeſt generally and in ſumme, how much Philoſophie is profitable to thee; but thou doeſt not ſubtilly examine all her parts, neither knoweſt thou yet how much ſhe helpeth vs, and in what ſort ſhe may ſuccor vs in great affaires (that I may vſe *Tullies* words) and in what ſort ſhee aſſiſteth vs in great things, and applieth her ſelfe to the leſſe things. Beleeue me, take aduice of her, ſhe will counſell thee not to buſie thy ſelfe about thine accounts. All then that thou ſearcheſt is to exempt thy ſelfe from pouertie; and what wilt thou ſay if it be deſireable? Riches haue hindered many men from ſtudying Philoſophie:

pouertie

pouertie is alwayes free, is alwayes ſafe. When the enemies trumpet ſoundeth, the poore man knowes well that the alarum threatneth not him: in a ſurpriſe or yeelding vp of a towne for loſt, he takes no care how to get away, or what to carrie with him: if he muſt needs make a voyage by Sea, no man attendeth him at his entrance nor at his launching forth: he hath not ſo great a troupe of ſeruants to attend him, that he muſt needes nouriſh them vpon the fertilitie of a forraine countrey. For it is eaſie to fill a few bellies, and well taught, that deſire but to be filled: it coſteth little to appeaſe hunger; but a dainty mouth too much. Pouertie is contented with the ſatisfaction and ſupplie of her neceſſitie: why then wilt thou refuſe to make her thy companion, whoſe manners the richeſt themſelues doe imitate? If thou deſireſt to enioy the freedome of thy minde, eyther it behoooueth thee to be poore, or like a poore man. A man cannot profit in this ſtudie without the care of frugalitie, which is a voluntarie pouertie. Lay then apart all theſe excuſes; Say not that thou haſt not as yet all that which thou haſt neede of, and that if thou mighteſt compaſſe that ſumme, thou wouldeſt retire thy ſelfe from the world, to conſecrate thy ſelfe wholly vnto Philoſophie. But contrariwiſe, ſhe it is that ought eſpecially to be ſought after, which thou deferreſt and ſeekeſt to attaine laſt of all. By her it is by whom thou oughteſt to begin. I will, ſayeſt thou, recouer whereupon to liue: learne then afterwards how thou oughteſt to get; if any thing hinder thee from liuing well, nothing hindereth thee from dying well. There is no reaſon that pouerty ſhould recall vs from Philoſophie, no not neceſſitie it ſelfe. We ought in her behalfe endure hunger, which diuers men haue voluntarily endured in ſieges. As if the onely price of this patience was not to yeelde it ſelfe to the diſcretion of the conquerour: how much more great is that by which a perpetuall libertie is promiſed, and an aſſurance neyther to be affrighted by God nor man? Sometimes hunger enforceth vs to this. Whole armies haue ſuffered extreame neceſſitie, yea, ſo great as to feede vpon the rootes of hearbes, and to ſupport an horrible famine; and all this ſuffered they (to make the wonder the more) to get a Kingdome, and that which is more ſtrange, for another mans ſeruice: who then will doubt to endure pouertie, and ſo free the minde from madnes? There needeth not any preparation for maintenance before hand. A man may attaine vnto Philoſophie without prouiſion and ſupplies. But touching thy ſelfe, thou wilt attaine therevnto after all other things, thou eſteemeſt it for the laſt inſtrument of life, or to ſpeake more aptly, the acceſſion. Contrariwiſe whether it be that thou haſt any thing, apply thy ſelfe vnto her (for whence mayeſt thou know whether alreadie thou haſt ſo much?) or be it thou haſt nothing at all, ſeeke after her the rather, and more then any other thing. Feare not, the want of any neceſſarie ſupplyes; nature is contented with a little, to which let a wiſe-man accommodate himſelfe: and if happily extreame neceſſitie doe ſurcharge him, he ſhall eſcape from this life, and ſhall ceaſe to be troubleſome to himſelfe. And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the ſame, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeuour himſelfe, but for thoſe things that are neceſſarie: he will beſtow that on his bellie and his backe which appertaineth vnto them and being content with himſelfe, ſhall laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and comings of thoſe who ſweat to get riches, and ſhall ſay, To what end ſearcheſt thou the longer way? Wherefore expecteſt thou the gain of thy vſurie or the ſucceſſion of ſome olde man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou canſt become rich ſuddenly. It concerneth thee no more but to recouer wiſdome, ſhe will pay thee before hand, and giueth riches

to

to whomsoeuer she maketh them seeme to be superfluous. But this were good payment for another man; for thine own part thou art rich, discharge thy selfe therefore, for thou hast too much. In euery age shalt thou finde that which is sufficient. I might in this place end my Letter, if I had not taught thee an euill custome. A man may not salute the Kings of *Parthia* without a present: but to thee a man may not bid adiew *gratis*. I will therefore borrow of *Epicurus* to pay thee: *To manie the obtayning of riches hath not beene the end, but the change of their miserie.* Hereat wonder I not; for vice is not in the things themselues, but in the minde. The same occasion made riches tedious, that made pouertie grieuous. Euen as it is all one to put a sicke man into a bedde of wood, or into a bed of golde, because that into what place soeuer he be remoued, he beareth alwaies his griefe with him. In like manner, there is no difference to thrust a sicke mind into riches or into pouertie, because his euill alwayes followeth him.

Epist. XVIII.

That a wise-man intemperately behaueth himselfe in publique ryots, and is taunted little or nothing with their maners. Howsoeuer, that it is profitable some dayes to abstaine, spare, and resemble the poore, it is a sore exercise to trie pouertie if it come so. A clause from Epicvrvs: *wrath assisteth madnesse.*

DEcember is a moneth wherein all the Cittie is much busied; euery one in publique giueth way to lasciuiousnesse, each eare is filled with the rumour and report of those preparations which are made to ryot with, as if the time were extraordinary, and that there were some difference betwixt the Saturnals and other delights. So little difference is there, that in my opinion hee seemeth to haue no way erred, that saith, that in times past December was a moneth, but that now it is a yeare. If I had thee heere, I would willingly inquire of thee, what in thine opinion ought to be done, whether we should change any thing of our ordinarie custome, or if (lest we should seeme to distaste the common fashion) wee should fall to, and frame our selues to doe that which other men doe: for that which was not wont to be done but in times of tumult, and in the turbulent estate of the Cittie, for pleasure and the holy-dayes sake we changed our garment. If I knew thee well, the matter being committed to thy iudgement; neyther wouldest thou permit that in all things we should resemble the round-cap multitude; neyther also in euery sort to be vnlike vnto them, except happily in these dayes especially, we ought to command our mindes to retire themselues, and to abstaine from pleasures, wherein all the world is so disordered: she receiueth a most certaine proofe of her firmitie, if she neyther yeeld nor suffer her selfe to be transported by adulations, and such things as inuite her to superfluitie. But it is a matter farre more difficult, and worthie a noble mind, to be sober alone: at such time as all the people surfeiteth in drunkennesse, this hath more temperance and discretion in it selfe, not to sequester a mans selfe wholly from popularitie, neyther to particularize himselfe ouer-much, neyther intermix himselfe with them, but to do the same things that they do, but not after the same manner. For a man may celebrate a festiuall day without drunkennesse. But so am I pleased to tempt the constancie of thy minde, that according to the counsailes of many great men, I aduise thee to choose out certaine dayes, wherein thou

mayest

mayeſt content thy ſelfe with the leaſt, and cheapeſt dyet, and mayſt cloath thy ſelfe in a hard and courſe garment: ſay to thy ſelfe, Is this that which the world ſo much feared? In the fulneſſe of thy ſecuritie let thy mind prepare it ſelfe vnto aduerſities, and againſt fortunes iniuries confirme it ſelfe euen in the height of her fauours. In the middeſt of peace the Souldier exerciſeth himſelfe in armes and skirmiſhes, and wearieth himſelfe with ſuperfluous labour, to the end he be more able and exerciſed when time requireth. If thou deſireſt a man ſhould not feare vpon any occurrence, exerciſe him before hand to the accident. They that euery moneth exerciſe themſelues in imitation of pouertie, haue profited to feare as not to feare pouertie it ſelfe, which they ſo oftentimes had both entertained and apprehended. Thinke not now that I command thee to go ſometimes, and take an ill ſupper with a poore man, contenting thy ſelfe with his bread and wine, or whatſoeuer elſe it is, whereby luxurie ſmootheth ouer, and playes with the tediouſneſſe of riches. I aduiſe thee that both thy bedde and thy apparell be truely poore, and that thy bread be ſtale and mouldie, and that thou entertaine this hard pittance for three or foure dayes; yea, ſometimes more, to the end it may be vnto thee, not as a paſtime but as a proofe. Then beleeue me, my *Lucilius*, thou ſhalt leap for ioy, when being ſatisfied with a little, thou ſhalt vnderſtand that to ſatisfie our ſelues we haue no need of fortune, for that which ſufficeth neceſſitie ſhe oweth vs in ſpite of her diſpleaſure, yet haſt thou no reaſon in accompliſhing all this, to perſwade thy ſelfe that thou haſt done much: for what doeſt thou that many thouſand ſlaues and beggers doe not daily? All the honor thou canſt giue thy ſelfe, is, that thou doeſt it voluntarily. It ſhall be as eaſie for thee to endure it alwayes, as to attempt it ſomtimes. Let vs therefore prepare our ſelues to all caſualties, leſt fortune ſurpriſe vs vnprouided. Let vs make pouertie familiar vnto vs: we ſhall be more aſſuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore. That Maſter of pleaſure *Epicurus* had certaine dayes wherein he very ſparingly and niggardly repreſſed his hunger, to proue if any thing were wanting of his full and conſummate pleaſure, or how much wanted, or whether it were a thing of that deſert, that a man ſhould employ much labour in repayring the ſame. Himſelfe ſaith this in his Epiſtles, which he wrote to *Polienus Charinus*, being magiſtrate, & he glorieth therein, that all his victuals for one day coſt him not three pence halfepenie, and that *Metrodorus* diet, who had not ſo farre forth profited as himſelfe, coſt him no more. Thinkeſt thou that in this kinde of life there is not a ſaciety? Vndoubtedly there is pleaſure in it, and not ſuch pleaſure which is ſomie and fleeting, and oftentimes to be repaired, but ſtable and certaine: for neyther is water, nor broth, nor a morſell of barley bread a pleaſant dyet; but it is an eſpeciall pleaſure for a man to be able to take his contentment in theſe, and to haue eſtabliſhed himſelfe ſo farre in himſelfe, that no iniurie of fortune can ſhake his reſolution. The ordinarie allowance of the priſons is farre more then this, and they that are condemned to die, are not ſo poorely intreated by him that is their executioner. How great is the magnitude of his minde, that maketh that habitude voluntarie in himſelfe, to admit thoſe things with willingneſſe which ordinarily are accuſtomed to be enioyned for a penaltie: this is to preoccupate the weapons of fortune. Begin therefore, my *Lucilius*, to follow theſe mens cuſtomes, and take ſome dayes to thy ſelfe, wherein thou mayeſt retire thy ſelfe from thine affaires, and content thy ſelfe with a little. Begin to haue ſome conuerſe and familiarity with pouertie.

Be bolde my guest, and set proude wealth at nought,
And make thee worthy God by modest thought.

No other man is worthie God, but he that hath contemned riches, of whose possession I debarre thee not; but my desire is, that thou mightest possesse them without feare, which by one meanes thou shalt obtaine, if thou canst perswade thy selfe that thou mayest liue happily without them, and regard them no otherwise then as fleeting benefites, thou canst well want. But now let vs begin to conclude our Epistle: first, sayest thou, Pay me that thou owest. I will send *Epicurus* to pay thee my debt: *Immoderate wrath engendreth madnesse.* How true this is thou must needes know, when thou hast had both a slaue and an enemie. This affection kindleth it selfe against al men, it ariseth as wel from loue as from hate, as well amongst serious things as playes and pastimes; neyther skilleth it from how great a cause it grow, but what kinde of minde it meeteth with: so, it is no matter how great the fire be, but where it falleth; for the greatest and soundest tymbers haue sustayned a great fire: againe, drie trees and such as are apt to be fired, nourish a sparkle so long till it breake into a flame. So is it, my *Lucilius*, furie is the end of immoderate wrath, and therfore is anger to be auoyded, not for moderation, but for healths sake.

Epist. XIX.

That publique affaires are to be omitted and cast off, and priuacie to be affected: but priuacie and not solitude, and detestation of conuersation. He counseleth to forsake the Court and the pompe thereof, both which are attended with tumults and troubles. A clause of the same Masters. See with whom thou communicatest at the table.

I Am heartily glad as oftentimes as I receiue thy letters, for they fill me with much good hope: for now they promise not, but assure me in thy behalfe. Doe therefore in such sort, I pray and beseech thee, as thy letters doe import: for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I should implore God in his behalfe? Withdraw thy selfe, if thou mayest, from these busie affaires, or if thou canst not forcibly deliuer thy selfe, we haue ouer-long beene prodigall of time, let vs begin now in our age to play the good husbands. Is this distastfull to thee? We haue liued in the stormie Ocean, let vs die in a quiet harbor. Yet would I not aduise thee to affect a singularitie and name by thy retirement, which neyther thou oughtest to boast of or to conceale. For neuer will I so much condemne the furie of mankinde, that to the end thou mayest auoyde the same, I would haue thee locke thy selfe vp in an hermitage, and burie the affaires of this world in euerlasting forgetfulnesse. Behaue thy selfe in such sort, that retreat of thine be apparent but not eminent; and then shal they who haue libertie to liue according to their own good liking, perceiue whether they ought wholly to hide themselues or no. For thine owne part thou mayest not. The vigor of thy wit, the elegancy of thy writings, thy many great and famous alliances haue brought thee forth into the face of the world. Thou art alreadie so farre engaged in the knowledge of men, that though thou wert confined in the furthermost corner of the world, yet would thy former actions discouer them-

themselues. Thou canst not be concealed, there will be alwayes some lustre of thy former light, which will attend thee, whither soeuer thou retirest thy selfe. Canst thou settle thy selfe in repose without the hate of any man, without desire or agonie of minde? For what shalt thou leaue which thou mayest imagine to haue forsaken vnwillingly? What thy clients? But of these no one affecteth thee, but gapeth for somewhat from thee. Shall it be thy friends? In times past men affected friendships, now hunt they after profits. Art thou afraid that the older sort, being abandoned by thee, should chaunge their willes? Consider in counterpoize of all this, that a thing so pretious as is libertie, cannot be purchased but very deerly. Finally, bethink thy selfe, whether thou hadst rather loose either those things that belong vnto thee, or thy self. Would to God thou hadst beene so happie as to waxe old after the manner of thine auncestors, and fortune had not made thee so eminent as she hath done; a sudden felicitie, thy prouince and procreation, and what soeuer is promised by these haue transported thee very farre from the sight of a contented life. And greater things besides these shall seaze thee hereafter, and the one shall beget the other. What shall be the end? Thinkest thou thy contents and honours shall be so affluent, that nothing shall remaine for thee to desire? That time shall neuer happen. That which we say to be the order and vniting of causes which tie destinie, the same likewise say we to be of couetecousnes; the one taketh his beginning from the end of the other. Into that life art thou demised which shall neyther end thy miserie nor seruitude. Pull thy necke therefore out from the yoake: it is better to cut it in pieces all at once, then to suffer it perpetually to be restrained. If thou withdraw thy selfe to a priuate life, all things will be lesser, but they will fill thee the more; but now diuers things, and heaped one vpon another, satisfie thee not. But whether haddest thou rather to haue securitie in want, or hunger in abundance? Felicitie is both couetous, and exposed to others greedinesse. As long as nothing shall suffice thee, thou shalt not giue contentment to others. How sayest thou, shall I escape this? By any meanes what soeuer. Bethinke thy selfe how many things thou hast rashly attempted for money, how many things thou hast laboriously vndertaken for honor; somthing also is to be attempted for thy quiet sake, or in this solicitude of procuration, and afterwards of ciuill offices, thou must waxe old in trauell, and be alwayes tossed with new waues, which thou canst not auoyde by any modestie or quiet of life. For what auayleth thee to be willing to settle thy quiet, if thy fortune will not? What also if thou permit the same to encrease? the better the successe is, the more the feare increaseth. I will recount vnto thee in this place the saying of *Mecenas*, who spake truth amidst the tortures of his dignitie, and fauours in the Court of AVGVSTVS: *For Highnes it selfe thundereth at the highest.* If you enquire of me in what booke he said it: it was in that which was intituled *Prometheus*. This would he say that feare and amaze possesseth the highest. Is there therefore anie power of that esteem that thy speech should be so disordred? The man was ingenious, and such as was to giue a great example of Romane eloquence, if felicitie had not enfeebled him, nay rather gelded him. This ond attendeth if thou restraine not thy selfe presently, and shorten thy sayles, except (which he to lately affected) thou beare for the land. I could be quit with thee for this sentence of *Mecenas*, but I feare me thou wilt not receiue it for good payment in this sort, but wilt cauill (if I know thee well) and accept of my payment in the coyne I hold currant. Howsoeuer the matter be I will borrow from EPICVRVS: *Thou art* (saith he) *to take care with whom thou eatest and drinkest before*

thy meate, then what thou eatest and drinkest: for a plentifull and fleshie feast without a friend, is the life of a Lion or a Wolfe. This shall not happen to thee, except thou retire thy selfe, & separate thee from the multitude; otherwise thou shalt haue at thy table, not thy friends, but such as thy remembrancer hath chosen amongst the multitude of thy saluters. But he deceiueth himselfe that searcheth a friend in the base court, and approueth him in the banquet. A man much occupied and besieged by his goods, hath no one greater mischiefe, then that hee thinketh them to be his friends whom he loueth not, that beleeueth that his benefits are powerfull enough to get him friends, wheras some the more they owe a man, the more they hate him. A little debt maketh a man a debtor, a great an enemie? What therefore, doe not benefits beget friendships? They doe, if a man might make choyse of those that should receiue them, if they were well imployed, and not rashly cast away. Therfore whilst thou beginnest to be thine owne man, in the mean while vse this counsel of the wise-men, that thou think it to be more pertinent to the matter, to regard who receiueth then what.

Epist. XX.

That Philosophie is in deedes not in words, and that therefore we ought to addresse our selues to them, and that constantly. For wisedome is the conueniency and vniforme tenor of our wils and life. Pouertie also is not to be feared, and riches if they be present not to be loued. Moreouer, a warning that on certaine dayes we act and imitate poore men.

IF thou art in health, and thinkest thy selfe worthy at some time to be made thine owne I reioyce: for it shall be my glorie, if I may drawe thee out from thence, whereas thou floatest without hope of getting out. But this I heartily begge and earnestly exhort thee too, my *Lucilius*, that thou shut vp Philosophie in the secret of thy heart, and that thou make an experiment of thy progresse, not by thy speech or writings, but by the firmitie of thy minde, and the diminution of thy desires. Approue the words by the deedes. One is the scope of those that declaime and demand applause of an assembly. Another of those that detaine the eares of yong and idle men with diuers and voluble disputation. Philosophie teacheth vs to doe and not to speake, and exacteth this of vs, that euery one liue according to her law, lest the life should differ from speech, that the life be in it selfe of one colour, without any discord of actions. This is both the greatest office, and token of wisedome, that the actions be correspondent to the words, and that hee which followeth her be alwayes equal & like vnto himselfe. Who shal perform this? Few, yet some shall. This thing is difficult, neyther say I that a wise-man should alwayes march one pace, but one path. Obserue therefore whether thy garment and thy house doe disagree, whether thou art liberall towards thy selfe, and niggardly towards thine, whether thou suppest frugally and buildest prodigally? Take once vnto thee a certaine rule and measure of life, and leuell the same according to that square. Some men in their houses restraine themselues, abroad are lauish and prodigall. This diuersitie is a vice, and the signe of an vnconstant minde, and not as yet brought in frame. Moreouer I will tell thee whence this inconstancie of affaires and counsailes doth proceed. No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end whereunto he will tend, neyther if he haue proposed

poſed it, doth he perſeuer in the ſame, but ouer-ſhooteth himſelfe; and not only changeth he, but returneth and re-intangleth himſelfe in thoſe vices, which he himſelfe had forſaken and condemned. That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of wiſedome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I can be content with this. What is wiſedome? To will one thing, and to nill the ſame: although thou adde not the exception, that it be iuſt which thou willeſt. One and the ſame thing cannot alwayes pleaſe any man, except it bee right. Men therefore know not what they will except in that very moment wherein they will. In ſumme, no man is poſitiue in his willing or nilling. The iudgement is daily varied, and turned into the contrarie, and to many men life paſſeth away like a May-game. Purſue then that which thou haſt begun, and thou ſhalt happily attaine eyther to the height, or at leaſt-wiſe to that thou alone ſhalt vnderſtand that as yet it is not compleat. What ſhall become, ſayeſt thou, of this troope of my familiars? All this troope when thou deſiſteſt to feed them will feede themſelues, or that which thou canſt not know by thy merites, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by the meanes of pouertie. She will retaine thy true and certain friends, and whoſoeuer ſhall leaue, followed not thee but another thing. And is not pouertie to be loued for this one thing, that ſhe diſcloſeth vnto thee who are thy vnfained friends? O when will that day come that no man will belie thine honour? Let therefore all thy thoughts tend hither, ſtudie and wiſh this, remitting all other vowes vnto God, that thou mayeſt be content with thy ſelfe and ſuch goods that accrue by thy ſelfe. What felicitie may be neerer vnto God? Reduce thy ſelfe, and content thee with the leaſt eſtate, lower then which thou canſt not fall: and that thou mayeſt the more willingly doe it, to this ſhall belong the tribute of this Epiſtle. Although thou enuie it, yet ſhall *Epicurus* euen at this preſent voluntarilie defray the duetie for me. Beleeue me, this thy diſcourſe ſhall haue more luſtre and magnificence in a lowe bedde, and vnder a ragged coate; for it ſhall not onely be ſaid but approued. And for mine owne part haue I during my life time otherwiſe heard that which my friend *Demetrius* ſaid, when as I ſaw him naked, couched and lying vpon leſſe then ſtraw? For then is he not a Maſter of truth, but a witneſſe. What then, ought we to ſet light by the riches which are in our poſſeſſion, and as it were in our boſome? Why may we not? Great is his courage, which hauing long time and much admired them about him, laugheth at them, and rather heareth then feeleth that they are his. It is much, not to be corrupted by the fellowſhip of riches. Great is he that is poore in his riches, but more ſecure is hee that wanteth riches. I know not, ſayeſt thou, how this man will beare his pouertie, if he fall into the ſame; neyther know I, ſaith *Epicurus*, if this poore man wil contemne his riches if he fall on them. Therefore in both of them the minde is to be eſteemed and looked into; whether the one affected his pouertie, the other flattered not his riches. Otherwiſe the ſtrawe bed, and ragged coate would be but a ſlender argument of good will, except it were manifeſt, that any one ſuffered them not of neceſſitie but voluntarily. But it is the ſigne of a great wit, not to runne after the things as if they were the better, but to prepare himſelfe to endure them with facilitie. And truely, *Lucilius*, they are eaſier: but when as with mature conſideration thou ſhalt entertaine them, they will be pleaſant alſo: for in them there is a ſecuritie, without which nothing is pleaſant. I therefore iudge that neceſſarie, which as I wrote vnto thee, great men haue often done, to interpoſe certaine dayes, wherein by imaginarie pouertie we may exerciſe our ſelues to entertaine the true; which is the rather to be done becauſe we haue beene

drowned in delights, and all things in our iudgements are hard and difficult: rather ought the minde to be awakened and rouſed from ſleepe,& to be inſtructed and admoniſhed,that nature hath propoſed vs the leaſt. No man is borne rich: whoſoeuer entreth life,is commanded to bee contented with bread and milke. From theſe beginnings Kingdomes containe vs not.

Epist. XXI.

That true ſplendor is in Philoſophie,and proceedeth not from honours or titles. That ſhe giues to thoſe that haue her,and cleaue vnto her,a perpetuall name and fame. An emblem from Epicvrvs. *To the intent thou mayest increaſe thy riches diminiſh thy deſires.*

THinkeſt thou that thou haſt to doe with thoſe thoughts whereof thou haddeſt writ to me? Thou haſt a mightie buſineſſe with thy ſelfe, and art troubleſome to thy ſelfe. Thou knoweſt not what thou wouldeſt: thou doeſt better allow then follow honeſt things. Thou ſeeſt where felicitie is planted, but thou dareſt not attaine thereunto. But what it is that hindereth thee, becauſe thou thy ſelfe doeſt little conceiue or prie into, I will tell thee. Thou thinkeſt theſe things great matters which thou art to leaue, and when as thou haſt propoſed to thy ſelfe that ſecuritie whervnto thou art to paſſe the light of this life from whence thou art to part,retaineth thee as if thou wert to fall into ſome loathſome and darke places. Thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe *Lucilius*,we aſcend from this life to the other. The difference which is betweene ſplendor and light, whereas this hath a certaine originall,and from it ſelfe, that ſhineth by reaſon of another: the ſame difference is there twixt this life and that. This becauſe it is reflected vpon by an externall light will preſently yeeld a thicke ſhadow to whomſoeuer ſetteth himſelfe before the ſame; but that other ſhineth by his owne light. Thy ſtudies will make thee famous and noble. I will relate an example of *Epicurus* when he wrote to *Idomeneus*,and reuoked him from a pompeous life to a faithfull and ſtable glorie, who was a miniſter at that time of rigorous and regall power and had the handling of many mightie matters. *If* (ſaith he) *thou art touched with glorie,my Epiſtles ſhall make thee more famous then all thoſe things which thou honoureſt,and for which thou art honoured.* Whether, I pray you, lied he? Who had knowne *Idomeneus* except *Epicurus* had regiſtred and engraued him in his Letters? All thoſe Potentates,Princes,and the King himſelfe,from whom *Idomeneus* had his eſtate and dignitie,are buried in eternall obliuion. *Ciceroes* Epiſtles ſuffer not the name of *Atticus* to be extinguiſhed, neyther had *Agrippa* his ſonne in law, nor *Tiberius* his neeces husband nor *Druſus Cæſar* his nephews ſonne,amongſt ſo great names he had beene obſcured, had not *Cicero* maintayned his reputation,and kept him in memorie. After vs there ſhall come a long and hidden tract of time,ſome few wits ſhall lift vp their heads,and being likely at length to ſleepe in the ſame ſilence,ſhall reſiſt obliuion,and ſhall keepe themſelues long time in reputation. That which *Epicurus* could promiſe his friend, that promiſe I thee, *Lucilius*. I ſhall haue fauour with poſteritie,and can beare away with me the names of ſuch as ſhall liue in memorie. One *Virgil* promiſed and performed to two eternall memorie:

You

You both are fortunate if ought my verſes can,
No day ſhall you exempt from memorie of man;
Whilst haught Æneas *houſe ſhall ſtand, and laſting bide*
Vpon the Capitols rocky and loftie ſide,
And Romane father ſhall the Romane Empire guide.

All thoſe whom fortune hath aduanced, al they that haue bin the members and parcels of another mans power, their credite hath beene inhaunced, their houſes haue beene frequented during the time that they themſelues flouriſhed, after them their memorie was quickly extinguiſhed. The reputation of wits increaſeth daily, and not onely continueth for them, but all that is receiued, which is adherent vnto them. And to the end that *Idomeneus* be not *gratis* incloſed in my Epiſtle, he ſhall redeeme the ſame at his owne charge. To him *Epicurus* wrote this noble ſentence, wherein he exhorteth him to make *Pithocles* rich after no vulgar or vncertaine manner: *If thou wilt* (ſaith he) *make* Pithocles *rich, thou muſt not amplifie his poſſeſſions, but diminiſh his deſires.* This ſentence is ſo plaine that it needeth no interpretation, and ſo expreſſe as it needeth no helpe. I admoniſh thee this one thing, that thou ſuppoſe not this onely to be ſpoken of riches, howſoeuer thou applyeſt it, it is all one. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* honeſt thou muſt not amplifie his honours, but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt that *Pithocles* be in perpetuall pleaſure, thou muſt not amplifie his pleaſures but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* olde, and cauſe him to liue a compleat life, thou muſt not amplifie his yeares, but diminiſh his deſires. Thou haſt no reaſon to iudge that theſe are onely *Epicurus* ſpeeches, for they are publik. That which was wont to be don in the Senate, that alſo think I fit to be don in Philoſophie. When any one hath deliuered his minde, which partly pleaſeth me, I bid him diuide his ſentence, and I follow the ſame ſo diuided. The more willingly recite I theſe good ſayings of *Epicurus*, to the end I may ſhew thoſe who build therevpon, being conducted with a fooliſh preſumption, and that thinke to haue a cloake for their vices, that they ought to liue honeſtly in what place ſoeuer they bide. When they ſhall approach theſe Gardens, and ſhall ſee written ouer the gate of them,

Heere well mayſt thou abide my gentle gueſt,
Heere pleaſure is eſteem'd the chiefeſt beſt.

The Hoſt of this houſe courteous vnto his gueſts, full of hoſpitalitie and humanitie, will be addreſſed, and ſhall entertain thee with a cake, and preſent thee with water, as much as will ſuffice thee, and in the end will ſay vnto thee: *Haſt thou not beene well entertained?* Theſe Gardens, I tell thee, prouoke not but extinguiſh hunger: neyther make they thee thriſe-more great by the drinkings; but aſſwage them by a naturall and gratuitall remedie. In this pleaſure am I waxen olde. I ſpeake with thee of theſe deſires which receiue no conſolation, to which it is good to releaſe ſom things, to the end they may ceaſe. For in regard of the extraordinarie which a man may deferre, chaſtice and oppreſſe, I will aduertiſe thee of one thing, that this is neyther a naturall nor neceſſarie voluptuouſneſſe. To this thou art in no manner tyed, what ſoeuer thou beſtoweſt on it, it is voluntarie. The bellie heareth no precepts, it demandeth and calleth on vs; yet is he not a troubleſome creditor, but ſatisfied with little, prouided thou giue him that which thou oweſt, not that which thou payeſt.

Epist. XXII.

We ought manfully to diſlodge our ſelues of buſineſſes, and how the ſnares are eyther to be looſed or broken; yet let opportunity and good occaſion be reſpected, and not let ſlip. Furthermore he deſpiſeth and caſteth from him theſe falſe ſplendors. Then citeth he a ſentence of Epicvrvs. *That all men part out of this life children, that is ignorant of the true life.*

THou vnderſtandeſt now that thou art to acquit thy ſelfe of theſe buſineſſes, in appearance faire, but euill: but how thou mayeſt effect the ſame, thou askeſt my counſell. Many things cannot bee taught but in preſence. A Phyſitian cannot chooſe by his Letters the time of repaſt and bathing, he muſt feele the pulſe. It is an olde prouerb; *That the Fencer taketh counſaile in the field appointed for combat.* The countenance of his aduerſarie makes him thinke on ſomwhat, the motion of his hand, and the inclination of his bodie aduiſeth ſomewhat to him that beeholdeth or looketh on. A man may in generall giue aduice eyther by ſpeech, or writing of that which hath beene accuſtomed, or of that which is needfull to be done; and ſuch counſell both to the abſent and to poſteritie, but that other when it ought to be done, and how, no man will aduiſe from a farre off: we muſt deliberate with the things themſelues. It is the duetie of a good man that is not onely preſent but well aduiſed, to take the occaſion when it commeth; and therefore be intentiue after her, take her by the forlocke when thou ſeeſt her, and with all the force of thy minde, and to the vttermoſt of thy power labour to disburden thee of all theſe charges, which thou haſt taken on thee. Aboue all things obſerue what my counſaile is; my opinion is, that eyther thou muſt diſmiſſe this kinde of life, or loſe thy life. But I thinke this alſo that thou muſt keepe ſome moderate courſe, to the end that what thou haſt intangled lewdly, thou mayeſt rather looſe then breake off. And when there ſhould be no other meanes to diſcharge thy ſelfe, that thou mighteſt boldly breake the ſame. There is no man ſo faint hearted, that had rather abide alwayes hanging in the ayre, then to fall once. Meane while beware thou principally, that thou engage not thy ſelfe ouer-farre, content thy ſelfe with thoſe affaires thou haſt vndertaken, or (ſince thou wilt that we beleeue ſo) that haue ſurpriſed thee. Thou muſt not entangle thy ſelfe further; otherwiſe thou wilt looſe thy excuſe, and wilt make it knowne, that they haue not ſurpriſed thee. For theſe excuſes which are wont to be made, are falſe. I could not do otherwiſe; and what if I will not? I was forced to doe it. There is no man that is conſtrained to follow felicitie head-long. It is much if a man cannot repulſe her, at leaſt-wiſe to make head againſt her, and to reſiſt the ſwiftneſſe of fortune. Art thou diſpleaſed if I come not onely to giue thee counſaile, but if I call others alſo to thy aſſiſtance? Truely they are more wiſe then I am, it is of them that I take aduice, if I haue any thing to deliberate. I haue read an Epiſtle of *Epicurus*, that tendeth to this purpoſe, which is written to *Idomeneus*, whom he intreateth that as much as in him lieth, he flie and haſten before any greater force intercept, and cut off his liberty from retiring: yet addeth the ſame man, that nothing is to be attempted except when it may be aptly and liuely executed. But when the time that a man hath ſo long expected ſhall come, he ſaith that we ought to diſlodge ſuddenly. Hee forbiddeth him ſleepe that ſuppoſeth to flie; hee hopeth alſo an happie iſſue of thoſe things that are moſt difficult, if we haſten not our ſelues before the time, and if wee be not negligent when it ſhall bee time to haſten. But I thinke

thinke thou demaundeſt the aduice of the Stoicks ; there is no man ought to accuſe them towards thee of temeritie, they are more warie then ſtrong. Happily thou expecteſt that theſe things be ſpoken to thee. It is a ſhame to faint vnder the burthen ; thou oughteſt to wraſtle againſt the charge thou haſt vndertaken. A man that flyeth trauel, is neither valiant nor hardie; he is the man whoſe courage redoubleth, the more difficult his affaires grow. All this ſhall be ſa d vnto thee, if perſeuerance ought to bring any profit, if it be neceſſarie if nothing ought to be done or ſuffered that is vnworthie a good man ; otherwiſe hee will not tire himſelfe after a ſhamefull and diſhoneſt trauaile, and would not meddle with affaires, leſt he ſhould reape paine thereby, much leſſe would he doe that which thou thinkeſt he would doe, that finding himſelfe entangled in affaires, full of ambition he would alwayes ſupport that paſſion : but after that he ſhall know the dangers wherein he is plunged, to be full of incertaintie and doubts, he will withdraw his foote, yet not turne his backe, but by little and little will retire in ſafetie. Truely it is an eaſie thing, my *Lucilius*, to eſcape from buſineſſe, if thou contemne the profit of them : they are thoſe that retaine and ſtay vs. What ſhall I doe then ? ſhall I leaue ſo long hopes ? Shall I then deſiſt when I am to receiue the profite ? Shall I not haue any man to attend me, and giue me ? Shall my litter be vnattended ? and my baſe Court without ſutors ? With much hearts-griefe and vnwillingneſſe doe men depart from theſe hopes ; they loue the profit that proceedeth from theſe miſeries, yet hate they the miſeries themſelues. So complaine they of their ambitions as of their miſeries : and if thou conſider well their true affection, they hate them not, but they are angrie with them. Shake off thoſe men which deplore that which they haue deſired, and ſpeake of the forſaking of thoſe things which they cannot want, thou ſhalt ſee that they inceſſantly keepe company with that which they report inceſſantly to be moſt diſtaſtefull and diſliking to them. True it is, my *Lucilius*, that ſeruitude retaineth few perſons, and few perſons retaine ſeruitude : but if thou art reſolued in thy minde to diſmiſſe the ſame, and that in good earneſt libertie beſt pleaſeth thee ; and that to this one intent thou demandeſt counſaile, that without perpetuall felicitie thou mayeſt haue power to doe the ſame. Why ſhould not the whole company of Stoicks allow thereof ? All *Zenoes Chryſippi* will perſwade moderate, honeſt, and true things. But if for this cauſe thou recoileſt, that thou mayeſt looke about thee, how much thou ſhalt carrie with thee, and what great riches thou needeſt to liue in repoſe, thou ſhalt neuer finde an iſſue : a man loaden with a burden cannot ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming. Depart from that to enter with the fauour of the goddes into a better life, prouided that this fauour be not like vnto theirs, to whom they haue giuen euils with a ſmiling and gratious countenance, excuſed by this one thing, that the goods which burn and torment, were giuen to thoſe that wiſhed for them, I had alreadie ſealed vp my letter, but I muſt open it againe, that I may ſend it to thee with a ſolemne preſent, and bring with it ſome magnificall ſentence ; and beholde I knowe not whether one more true or more eloquent is falne in my hand. Whoſe is it, ſayeſt thou ? *Epicurus* : for as yet do I fill my packet with other mens purpoſes. *No man departeth otherwiſe out of this life, but as if he did but newly enter.* Surpriſe what man thou wilt, young, of middle age or olde ; thou ſhalt finde them alike afraid of death, and all of them as ignorant of life. No man hath finiſhed any thing : for we alwayes refer our affaires to the time to come. There is nothing in this ſentence that pleaſeth me ſo much, then when it reproacheth olde men, that as yet they are infants. No man, ſaith he, doth otherwiſe depart out of this life, then

then as he was borne. It is falſe, we die worſe then we were borne: it is our errour and not natures; ſhe muſt complaine of vs, and ſay, what meaneth this, I haue bred you without deſires, without feares, without ſuperſtition, without perfidiouſneſſe, and other plagues, depart out of life ſuch as you entred? That man is ſeaſoned in wiſedome, who dieth as ſecurely as he is borne. But now feare we, when danger approacheth our heart, our colour faileth vs, and fruitleſſe teares fall from our eyes. What is more abſurd then to be fearefull euen in the very entrance of ſecuritie? But the cauſe hereof is this; becauſe we are voyde of all goodneſſe, whereas in the end of our life we labour with the deſire of them: for no part thereof remaineth with vs, it is loſt, it is vaniſhed, no man careth how well he liueth, but how long, whereas all men might haue the hap to liue well, is no men haue to liue long.

Epist. XXIII.

He warneth to ſeeke out true ioy: what is that? That which is ſeuere and bred of true goodneſſe. The reſt are fallacious and fugitiue, this ſolid and firme, becauſe it is ſeated in a reſolute minde, which is the beſt part of vs: in a word, it is ſeated in conſcience. At the end Epicvrvs his ſaying. It is a loathſome and troubleſome thing alwayes to begin to liue, and ſuch as are inconſtant are condemned.

THou ſuppoſeſt that I will write vnto thee how kindly the winter hath dealt with vs, which was both remiſſe and ſhort; how vnkindly the ſpring was, and prepoſterous the colde, and ſuch other toyes as delight thoſe that loue words. But I will write ſomthing which may profit both thee and me. And what elſe ſhall that be but to exhort thee to a good mind? Askeſt thou me what the foundation thereof is? Doe not ioy in vaine things. Said I that this is the foundation, it is the perfection and fulneſſe thereof. Hee obtaineth the fulneſſe of this good, who knoweth wherein his pleaſure lyeth, and hath not builded his felicitie on another mans power: he is altogether in care, and ill aſſured, who is tickled with any hope, although hee holdeth it in his hand, although hee eaſily obtaine the ſame, although the things he hoped for haue neuer deceiued him. Doe this aboue all things, my *Lucilius*, learne to reioyce. Thou thinkeſt now that I take many of thy pleaſures from thee, who driue from thee thoſe that are gotten by caſualtie, who ſuppoſe that theſe hopes and ſweeteſt delights are to be auoyded, nay, rather it is quite contrarie. I will not that at any time thou be without ioy. I will that it be bred vnto thee in thine owne houſe; and it is bred, if ſo be that it be within thy ſelfe. All other delights repleniſh not the ſoule, but cleare the countenance: they are toyes except thou iudgeſt him to be merrie that laugheth. The minde ought to be reſolute and confident, and lifted vp aboue all things. Truſt me, true ioy is a ſeuere thing. Thinkeſt thou that a man with a ſmooth and ſmiling countenance, and, as theſe wanton fellowes ſpeake, with a merrie eye, contemneth death, openeth his houſe to pouertie, bridleth his delights, and meditateth on patience? He that thinketh on all theſe things is in great gladneſſe, but little pleaſing: in poſſeſſion of this gladneſſe I would haue thee be, it will neuer faile thee when as thou once findeſt out from whence it proceedeth. The beſt of the ſlighteſt mettals is in the vpper part, they are the moſt rich which haue their vaine hidden in their centre, and wil make him moſt rich who ſhall ſearch their mine with diligence. Theſe toyes and triſles where-

with

with the common ſort are delighted, haue a pleaſure tender and facile to melt, and all that ioy which commeth from without vs, is without foundation. This whereof I ſpeake, wherevnto I endeuour to draw thee, is ſolid and farre more apparent inwardly. Endeuour, I beſeech thee, my welbeloued *Lucilius*, to practiſe that only which may make thee happie: deſpiſe and ſpurne at thoſe things that outwardly ſhine, and which are promiſed thee from another: fixe thie eye vpon the true good, and take thou pleaſure in that which is thine owne. But what meaneth this? of thy ſelfe, and the better part of thy ſelfe: thinke alſo of thy bodie (although nothing may be done without it) to be a thing rather neceſſarie then great. It ſuggeſteth vaine, ſhort and remorſfull pleaſures, and ſuch as, if they be not well tempered with great moderation, will turne into a contrarie effect. I ſay this, that pleaſure is ſtill falling headlong, and declining vnto griefe, except it keep a mediocritie; and hard it is to keep a mean in that which thou firmely beleeueſt to be good. The deſire of true good is aſſured. Askeſt thou me what this true good is, and whence it proceedeth? I will tell thee; from a good conſcience, from honeſt deliberations, from vertuous and iuſtifiable actions, from contempt of ſuch things as are caſuall, from a peaceable, and continuall inſtitution of life, which hath alwayes traced the ſame courſe. For they who leapt from ſome purpoſes to other, or elſe iumpe not, but by a certaine chance are tranſported; how can they haue any thing certaine or permanent, being themſelues inconſtant and in ſuſpence? Few there are that diſpoſe both themſelues and their eſtates by counſaile. The reſt after the manner of thoſe ſedges that floate on great riuers, goe not, but are carried; whereof ſome are detayned, and are ſoftly conuayed by a ſlower ſtreame, other ſom carried away by a more vehement, others a ſoft tyde hath ſlowly carried to the ſhoare, others a ſtrong current hath caſt into the Sea. We muſt therefore be reſolued what we will, and in it muſt we perſeuer. Here is the place to pay my debt: for I can pay thee in the words of thine owne *Epicurus* and diſcharge this Epiſtle: *It is a tedious thing alwayes to begin life*: or if in this manner the ſenſe may be the better expreſſed; *Badly liue they who alwayes begin to liue*. Why ſayeſt thou? for this word requireth an explanation. Becauſe their life is alwayes imperfect: but it cannot be that hee ſhould be prepared for death, that doth but lately beginne to liue. We muſt ſo doe, as if we had liued long enough. No man hath thought it that beginneth to liue, when he onely beginneth in good earneſt: neuertheleſſe thinke thou not that theſe are few in number, for almoſt all are ſuch. Some doe then begin to liue, when they ought to ceaſe: if thou thinke this and wonder, I will adde that which ſhall drawe thee more into admiration; ſome haue ceaſed to liue before they haue begun.

Epist. XXIIII.

An Epistle worthie to be ranked amongst the best. He exhorteth not to feare euils to come, although they threaten. But rather to propose them to happen, and so to forme a mans selfe by examining or extenuating them. For what are all these feares? The last of them is death, and contemne that by reason. Great men haue done it. Plebeans and Slaues haue done it. Why shouldest thou not aspire? Take the visard from things: that which thou feareſt is paine; which a tender woman hath suffered in her child-bed. Finally, thou art borne to this, to bee tossed, to grieue, to die: acknowledge thy destinie: yet with Epicvrvs *precept, neither wish for death, neither feare it.*

THou writeſt vnto me that thou art disquieted in mind about the euent of thy iudgement, which the furie of thine enemie doth denounce against thee, and thou thinkeſt that I will perswade thee; to propose vnto thy selfe in the meane time good successe, and feed thy selfe with vaine hopes. For what needeth it vs to call on and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too soone, and lose the present good for feare of the euill to come? Vndoubtedly it is a great folly to make a mans selfe miserable for the present, because that sometimes hereafter he must be: but I will leade thee to securitie by another way, if thou wilt disburthen thy selfe of all care; make account, that whatsoeuer thou feareſt shall befall thee, is alreadie happened, and what euill soeuer it be, measure it by thy selfe, and taxe thy feare. Thereby shalt thou iudge vndoubtedly, either that thine euill is not great, or that it is not long: neither mayeſt thou spend much time in gathering examples, to conforme thee, euery age is stored with them. In whatsoeuer part of affaires, either euill or externall, thou fixeſt thy memorie, thou shalt meet with wits, either proficient in wisdome, or of great towardnesse. Can there then, if so be thou be condemned, a worse fortune befall thee, then to be banished, to be led to prison? Is there any thing more to be feared by any man, then that he shall be burned, then that he shall die? Thinke verie neerely on euery one of these things, and represent vnto thy selfe all those that haue despised them, who are not to be sought for, but chosen out. *Rutilius* so suffered his condemnation, as if no other thing more troubled him, then for that he was wrongfully iudged. *Metellus* tooke his exile couragiously, and *Rutilius* also willingly; the one vouchsafeing his returne for the good of the Commonweale; the other refuting *Sylla* his returne, to whom in those dayes nothing was denied. *Socrates* disputed in the prison, and whereas there were some that promised him flight, he refused to make escape; yea and he remained to the intent to take from men the feare of two the most dreadfullest things, that is to say, Imprisonment and Death. *Mutius* thrust his hand into the flame. A bitter thing it is to be burned, but how farre more intollerable, if thou suffer it by thine owne act? Thou seeſt an vnlearned man, neuer strengthened by my Precepts against death or griefe, onely furnished with militarie fortitude, exacting punishment from himselfe, of his frustrated attempt: he stood looking on his right hand dropping away in his enemies fire, neither remoued he his scorched hand burned to the bones, before the fire was withdrawne from him by the enemie himselfe. Something might he haue performed in that campe more happily, but nothing more couragiously. See how more eager Vertue is to entertaine perill, then crueltie to command it. More easily did *Porsenna* pardon *Mutius*,

tius, for that he would haue killed him, then *Metius* did himſelfe, becauſe he had not murthered him. Theſe fables, thou wilt ſay are ouerworne, and ſung amiddeſt the Schooles. Now wilt thou (now the cauſe is handled of contempt of death) alledge me *Cato*. And why ſhould I not nominate and repreſent him reading that laſt night *Platoes* booke with his ſword behind his pillow? Theſe two inſtruments in extremities had he prouided, the one to haue will to die, the other to haue power. Hauing then giuen order to his affaires, as farre as a broken and deſperate eſtate permitted him; he thought that onely concerned him to act: that no man might either haue power to kill, or opportunitie to ſaue *Cato*. And hauing his ſword drawne, which vntill that time he had kept pure and neate from all murther. Thou haſt not O Fortune, ſaid hee, as yet done any thing againſt me, in oppoſing thy ſelfe againſt all my deſignes and enterpriſes. I haue not as yet fought for mine owne, but my countries libertie, neither haue I endeuoured ſo much to liue free, as to liue amongſt free men. Now ſince the affaires of humane kind are deſperate, *Cato* will well finde a meanes to ſee himſelfe at libertie. After this he grieuouſly wounded himſelfe in the bodie, which being dreſſed and bound vp by his Phyſitians. *Cato* that had alreadie loſt much blood, and much ſtrength, but nothing loſt of the greatneſſe and goodneſſe of his minde: now not only angrie with *Cæſar*, but incenſed againſt himſelfe; he forced his naked hands into his mortall wound, and rendred or rather thruſt out that generous ſoule of his, that contemned all power. I heape not vp together theſe examples for this preſent, to the intent to exerciſe my wit, but rather to giue thee courage againſt a thing that ſeemeth ſo dreadfull and terrible. And more eaſily ſhall I exhort thee in my opinion, if I ſhew, that not only great and generous perſons haue contemned this moment of yeelding vp the ghoſt, but that ſome men of little value in all other things, haue in this equalled the vertue of the moſt generous, as that *Scipio* the father in law to *Cneius Pompeius*, who being forced by a contrarie winde to be tranſported into *Affrica*, and perceiuing his ſhip to be in the poſſeſſion of his enemies, ſtabbed himſelfe, anſwering thoſe, who demanded where the emperour was, that the Emperour was well. This vow of his made him equall with his anceſtors, and ſuffered not that the glorie which ſeemeth to be fatall to the *Scipions* in *Affrica*, ſhould be interrupted. It was much to conquer *Carthage*, but more to conquer death. The Emperour, ſaith he, is well: and in what other ſort ſhould an Emperour die, namely, ſuch a one that commanded *Cato*? I will not referre thee to former Hiſtories, nor gather together from all ages the many contemners and deſpiſers of death. Looke onely into theſe very times of ours, whoſe negligence and daintineſſe we complaine of, thou ſhalt meet with men of all eſtates, all fortunes, all ages, which haue cut off the courſe of their misfortunes by their deaths. Beleeue me *Lucillius*, ſo little ought death to be feared, that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Heare therefore ſecurely and confidently the threats of thine enemie, and although thy conſcience make thee confident, yet becauſe that many things haue credit, beſide the cauſe, hope for that which is iuſt, and prepare thy ſelfe againſt iniuſtice. But aboue all things, remember thou to eſteeme things ſimply as they be, and deſpoile them of the tumult and bruit that is accuſtomably giuen them, and thou ſhalt find in them, that there is nothing terrible in them, but the only feare. That which thou ſeeſt befall yong children, befalleth vs alſo that are greater boyes; they are afraid of thoſe whom they loue, and with whom they frequent and diſport euerie day, if they ſee them maſked and diſguiſed. Not from men onely ought we

to take the maske, but from things themſelues, and yeeld them their true and naturall appearance. Why ſheweſt thou me ſwords and fire, and a troope of grinning hang-men about thee? Take away this pompe, vnder which thou lieſt hidden, and wherewith thou terrifieſt fooles: thou art Death, which of late my ſlaue or my hand-maiden hath contemned. Againe, why ſheweſt thou me theſe whippes and torments, vnder ſo mightie a preparation? Why ſeuerall engines for ſeuerall ioynts, fitted to torture men, and a thouſand other inſtruments to plucke a man in pieces? Lay aſide theſe things which aſtoniſh vs, command the groanes and exclamations, and the irkſomeneſſe of the cries extorted in the middeſt of the torture. Vndoubtedly it is but the paine, which this goutie man contemneth, which that man ſick with the paine of the ſtomacke, in his very daintineſſe endureth, which the tender woman ſuffereth in her childing. Light it is, if I can endure it, ſhort it is, if I can ſuffer it. Toſſe theſe things in thy minde, which thou haſt oftentimes heard, which thou haſt often ſaid. Approue it by effect, if thou haſt truely ſaid it, or truely heard it. For it is a villainous reproach, which is wont to be obiected againſt vs, if we handle the words of *Philoſophie*, but not the workes. What thinkeſt thou? Suppoſeſt thou that this is the firſt time that death, baniſhment, and griefe houered ouer thee? Thou art borne to thoſe. Let vs thinke that any thing may bee done, as if it were hereafter to be done. That which I aduiſe thee to do, I ſurely know thou haſt done. Now do I admoniſh thee, that thou drowne not thy mind in this ſollicitude, for it will be dulled and haue leſſe force, when thou haſt reaſon to raiſe and rouſe it. Withdraw the ſame from a priuate cauſe to a publike; ſay that thou haſt a mortall and fraile bodie, which forraine iniurie and tyranny may not onely hurt, but the very pleaſures themſelues may be transformed into torments. The delicacie of meates cauſeth the cruditie of the ſtomake; drunkenneſſe, trembling and aſtoniſhment of the ſinewes; the pleaſures of the fleſh and luſts, a generall deprauation of hands and feet, and all the ioynts. If I become poore, I haue many fellowes; if I be baniſhed, I ſhall perſwade my ſelfe, that the place wherein I am confined, is the place of my birth; if I be tied and manackled, what then, now I am free? That nature, as ſoone as we are borne, impriſoneth vs in this lumpiſh maſſe of the bodie, as in a ſtrong priſon. If I muſt die, I will comfort my ſelfe in this, that I ſhall ceaſe to be any more ſicke; I ſhall ceaſe to be bound; I ſhall ceaſe to haue power to die. I am not ſo fond as in this place to perſecute *Epicurus* ſong, or to ſay that the feare of hell is vaine, that *Ixion* is not toſt on the wheele, nor *Syſiphus* tied to roule and returne his ſtone on his ſhoulder; nor that any mans bowels could be renewed and deuoured daily. There is no man ſo childiſh as to feare *Cerberus*, and darkneſſe, and the ſhadowes of ghoſts walking by night. Death either conſumeth vs, or deliuereth vs. A better condition exempted from all charge, attendeth thoſe who are deliuered by death. To thoſe that are conſumed, there remaineth nothing more, ſince both the good and the euill are equally taken from them. Permit me in this place to put thee in memorie of a verſe thou haſt made, and thinke that thou haſt not written it to others, but to thy ſelfe. It is a ſhamefull and vnſeemely thing to ſpeake one thing and thinke another, but how odious to write one thing and to thinke another? I remember that thou debating ſometime on this place, diddeſt ſay, that we fall not ſuddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and ſome part of our life is daily ſcantled: and then alſo when we encreaſe, our life doth decreaſe. We haue loſt our infancie, and then our youth, then our mans eſtate; briefely, all that time which is

paſſed

paſſed vntill this preſent day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death. Euen as in an houre-glaſſe, the laſt part of the ſand that falleth is not the onely part that diſcouereth the houre, but all that alſo which is fallne before; ſo the laſt houre, in which we ceaſe to be, is not the onely that cauſeth death, but it is that conſummateth it. At that time we attaine thither, but we come thereto long before. Theſe things when thou haddeſt deſcribed according to thy accuſtomed ſtile, thou wert alwayes great, but neuer more wittie, then when thou fittedſt thy words to truth, and ſaydeſt,

Death hath degrees, that is not firſt that faſt
Attempts to raviſh vs, but that is laſt.

I had rather thou ſhouldeſt reade thy ſelfe, then my Epiſtle: it will appeare vnto thee, that this death which we feare, is the laſt, but not the onely which we ſuffer. I perceiue thy bent. Thou expecteſt to ſee what thing I ſhould inſert into this my Epiſtle, what bould ſpeech of any man, what profitable precept. Of this very matter which we haue in hand, I will affoord thee ſomewhat: *Epicurus* is diſpleaſed as much with thoſe that deſire death, as thoſe that feare it, & ſaith thus; *It is a ridiculous thing, that the hatred of life maketh vs runne vnto death, when by the courſe of our life we haue occaſioned no leſſe, but that needs we muſt haue recourſe vnto death.* Like wiſe in another place he ſaith: *What is more ridiculous then to wiſh for death, when thorow the feare of death, a man hath made his life no leſſe then a torment?* Thou mayeſt alſo adde this, which is of the ſame ſtuffe: That the follie or rather madneſſe of men is ſo great, that there are diuers who are conſtrained to die for feare of death. Which of theſe ſentences thou ſhalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the ſufferance eyther of life or death: for we haue need both to be admoniſhed and confirmed in both of theſe, to the end we neyther too much loue nor too much loath our life; and at that very time when reaſon counſaileth vs to finiſh the ſame, we ought not to doe it raſhly, neyther in fetching our race ought we to runne vpon it. A couragious and wiſe man, ought to leaue his life but not to flie from it: but aboue all things auoyde that affection wherwith many men are poſſeſſed, that is a deſire to die: for euen as in all other things (my *Lucilius*) ſo alſo in death, there is a diſordinate and vnbridled inclination of the minde, that oftentimes ſurpriſeth men of high and generous ſpirits, and oftentimes fearefull and faint-hearted men; the one deſpiſe life, the other loath the ſame. Some other there are that are weary of liuing, and glutted with doing one thing alwayes, and hate not ſo much their life as they are wearie of it. And thereunto Philoſophie it ſelfe leadeth vs, whilſt we ſay, *How long the ſame?* That is, I ſhall riſe, I ſhall ſleepe, I ſhall be full, I ſhall be hungry, I ſhall be a cold, I ſhall be hote; there is no end of any thing, but all things are ſhut in a circle, they flie and follow. The day expelleth the night, the night ſecondeth the day; Summer endeth in Autumne, Winter ſucceedeth it, and the Spring, Winter: all things paſſe that they may returne againe: I ſee nothing new, I doe nothing new. In the end we grow in loathing of theſe things. There are many that acount it not a bitter thing to liue, but ſuperfluous.

Epist. XXV.

He preſcribeth of two friends a young and an olde in different ſort: how they are to be dealt withall, with the one more roughly, with the other more remiſſly, leſt he deſpaire. He exhorteth Lvcilivs *himſelfe to mediocritie or pouertie: at length by* Epicvrvs *words, to take to himſelfe a Tutor. Do all things as if a man looked on thee.*

AS concerning our two friends, we muſt proceede after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extinguiſhed. I will vſe an intire libertie: I loue not him except I ſhall offend him. What then wilt thou ſay? Thinkeſt thou to containe vnder thy diſcipline a pupill of fortie yeare olde? Behold his age alreadie hard and vntractable: he cannot be reformed, things plyable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I ſhall preuaile or no; I had rather the ſucceſſe then my indeuour ſhould faile me. Deſpaire not but that a man may heale thoſe that haue beene afflicted with inueterate ſickeneſſes; if thou reſiſt their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things againſt their will. Neyther of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he bluſheth to offend. This ſhamefaſtneſſe is to be nouriſhed, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be ſome place for good hope. With this old Souldier I think we muſt deale more ſparingly, leſt he fall into deſperation of himſelf. Neither was there any more fit time to ſet vpon him then this, whilſt he pawſeth and pretendeth a ſhew of reformation. This intermiſſion deceiued others: for my ſelfe it abaſeth me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vſurie, which for the preſent I know are at repoſe, but not diſpoſſeſſed. I will beſtow ſome time vpon this matter, and I will make tryall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy ſelfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accuſtomed, and truſſe vp the baggage. Nothing of that which wee haue is neceſſarie. Let vs reture to the lawe of nature; riches are at hand, eyther that we want is gratuitall or vile. Nature deſires bread & water, no man is poor to theſe. Vpon thoſe things wherein a man hath confined his deſire, he may argüe with *Iupiter* himſelfe of his felicitie, as *Epicurus* ſaith, ſome ſpeech, of whom I will incloſe in this Epiſtle: *So doe all things* (ſaith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is very profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans ſelfe, and to haue one whom thou mayeſt reſpect, whom thou iudgeſt to haue an inſight into thy thoughts. But it is farre better to liue as if one were a ſlaue to ſome one good man, who ſhould be alwayes at his heeles: I likewiſe holde my ſelfe content, prouided alwayes that that which thou doeſt, thou doeſt it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude induceth vs to all euill. When thou haſt profited ſo much that thou art aſhamed of thy ſelfe, thou mayeſt let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time keepe thy ſelfe vnder the authoritie of ſome one: eyther let him be *Cato*, or *Scipio*, or *Lælius*, or ſuch as by whoſe interuiew men of leaſt hope would ſuppreſſe their vices alſo, whilſt thou makeſt thy ſelfe him before whom thou dareſt not offend. When thou haſt done this, and that thou haſt thy ſelfe in good eſteeme, I will begin to permit thee that which *Epicurus* himſelfe perſwadeth. At that time eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into thy ſelfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behoueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while it is no ſecuritie for thee to depart from thy ſelfe. Conſider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatſoeuer, then with himſelfe: then eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into ſelfe, when as thou

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make ſhew, and approue the true value of a mans minde: for the fearfulleſt and forward, and bolde in words. It then will appeare what thou haſt done when thou departeſt thy life. I accept this condition: I feare not the iudgement. Thus ſpeake I with my ſelfe, but ſuppoſe likewiſe that I ſpeake this to thee. Thou art younger: what skilleth it? our yeares are not numbred, it is vncertaine in what place death expecteth thee, therfore expect thou him in all places. I would now haue made an end, and my hand was prefixing the period: but all ſolemnities muſt be obſerued, and I muſt giue this Epiſtle his ſafe conduct. Think that I tell thee not whence I mean to borrow; for thou knoweſt whoſe coffer I vſe. Tarrie a little and thou ſhalt be ſatisfied out of mine owne ſtocke; in the meane time *Epicurus* ſhall lend me ſomewhat, who ſaith; *Meditate whether it be more commodious that death come vnto vs, or we vnto her.* The end hereof is manifeſt: it is an excellent thing to learne to die. Happily thou thinkeſt it to be a fruitleſſe thing to learne that which thou muſt vſe but once. This is that for which we ought to meditate; wee muſt alwayes learne which whether we know, we cannot make proofe of. Meditate on death, who ſaith thus, commandeth to meditate on libertie: he that hath learned to die, hath forgotten to ſerue, it is aboue all power, vndoubtedly beyond all. What careth he for priſons, holds, or reſtraints? He hath alwayes free paſſage. There is but one chaine that holdeth vs bound, that is the loue of life, which as it is not to be reiected, ſo is it to be diminiſhed, to the end that if occaſion ſo fall out, nothing may detaine or hinder vs, but that we may be ready to do that preſently, which at ſome other time hereafter we muſt needs doe.

Epist. XXVII.

He warneth and excuſeth, but what? Is he alreadie good, alreadie perfect? I am not, ſaith he, but amongſt thoſe that are rich. I debate with thee of the common end, and the remedy of the ſame. Pleaſures hurt or falſly helpe. Vertue alone bringeth forth a ſolid ioy. But aſſume thou and poſſeſſe thou her, by another thou mayeſt not. A ſhort and merrie hiſtorie of Calvisius. Epicvrvs *ſaying: Riches are a naturall pouertie.*

DOeſt thou admoniſh me, ſayeſt thou, for already thou haſt admoniſhed, already corrected thy ſelfe? And therfore employeſt thou thy ſelfe to reforme others. And I am not ſo impudent to goe about to cure others, being ſicke my ſelfe; but lying, as it were, in the ſame Hoſpitall with thee, and of the ſame ſickeneſſe, I conferre with thee vpon our common infirmitie, and communicate the remedies. Lend me therefore thine eare, as if I ſpake within my ſelfe. I giue thee entrance into my countrey-houſe, and hauing entertained thee, I expoſtulate with my ſelfe: I crie vnto my ſelfe: number thy yeares, and thou wilt bluſh for ſhame, that thou willeſt the ſame which thou wouldeſt being a childe, and profeſſeſt the like; doe thy ſelfe this good at the laſt, that thy vices may die in thee before the day of thy death befall thee. Forſake theſe loathſome pleaſures, which thou ſhalt full dearely ſatisfie for, not onely thoſe that are to come, but thoſe alſo which are paſt doe hurt thee. Euen as the remorſe of ſinnes (although vneſpied when they were commited) remaineth after them, ſo the repentance of loathſome pleaſures liueth after them: they are not ſolid, they are not faithfull. Although

though they hurt not, they take their flight. Rather looke after ſome good that remaineth firme: and no one there is, except that which the mind of it ſelfe findeth out for himſelfe. Vertue onely giueth perpetuall and aſſured ioy, although there be ſome obſtacle. Yet happeneth it after the manner of clouds, which alwaies fall downwards, and neuer ſurmount the day. When ſhall it be our good hap to attaine vnto this ioy? There remaineth much labor for him that maketh haſt, what for him that giueth ouer and ceaſeth? In which worke it concerneth thee to beſtow both thy vigilancie and labour, if thou wilt ſee it effected. This thing admitteth no procuration. If thou wilt be aſſiſted, thou ſhalt haue need of another forme of letters. *Caluiſius Sabinus* in our time was a rich man, and had both the patrimonie and wit of a libertine and freed man. Neuer ſaw I man more vndecently happie then he was. This man had ſo bad a memorie, that now he forgot the name of *Vliſſes*, now of *Achilles*, and ſometimes of *Priam*, whom he knew as well, as we at this preſent remember, our Maſters. No old fellow, keeping the rowles of the people and ſeruants, not to report their proper names, but to giue them ſurnames, that more impertinently ſaluteth the tribes of the people, then he ſaluted the *Troians* and *Grecians*, yet would he be eſteemed learned. He therefore found out theſe ſhort meanes, he bought him ſlaues with great ſummes of money, one that held *Homer* before him, another that held *Heſiodus*, and to the nine *Liriques*, beſides he aſſigned a ſeuerall perſon. That he bought them ſo hugely deare, thou needeſt not wonder, he found them not ſo, but put them forth to be trained. As ſoone as he had gotten him this family, he began to importunate thoſe, whom he inuited, to eate with him. At his foote he had his ſlaues, of whom, when he demanded a verſe, to recite the ſame, for the moſt part he forgot himſelfe in the middeſt of a word. *Satellius Quadratus* a ſmell-feaſt, and ſharker of fooliſh rich men, and which followeth, a ieſter, and that which is adiunct to both theſe, a ſcoffer, perſwaded him to get him Grammarians, who ſhould recollect that he let ſlip, and new informe him. And when *Sabinus* had told him, that euery one of his ſlaues had coſt him one hundred thouſand *Seſtercies*. Thou mighteſt (ſaid he) haue bought ſo many cabinets for thy Acates, for leſſe price, and better cheape. Yet was hee of that opinion, that he thought he knew all that, that any may in his houſe knew. The ſame *Satellius* on a time began to perſwade him to wraſtle, being both a ſicke, pale and leane man. After that *Sabinus* had anſwered him. Alas, how can I doe it, who haue ſcarcely a handfull of life? Say not ſo, I pray you, ſaid the other, ſeeſt thou not how many robuſt and well-ſet ſlaues thou haſt? A good mind may not be borrowed or bought, and thinke that if it were to bee ſould, it ſhould ſcarcely finde a chapman; but the euill and vnlettered mind is daily bought. But now receiue thou that which I owe thee, and farewell. *Pouertie diſpoſed according to the law of Nature, is a great riches.* This doth *Epicurus* inculcate oftentimes in different manners. But it is neuer ſaid to much, that is neuer learned enough. To ſome we muſt ſhew, to other ſome forcibly apply remedies.

Epist. XXVIII.

The change of place changeth not the minde, thou oughtest to change thy selfe. Take from thee thy inward pensiuenesse, euery place will be good and pleasant; yet will I, if I can, chuse the quietest and least subiect to troubles or vices. A clause, know thine owne sinnes, now art thou safe.

THou supposest that this hath only befallen thee, and admirest it as a noueltie, that in so long a voyage, and many diuersitie of places: thou hast not shaken off the sadnesse and heauinesse of spirit, it is thy minde thou must change, and not the aire. Although thou hast ouer-sailed the vast seas, although, as *Virgil* saith, Lands and Cities retire from thee, yet will thy vices follow thee, and tract thee whithersoeuer thou trauellest. The same answere made *Socrates* to a certaine man, that made the same complaint: *Why wonderest thou that thy voyages profit thee nothing, since thou thy selfe doest nothing but rowle thy selfe vp and downe in thy selfe?* The same cause stayeth thee, that expelleth thee. What can the noueltie of Lands profit thee, whereto serueth the knowledge of Cities and places: it is a fruitlesse and friuolous labour. Wilt thou heare why these voyages bring thee no good? Thou fliest with thy selfe. Thou must discharge thy selfe of the burthen of the minde, for before that there is no place will please thee: Imagine thy face that it is as the Poet *Virgil* induceth and describeth *Sibils*, alreadie wholly troubled, touched, and full of spirit, other then his owne:

The Prophet stormes and cries, and doth aspire
To thrust that god-head out, that did inspire.

Thou goest heere and there to shake off the burthen that ouer-presseth thee, which puzleth thee the more by the length of thy iourney. As in a ship, the ladings that are lesse moueable, are those that are lesse troublesome, & those that are vnequally trussed, doe soonest drowne that side on which they settle. All whatsoeuer thou doest, thou doest against thy selfe, and by thy motion thou hurtest thy selfe, for thou dost shake a sicke man. But when thou hast purged thee of this euill, euery change of place cannot but giue thee pleasure. Thou mayest bee driuen into the most remotest countries, and bee confined in a little corner of *Barbarie*, yet shall that state be hospitable vnto thee, whatsoeuer it be. It importeth more to know what thou art comming, then where thou arriuest. And therefore ought we not to fixe our minde on any place. In this opinion you must liue. I am not borne for one corner. The whole world is my countrie. And if thou kneweest it well, thou wouldest not thinke it strange, that in no sort thou art comforted with the varietie of countries wherein thou hast bin, since that the countrie wherein thou last liuedst was loathsome to thee. For the first thou enteredst had beene agreeable vnto thee if thou haddest made account that euery countrie had beene throwne downe. Thou trauellest not, but runnest the countrie: thou trottest and remouest from place to place, although that very thing thou seekest for (that is to say, to liue well) is found in euery place. Can there bee any thing more turbulent then the Pallace; yet if need be, a man may liue peaceably euen there. And yet if it were lawfull for mee to make mine owne choice, I would retire my selfe farre enough from the frontispice

ſpice and view of the Court. For euen as melancholy abodes may hazard the firmeſt conſtitution, ſo are things which are leſſe healthfull to a good vnderſtanding, which is not wholely accompliſhed, but in the way of recouerie. I differ from their opinions that keepe the mid ſtreame, approuing a tumultuous life, and that couragiouſly fight daily againſt all ſorts of extreames and tribulations. A wiſe man will endure, but not chuſe theſe, and had rather be in peace, then in fight. For it profitteth not a man very much to reiect his vices, if hee muſt conteſt with others. Thirtie tyrants, ſayeſt thou, enuironed *Socrates*, and yet could not make him falter in his reſolutions. What skilleth it how many Lords there be? It is but one ſeruitude. He that hath contemned this ſeruitude, is free before whatſoeuer troope of Commanders. It is time to giue ouer, prouided that I firſt pay my tollage. *The knowledge of a mans fault is the beginning of his health. Epicurus* in my opinion hath ſpoken this very worthily. For hee that knoweth not that he hath offended, will not be corrected. Thou muſt finde out thine owne errour, before thou amendeſt thy ſelfe. Some glorie in their vices; thinkeſt thou that they dreame of their remedies, that make no difference betweene villanies and vertues? Therefore as much as in thee lieth reproue thy ſelfe, enquire and ſearch into thy ſelfe, play the part of an accuſer at the firſt, then of a Iudge, and laſtly of a ſuppliant; once in thy life offend thy ſelfe.

EPIST. XXIX.

That MARCELLINVS *is hard to be corrected: For he ſcorneth and mocketh, yet will I not giue him ouer, and happily in this ſort I will ouercome him.* EPICVRVS *Sentence, ſtudie not to pleaſe the people, that is to ſay many.*

THou enquireſt ſome newes of our friend *Marcellinus*, and wouldeſt know what he doth. He commeth very ſeldome vnto vs, for no other cauſe, then for that hee feareth to heare the truth. From which perill he is now free, for we are to ſpeake to none, but ſuch as will giue eare vnto vs. Therefore it is wont to bee doubted, whether *Diogenes*, or any other *Cynicks*, who haue vſed a promiſcuous and indiſcreet libertie, to exhort all ſuch as they meet withall, whether they ought to doe ſo or no. For to what intent ſhould a man chide the deafe, or controule ſuch as are mute either by nature or ſickneſſe? Why, ſayeſt thou, ſhould I ſpare my words, they coſt me nothing? I know not whether I ſhall profit him whom I admoniſh. This I know, that I ſhall profit ſome one, if I admoniſh many. The hand muſt be ſcattered. It cannot be, but he ſhall effect once, that attempteth often. But I thinke not, my *Lucilius*, that this is to be done to a great man. The authoritie of the inſtructer is diminiſhed, and hath almoſt no power in regard of thoſe that might bee corrected by a meaner power. It is not alwayes needfull that a good Archer hit the white, ſometimes hee may miſſe. It is not an Art that caſually commeth to the effect. Wiſedome is an Art that muſt ayme at a certaine end. Let her therefore ſeeke out thoſe that may bee profited by her, and retire her ſelfe from thoſe of whom ſhe deſpaireth, prouided alwayes that ſhee abandon them not too ſoone, but forcibly and deſperately attempt all remedies, when as there is leſſe hope. I haue not yet loſt all my hope of our friend *Marcellinus*, as yet he may be ſaued, prouided he be ſuddenly aſſiſted. It

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is to be feared leſt he ſhould draw him, that ſhould ſet hands to help him. The power of witte is mightie in him, but alreadie depraued, and tending to euill. Notwithſtanding I will vndergoe this perill, and dare to ſhew him his infirmities. I know well that he will follow his old cuſtom, he will ſummon & marſhall out all thoſe ieſts, which can prouoke laughter in the eye of lamentation, and will ieſt at himſelfe firſt, then at vs, and alwaies preuent that in all things, which I am to ſpeake. He will ſearch into our ſchooles, and obiect to our Philoſophers their many gifts, their wenches, and good cheere. Hee will ſhew mee one in adulterie, another in a Tauerne, another in Court. He will repreſent vnto me that merry Greecke, the Philoſopher *Ariſton*, which was wont to diſpute in his Litter, for he had choſen this time to publiſh his workes. Of whoſe ſect a queſtion being mooued, *Scaurus* ſaid vndoubtedly he is no *Peripatetiques*. Of the ſame man, when a queſtion was moued to *Iulius Græcinus*, a man of good reckoning, what he thought of him: *I cannot* (ſaith he) *tell thee, for I know not for what he is proper. For he hath not fixed a firme foote in any degree of Philoſophie*; as if hee were to anſwere from a war-like Chariot. He will caſt in my teeth the Montebanckes, which might with more honeſtie contemne, then ſell Philoſophy; yet am I reſolued to ſuffer his vpbraids. Let him moue me to laughter, happily I will prouoke him to teares; or if he perſeuere in his laughter, I will laugh with him, as in a compleat ſickneſſe, becauſe he is fallen into ſo pleaſant a manner of madneſſe. But obſerue this, this iollitie is not of long continuance. Thou ſhalt behold ſuch as theſe for a while laugh very hartily, and in as little while raue moſt bitterly. I am reſolued to ſet on him, and to ſhew him how farre better he were, when they ſhould eſteeme him fortuneleſſe. If I cannot wholly cut off his vices, at the leaſt-wiſe I will reſtraine them, they ſhall not ceaſe but intermit; but happily they ſhall ceaſe alſo, if they take a cuſtome to intermit. Neither is this to be diſliked, becauſe in thoſe that are grieuouſly ſicke, a good remiſſion of the ſickneſſe is taken for health. Whileſt thus I prepare my ſelfe for him, ſee that thou, who canſt, and knoweſt whence thou art eſcaped, and in what ſtate thou ſtandeſt, and thereby preſumeſt how farre thou oughteſt to attaine, gouerne thy manners, raiſe thy ſpirit, make head againſt thoſe things that are to be doubted, and number not thoſe that giue thee cauſe of feare. If a man ſhould be afraid of a multitude of people gathered together in one place, by which euery one of them, one after another, muſt haue his paſſage; wouldeſt thou not thinke him a foole? Though diuers men threaten thy life, yet diuers cannot attempt after the ſame manner. The ordinance of Nature is ſuch, that one only may as ſoone ridde thee of thy life, as one gaue it thee: if thou haddeſt any ſhame in thee, thou haddeſt ſent me backe the laſt quarter of my penſion. But leſt I behaue my ſelfe vntowardly, in paying the vſurie of another mans money, I will pay thee that I owe thee. *I would neuer pleaſe the people. For thoſe things I know, the people alloweth not, and that which the people alloweth, I know not.* Whoſe is this, ſayeſt thou? As if thou kneweſt not whom I command. Is it *Epicurus*. But the very ſame will all of them declaime vnto thee, from euery houſe of the *Peripatetiques, Academickes, Stoickes, Cynickes*. For who pleaſeth Vertue, that can pleaſe the common people: popular fauour is purchaſed by euill Artes; thou muſt needs make thy ſelfe like vnto them. They will not allow thee, except they know thee. But it is farre more expedient that thou take heed to that which thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe, then either to attend, or intend the opinion of others. The friendſhip that is borne to diſhoneſt things, cannot be formed, but by diſhoneſt reaſon. What then; ſhall this Philoſophie, ſo much eſteemed and

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preferred aboue all arts, and other things haue the vpper hand, that is, that rather thou make account to pleaſe thy ſelfe, then to pleaſe the people; that thou eſteemeſt the opinions of one iudgement according to their waight, and not according to their number, that thou gouerne thy life without feare, eyther of gods, or of men: & as touching misfortunes, eyther that thou ſurmount them, or thou end them. But if I ſhall ſee thee in credite by common voyce, and fauoured amiddeſt the multitude, if then when thou commeſt into the Theatre, the acclamations, the applauſes, and all the equipage of Players and Mimicks make a bruite: if euen to the very women and little children, euery one ſpeaketh well of thee throughout the towne, why ſhould I not haue pittie on thee, knowing what way conducteth thee to this fauour?

Epist. XXX.

That we ought to be prepared for death, and take courage in it by example of Avfidivs Bassvs, *who being olde both willingly heareth of the ſame, and ſpeaketh and proueth it with many reaſons, that it is not to be feared. By the way ſome other things.*

I Saw that good man *Baſſus Aufidius* broken and wreſtling with age, but at this preſent he is ſo much ſurcharged therewith, that it is impoſſible for him to raiſe himſelfe again; age hath throwne himſelfe vpon him with his whole waight. Thou knoweſt very well, that he hath alwayes had a weake, a drie bodie, which hee hath long time continued; or, to ſpeake more properly, repaired and pieced; but in the end it is all at once defeated. Euen as in a leaking Ship a man ſtoppeth a leake or two, but when it taketh in water on euery ſide, there is no more means to auoyde the ſame, but that it muſt needes ſinke to the bottom: ſo in a bodie which is olde and crazed, the weakeneſſe may for a time be relieued and fortified, but when the ioynts fall aſunder as an olde building, and as the one is repayred, the other is looſened, there is no other circumſpection to be had, but to thinke how a man may get out of it. Yet our *Baſſus* hath a good courage, for this Philoſophie yeeldeth him: ſhe maketh couragious in all habitudes of the bodie, ioyfull in the preſence of death, and not faint, hard in the defiance of life. A good Pilot faileth although his ſailes be rent; and if the tempeſt hath diſarmed him, yet maketh he vſe of the reſt of his rigging to finiſh his voyage. The like doth our *Baſſus*, and with that minde and countenance beholdeth hee his end, that thou wouldeſt iudge him to be ouer-firme and reſolute, who ſhould in the like ſort behold another mans end. This is a great vertue *Lucilius*, and requireth long time to be learned, to forſake this life with a conſtant reſolution, when that vnauoydable houre of death ſhall approach vs. All other kindes of death are intermixed with hope: Sickneſſes are healed, fire is extinguiſhed, the ruinous houſe ſometimes ſoftly layeth them on the ground, which it ſhould altogether cruſh to pieces. He that hath beene ſwallowed vp with one ſurge of the Sea, hath beene caſt a ſhoare whole and ſound by an oppoſite billow: the ſword which the ſouldier had aymed to ſtrike, hath beene reuoked by his hand from the very necke of the conquered; but he whom age leadeth vnto death, hath nothing more to hope, onely it is that alone which admitteth no compriſe. Men die not more ſweetly then after this manner, neyther alſo in any ſort are they longer a dying. Our friend *Baſſus* ſeemeth ſo to behaue himſelfe,

as if he ſhould ſuruiue himſelfe; ſo great conſtancie and wiſedome ſheweth he in this his decadence: for he ſpeaketh much of death, and doth it the more carefully, that if there be eyther incommoditie or feare in this buſineſſe, it is the fault of him that dyeth, not of death; and that there is no more euill in the ſame, then after the ſame: and as mad is he, who feareth that which he is to ſuffer, as he that feareth that which he is not to feele. Can any man thinke that theſe ſhould come to paſſe, that a man ſhould feele death, by which we feele nothing? Therefore, ſaith he, death is not onely out of euill, but out of the feare of all euill. I know very well that ſuch diſcourſes haue beene often had, and muſt oftentimes be made: but it neuer profited mee ſo much to reade or heare them; when they that ſaw the ſame neere themſelues, were farre from danger of thoſe things, which they ſaid ſhould not be feared. But this man had very much credite and authoritie with me, ſpeaking thus of death, whom I ſaw in himſelfe addreſſed to die. I will freely ſpeake that which I thinke, that he giueth a better teſtimonie of his vertue and conſtant minde, that approacheth the confines of death, then he that is in death it ſelfe, for that it is which giueth heart to the moſt fearefull, and animateth againſt that which is ineuitable. So the fearefull and diſmayed Fencer during the combate, willingly preſenteth his throate vnto his enemie, and if the ſword ſlip aſide, himſelfe addreſſeth and guideth it with his owne hand. But deſpiſe her that giueth vs leiſure to ſee her approach, and is vpon the point to lay hands on vs, there needeth more ſettled and maturely eſtabliſhed conſtancie, which cannot be but in him that is perfectly wiſe. I therefore attentiuely lent eare vnto him, and more willingly heard him how hee ſentenced of death, and diſcourſed on the nature thereof, as one that had eyed her very nigh. More truſt and credite, as I thinke, ſhould he haue with thee that were newly reuiued from death, and that being experienced in the ſame, ſhould ſhew thee that there were no euill in death. What perturbation the acceſſe of death bringeth, they can beſt tell thee that haue more neerely obſerued her, that haue both ſeene her comming, and entertained her being come. Amongſt theſe thou mayeſt number *Baſſus*, who vnwilling and loth to haue vs deceiued, telleth vs that it is as fooliſh a thing to feare death, as to feare olde age: for euen as age followeth youth, ſo death followeth age. He would not liue that will not die: for life is giuen with an exception of death, to feare which is as much more fooliſh, then if a man ſhould feare doubtful things, and attend certaine. Death hath a neceſſitie equall and inuincible, who can complaine that he is in that eſtate which no man is not in? for the firſt part of equitie is equalitie. But now it is a vaine matter to pleade natures cauſe, which would that our condition ſhould be no other then her owne. She reſolueth that which ſhe hath compounded, and whatſoeuer ſhe hath reſolued, that compoundeth ſhe againe. Now if it be any mans chance to be gently carried away by age, and not ſuddenly pulled out of life, but drawne away by minutes, hath he not cauſe to praiſe the gods, for ſending him after ſacietie, a neceſſarie repoſe to humanitie, and agreeable vnto his wearineſſe. Thou ſeeſt ſome men wiſhing death, yea with farre greater zeale, then they were accuſtomed to demand life. I cannot very well tell which of theſe giues vs more heart, eyther they which demand, or elſe they which attend death without trouble or tediouſneſſe, becauſe rage and ſudden indignation may be cauſe of this firſt affection, whereas this laſt can be no other thing, then a tranquilitie which proceedeth from diſcourſe and iudgement. Some man may precipitate himſelfe into death through deſpite and choler, but no man entertaineth her with contentment when ſhee

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commeth, but he that is formed by long cuſtome and continuance. I confeſſe that I haue more often viſited this good man, and my great friend, to ſee it I might alwayes finde him the ſame, and whether the conſtancie of his mind decayed not through the feebleneſſe of bodie: but contrariwiſe, I haue alwayes found that it encreaſed in him, euen as we ſee the ioy more manifeſt in thoſe, who after they haue been long time tired to gaine the prize of a courſe, approch the place where the palme is propoſed. Hee ſaid (conforming himſelfe to the precepts of *Epicurus*) that firſt of all he ſhould haue no paine in that laſt gaſpe; or if he had, that he comforted himſelfe in this, that it ſhould not be long, becauſe there is no griefe which is long, that is, great: and put the caſe vpon the ſame point of the diuiſion of ſoule and bodie, if there ſhould fall out any torment; he comforted himſelfe with this aſſurance, that at leaſtwiſe after this griefe, there could neuer any more ſucceed, and that he knew very well, that the ſoule and life of an old man ſtucke but a little within his lippes, and with a little breath would be eaſily ſeuered. The fire that hath ſufficient matter to feed vpon, is extinguiſhed by water, and ſometimes by raine; that fire that wanteth fuell, dieth of it ſelfe. I very willingly giue eare to theſe things, my *Lucilius*, not as nouelties, but ſuch as preſently henceforth I muſt make proofe of. What then? haue I not ſeene very many that haue abridged the courſe of their life? I haue ſeene them, but I eſteeme them farre more, which come vnto death without hatred of life, and which draw her not on, but entertaine her. Furthermore he ſaid, that this trembling and feare which wee haue, when wee beleeue that death is neere vnto vs, is forged by our ſelues, and we trauell to tire our ſelues. For to whom is ſhe not aſſiſtant in all places, and at all times? But let vs conſider, ſaith he, when any occaſion of death ſeemeth to approach vs, how many other cauſes there bee that are more neere, which are not feared at all. Wee ſhould feare death at the hands of our enemie, and in the meane while cruditie, or a cathar cutteth vs ſhort. If we would diſtinguiſh the cauſes of our feare, wee ſhall finde that they are other then they ſeeme to be. We feare not the ſtroake of death, but the thought. For we are not further off her at one time then wee are at another. So if death be to be feared, it is alwayes to be feared, for what time is exempted from death? But I had need to feare, leſt thou hate ſo long Epiſtles worſe then death. I will therefore make an end. But thinke thou alwaies on death, that thou mayeſt neuer feare her.

Epist. XXXI.

That both the vowes and iudgements of the common people are to be deſpiſed. That the true good is to be ſought for, and that is the knowledge of things, by which thou mayeſt diſcerne truth from falſehood, periſhable from durable. He doth illuſtrate it by examples.

NOw doe I acknowledge my *Lucilius*, he beginneth to diſcouer himſelfe to be ſuch a one, as he alwayes promiſed he would bee. Continue then to keepe this courſe, and follow this tract and feruour of mind, by which in contemning the popular goods, thou embraceſt thoſe things that are of better condition. I deſire not that thou ſhouldeſt make thy ſelfe either more great or better, then thou endeuoureſt to be. Thy foundations haue occupied a great place, onely doe as much

much as thou haſt intended to doe, and keepe thy ſelfe to thoſe things which thou haſt alreadie conceiued. In ſumme, thou ſhalt be wiſe, if thou kneweſt well how to cloſe vp thine eares, which it ſufficeth not to damme vp with waxe: thou muſt cloſe ſtop them after another manner, then *Vliſſes* did thoſe of his companions. The voice which he feared was ſweet and alluring, yet not publike. But that which is to be feared, commeth not from one rocke only, it ſoundeth from all parts of the earth. Paſſe therefore ſpeedily, not onely one ſuſpected place of this trayterous pleaſure, but all Cities. Be thou deafe vnto thoſe that loue thee moſt. They with a good intent afford thee euill wiſhes, and if thou wilt be happie, beſeech the gods that no one of thoſe things that are wiſhed thee, may fall vpon thee. They are no goods, which they wiſh thou ſhouldeſt be replenished with. There is but one good, which is the cauſe and foundation of a bleſſed life, to truſt a mans ſelfe. But this cannot happen except labour be contemned, and eſteemed in the number of theſe things, which are neither good nor euill. For it cannot come to paſſe, that one thing ſhould bee now euill, and ſtraight good; now light and to be ſuffered, now inſupportable, and to be feared. Labour is not good, what then is good? the contempt of labour. I ſhould blame thoſe that are vainely induſtrious, and to no purpoſe. Againe, ſuch as endeuour after honeſt things, the more they buſie themſelues, and the leſſe they permit themſelues to be ouercome and kept at a ſtand, I ſhall admire and crie, ariſe by ſo much better, and reſpire and get the top of this cliffe with one breath, if thou canſt. Labour nouriſheth generous minds. Thou art not therefore, according to that old vow of thy parents, to make choice, what thou wouldeſt, ſhould befall thee, or what thou ſhouldeſt wiſh: and in ſumme, to a man that hath ouerpaſſed alreadie mightie things, it is vnſeemely and loathſome as yet to wearie the gods. What need there any vowes? Make thou thy ſelfe happie, and happie ſhalt thou make thy ſelfe, if thou vnderſtand that thoſe things are good, which are mixed with vertue; euill, which are coupled with malice. Euen as nothing is cleere without the mixture of light; nothing black, but that which hath darkneſſe in it, or hath drawne ſome obſcuritie into it ſelfe. Euen as without the helpe of fire nothing is hot, nothing without the aire is cold; ſo the ſocietie of vertue and vice, make things honeſt, or diſhoneſt. What therefore is good? the knowledge of things: what is euill? the ignorance of things. Hee is a prudent man, and his arts maſter, that according to the time repelleth or chuſeth euery thing. But neither feareth he that which he repelleth, neither admireth he that which he chuſeth, if ſo be his mind be great and inuincible. I forbid thee to ſubmit or ſuffer thy ſelfe to be depreſt. If thou refuſe not labour, it is a little matter, require it. What labour therefore, ſayeſt thou, is friuolous and voide? that into which baſe cauſes haue called vs, is not euill no more then that which is employed in worthy actions, becauſe it is onely the patience of the minde, which encourageth it ſelfe to hard and deſperate attempts, and ſaith: Why feareſt thou? It is not a manly part to feare labour: and hereto let that be annexed, that thy vertue may be perfect, namely, an equalitie and tenour of life in euery thing conſonant vnto it ſelfe, which cannot be except the knowledge of things happen, and Art, by which both diuine and humane things may bee knowne. This is the chiefeſt good, which if thou poſſeſſeſt, thou beginneſt to be a companion, not a ſupplant of the gods. But how, ſayeſt thou, may one attaine thereunto? It is not by the *Apenninæ Alpes*, or the mount *Graius*, neither by the deſerts of *Candauia*, neither art thou to paſſe the *Syrtes* or *Scilla*, or *Charibdis*, all which thou haſt done, for the price of a baſe pettie gouernment. The way

that

that nature hath made and taught thee, is full of ſecuritie and pleaſure. Shee hath giuen thee thoſe things, which if thou forſake not, thou ſhalt be made like vnto God; but equall with God thy money will not make thee. God hath nothing: Thy proud ornaments will not make thee. God is naked: The reputation of men, thy oſtentation, and the knowledge of thy name will not make thee. No man knoweth God, diuers men haue a prepoſterous opinion of him, yet are they vnpuniſhed. The troope of ſeruitours and ſlaues which are about thy litter, and that beare thee vpon their armes in field and Citie, cannot likewiſe ſerue thee any thing. That mightie and moſt powerfull God, he it is that carrieth all things. Neither thy beautie or ſtrength likewiſe can make thee bleſſed, none of theſe but is ſubiect to alteration. Thou art therefore to ſeeke out that, that is not impaired by any, and that is ſuch a thing, as a man cannot wiſh a better. What is this? a minde: but this right, good, and great. What elſe wilt thou call this, but a god, dwelling in humane bodie? This mind may fall as well, into a Romane Knight, as a Libertine, or ſeruant. For theſe names are forged out of ambition or iniury. It is lawful from the leaſt corner of the world, to leape vp into heauen. Raiſe thy ſelfe therefore, and faſhion thy ſelfe worthie of God: but this cannot be made either with gold or ſiluer. Of ſuch matter as this a man cannot make an Image that reſembleth God. Remember that they when they were fauourable vnto vs, their Images were made of earth.

Epist. XXXII.

He praiſeth Lvcilivs *his ſolitude and retyring. Moreouer, he exhorteth that no man ſhould ſteale away the time, being ſo ſhort, and flitting. That he contemne alſo vulgar vowes.*

I Diligently enquire of thy behauiour, and demand of all thoſe that come from the place where thou dwelleſt, what thou doeſt, and where, and with whom thou abideſt. Thou canſt not deceiue me, I am with thee. Liue thou in that faſhion, as if I heard what thou diddeſt, yea as if I ſaw thine actions. Thou requireſt of me, what delighteth me moſt, of thoſe things I heare of thee? Truly it is that I heare nothing of thee, and that the moſt part of thoſe whom I queſtion with about thee, know not what thou doeſt. It is a wholeſome aduice not to conuerſe with thoſe which are different from thy nature, and that affect other things then thou doeſt. I am ſetled in this hope, that thou canſt not be miſled, and that thou wilt firmely keepe thy deliberation, although a troope of troubleſome men doe haunt round about thee. What is it then? I feare not that they will change thee, but I feare they will hinder thee. But he hurteth very much that delayeth and eſpecially in this life, which is ſo ſhort, which we abbreuiat by inconſtancy, giuing it now one beginning, afterwards, and that inſtantly another. Wee diuide it, and cut it in peeces. Haſte thee then, my deareſt *Lucilius*, and thinke with thy ſelfe, how much thou ſhouldeſt double thy pace, if behind thee thou wert preſſed by thine enemie, if thou thoughteſt the horſe-man purſued thee, and traced after the foot-ſteps of thoſe that fled. Thou art at that point, thou art chaſed, haſte thee, and eſcape: bring thy ſelfe into a place of ſecuritie; and then incontinently after conſider, how worthy a thing it is to conſummate a mans life, before death, then to expect ſecuritie in the remainder part of his

time placed in the possession of a blessed life, which is not made more blessed if longer. O when shalt thou see that time, wherein thou knowest that time appertaineth not vnto thee, wherein thou shalt be peaceable and contented, and neglectfull of to morrow, and in chiefest facietie of thy selfe? Wilt thou know what it is that maketh men greedie of that which is to come? No man is for himselfe: thy father and mother haue wished thee diuers things; but contrariwise, I wish thee the contempt of all those things, whereof they would haue thee enioy the affluence. Their vowes spoyle manie to enrich thee: whatsoeuer they transferre vnto thee, is to be extorted from another. My desire is, that thou shouldest dispose of thy selfe, that thy spirit being assailed with incertaine fantasies should resist them, and be setled, that it should please it selfe, and vnderstanding true goods, which are possessed as soon as they are known, should need no adiection of age. Finally, he hath ouer-gone his necessities, and is discharged and free, who liueth when his life is done.

Epist. XXXIII.

He denieth that sentences or short lessons should be gathered from the Stoicks: first, because all things are replenished and full of such things; againe, because it is vnseemely to speake alwayes by authoritie. Let vs make them ours, and preferre them in our life.

THou desirest in these Epistles also, as in the former, that I set down certaine sentences of our Masters. They were not much occupied about the flowers of discourse: all their maner of speech was substantiall and manly: know thou that inequalitie is there, where those things that are eminent are notable. No man admireth one tree, when as all the wood is growne to the same height. With these and such like sentences, all Poems and Histories are stuffed. I will not therefore haue thee think that they are of *Epicurus*: they are vulgar, and especially mine owne. But in that are they most noted, because they seldome occurre, because vnexpected, because it is a wonder that any thing should be constantly spoken by a man that professeth delicacie: for so doe diuers men iudge; but in my opinion *Epicurus* is valiant, although effeminately dressed. Fortitude and industrie, and a minde addressed to warre, as well lodgeth in a Persian as a high-girt Roman. Thou must not therefore exact at my handes choyce and well digested stuffe, that is continuall amongst our Masters, which amongst others is selected. Wee vent not therefore these eye-pleasing and odoriferous wares, neyther deceiue we our Merchant, like to finde nothing when he entreth, besides those which are hanged vp in the front for a show. We permit them to take their patterne from whence they please. Thinkest thou that I will take out of the whole Map the particular sentences of any? To whom shall I assigne them, to *Zeno*, or *Cleanthes* or *Chrysippus*, or *Panætius*, or *Posidonius*? We are not vnder a King; euery one maintayneth himselfe in his owne libertie: with them whatsoeuer *Hermarchus* saith, whatsoeuer *Metrodorus*, it is referred to one. All whatsoeuer any man hath spoken in that companie, is spoken by authoritie, and directions of one alone. We cannot, I tell thee, although we attempt that out of so great abundance of equall things, bring forth any thing:

It is a poore mans part to count his flocke.

Where-

Whereſoeuer thou fixeſt thine eye, thou ſhalt meete with that which might be eminent, vnleſſe it were read amongſt others of equall worthineſſe: for which cauſe lay apart this hope, which flattereth thee with the poſſibilitie, that thou mayeſt ſummarily conceiue the choyſeſt things, which the greateſt ſpirits haue conceited. They are intirely to be looked ouer, & wholy to be diſcuſſed. When a man doth any thing he intendeth the ſame, and by the proiect of his ſpirit the worke is compiled, of which a man can diſ-member nothing without the ruine of the whole. I denie thee not but that thou mayeſt conſider euery member one after another, prouided it be in a man that hath them. The woman is not faire whoſe legge or arme is praiſed, but ſhee whoſe full repreſentation is cauſe that a man admireth not her parts; yet if thou exact the ſame, I will not deale ſo niggardly with thee as I make ſhew for, but with a full hand. There is a huge companie of them that lie ſcattered here and there: they are to be taken, but not gathered; for they fall not, but flow perpetually, and are tyed together amongſt themſelues: neyther doubt I but that they will profite thoſe who are as yet rude, and yeeld but a ſuperficiall attention. For thoſe things that are circumſcribed and moulded after the manner of a verſe, are more eaſily remembred. Therefore giue we children certaine ſentences to commit to memorie, and thoſe which the Grecians call *Chries*, becauſe a childiſh wit can comprehend them, being as yet vncapable of a more certaine and ſolid ſcience. A complete man hath no honour to gather noſe-gayes, to ſtay himſelfe and build on certaine vſuall or few wordes, and to truſt vnto his memorie, hee ought to truſt himſelfe. Let him ſpeake theſe but not retaine them: for it is a baſe thing for an olde man, or ſuch a one as is ſtept in yeares to be wiſe in nothing but his note-booke. This ſaid *Zeno*, what ſayeſt thou? This *Cleanthes*, but what thou? How long art thou directed by others? both command and ſay what ſhall be committed to memorie, and produce ſomewhat of thine owne. I thinke therefore that theſe neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid vnder the ſhadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer dared to publiſh that which they had learned in long ſpace of time, but haue exerciſed their memorie on other mens labours. It is one thing to remember, another thing to know: to remember is to keepe a thing in memorie which is committed; but contrariwiſe, to know is to make euery thing his owne, neyther to hang on examples, and ſo oftentimes to looke backe to his Maſter. This ſaith *Zeno*, that *Cleanthes*: make ſome difference betwixt thee and thy booke; how long wilt thou be a learner? At laſt employ thy ſelfe to teach others: what profiteth it me to heare that I may reade? The liuing voyce, ſaith hee, doth much; not that which is recommended by another mans wordes, and ſerueth but inſtead of a Regiſter. Adde hereunto now, that they who are neuer their owne Maſters, firſt in that thing doe follow their anceſtors, wherein no man hath not reuoked from the former. Againe, they follow them in that, which is yet in queſtion: and it will neuer be found, if we ſhall be content with thoſe things that are found. Moreouer, he that followeth another man hath found nothing, and which is worſe, he ſeeketh nothing. What then? Shall I not follow the ſteps of mine anceſtors? Truely I will keepe the olde wayes: but if I finde out one more ſhort, I will take it and maintaine it. They that before vs haue managed theſe things, were not our Lords, but our guides. Truth is open vnto all men: ſhe is not as yet borne away all; there is much of her left for poſteritie to finde out.

Epist. XXXIIII.

That hee is glad of Lucilius *proficiencie, because it was from him, and he formed him. Moreouer he exhorteth him to goe forward euen to perfection.*

I Grow great, and leape for ioy, and shaking off mine olde age, I grow young againe, as often as I vnderstand by those things thou doest and writest, how much thy selfe exceedest thy selfe (for long since thou haddest forsaken the troupes of common societie) If the tree being grown to beare fruit delighteth the husbandman: if the Shepheard take pleasure in the fruitfulnesse of his flocke: if no man beholdeth his foster childe otherwise, but that he reputeth his young yeares to be his owne: what thinkest thou befalleth them which haue formed young spirits, when those they haue trained vp raw, they suddenly see ripe. I challenge thee for mine, thou art mine own labor. When first I saw thine inclination, I laide hold on thee, I exhorted thee, I encouraged thee; neyther permitted I thee to pace on softly but I pricked thee forward, and now doe I the like, and hencefoorward I am to giue thee courage, as long as thou shalt speedily runne forward, and thou reciprocally art to exhort me. What other thing haue I desired hitherto, sayest thou? In this the greater part of time is spent. For so euen as the beginnings of the worke are said to occupie the halfe, so is this businesse for the mind. The greater part of good, is to desire to become good. Knowest thou whom I call good? I mean a perfect and absolute man, whom no force or necessitie can prouoke to doe euill. And alreadie, me thinkes, I espie such a man in thy selfe, if thou perseuer and endeuour, and effect this, that all thy deeds and words may be agreeable and correspondent in themselues, and stamped after one coyne. His minde is estranged from the right way, whose acts are discordant.

Epist. XXXV.

He wisheth him to be his friend that is a good man, otherwise no man is a friend, although he loueth. Let him therefore doe, and especially learne this, to loue conueniently; that is constantly, that is wisely.

WHen as so earnestly I intreat thee to studie, I doe mine owne businesse: I will haue a friend; which will not come to passe, except thou perseuer to beautifie thy selfe, as thou hast begun. For now thou loueest me, but thou art not my friend: what then? is there anie difference betwixt these two? what else? they are vnlike. He that is a friend loueth, and he that loueth is not assuredly a friend. For which cause friendship alwayes profiteth, and loue sometimes hurteth. If thou doest no other thing, profite at least wise so well, that thou mayest learne to loue well. But aboue all things haste thy selfe during the time thou studiest for me, for feare thou learnest it not for another. Verily I doe alreadie participate the fruite, when I imagine with my selfe that wee shall be of one minde, and that all that vigor which is eclipsed in mine age, shall returne vnto me from thine, although there is little difference betwixt the one and the other, yet will I really and essentially take my pleasure. There is a certain contentment that commeth vnto vs from those, we loue although they be absent; but it is but a light and friuole pleasure. The sight, the presence, and conuersation haue some liuing pleasure

ſure in them, and principally if thou beholdeſt not onely him whom thou deſireſt, but him who is ſuch a one whom thou deſireſt. Preſent thy ſelfe therefore vnto me as an honorable and acceptable gift; and to the end thou mayeſt preſſe in the more, thinke me to be old, and thy ſelfe to be mortall. Haſten thee to me, but firſt of all to thy ſelfe, profit thy ſelfe indeed. And aboue all things let this be thy care, that thou be conſtant to thy ſelfe. As often times as thou haſt a will to make triall, whether in any ſort thou beeſt changed, obſerue thy ſelfe, whether thou willeſt the ſame things to day, that thou didſt yeſterday. The change of the will betokeneth that the minde ſwimmeth in one place, and appeareth in another, euen as the winde carrieth it. That which is firme and hath a good foundation varieth not,. This perfectly happeneth to a wiſe man, and in ſome meaſure to a proficient, and he that hath as yet attained further. What difference is there then? This is in a manner moued, yet paſſeth not further, but is ſhaken from his place, the other is in no ſort moued.

EPIST. XXXVI.

He prayſeth a certaine man that had depoſed himſelfe to retirement, and forſaken the Common-weale. He aduiſeth him to contemne the common talke, to proceed in goodneſſe, or rather to be made good. Let him goe forward to deſpiſe death, and that with reaſon.

EXhort thy friend to contemne thoſe with a mightie mind, that blame and reproue him for ſeeking out retirement and quiet, forſaking his dignities, and for preferring his quiet aboue all things, when as he might haue obtained moſt honor. Let him make them euery day perceiue, how profitably he hath managed his affaires. They whoſe felicitie is enuied, will not deliſt from alterations, ſome ſhall be ſtrucken downe; other ſome ſhall fall. Felicitie is a turbulent thing, ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe, ſhe moueth the mind after diuers faſhions: ſhe puſheth ſome into greatneſſe, other into effeminacie: theſe ſhe puffeth vp, thoſe ſhe mollifieth and wholly diſſolueth. But ſome man beareth his felicitie well, yea ſo as ſome doe their wine. There is no reaſon therefore, that theſe men ſhould perſwade thee, that he is happy, who is beſieged with many ſuiters, they flocke to him, as to a lake whom they draw drie, they trouble grieuouſly. They call this friend, and louer of *Philoſophy*, a trifler and a ſluggard. Thou knoweſt that ſome men ſpeake peruerſely in a contrary ſenſe. They called him happie: what of this? was he ſo? I make no account of this, that to ſome man he ſeemeth too ſeuere and ſullen minded. *Ariſton* ſaid that he had rather haue a ſad yong man, then ſuch a one as was pleaſing and amiable to the common ſort. The wine is made good which is troubled and ſharpe when it is new, and it becommeth flat before maturitie, that pleaſed in the fat. Let them call him ſad and enemie to his aduancements: this ſadneſſe of his will giue him good in his latter dayes. Let him perſeuer only to loue vertue, and exerciſe himſelfe in the good and Liberall Sciences, not thoſe wherewith it ſufficeth to be only tainted and informed, but thoſe wherewith the minde is to bee ſtained and confirmed in. This is the true time of learning. What then? Is there any time wherein we are not to learne? Not ſo, but euen as at all times it is honeſt for vs to ſtudy, ſo in all ages is it not conuenient to beginne. It is an abſurde and baſe thing to

ſee

ſee an old man at his *Abce*. The yong man muſt get, and the old man enioy. Thou ſhalt therefore doe a thing profitable for thy ſelfe, if thou makeſt him a good man, we ought to ſeeke to giue thee preſents, where it is as much expedient to giue as to receiue. Finally, ſince he hath alreadie promiſed very much of himſelfe, it concerneth him to continue. For it is leſſe abſurd to play the banquerout with a mans creditour, then with good hope. To pay this debt of anothers: hee that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie nauigation: hee that tilleth the field, of a fertile ſoile and a fauourable climate, he onely with a good wil may teſtifie that which he oweth. Fortune hath no power ouer maners. Let him diſpoſe theſe in ſuch ſort, that that moſt quiet mind of his may come to perfection, which feeleth nothing taken from him, neither added to him, but remaineth in the ſame ſtate, whatſoeuer caſualties befall him: who, if common fortunes be heaped on him, is eminent aboue his meanes, or if any of theſe things, or all by fortune are taken from him, is no wayes leſſened by his miſery. If he were borne in *Parthia*, he would preſently bend his bow, being an infant, if in *Germany* he were a very infant, he would ſhake his tender ſpeare. If he had liued in the time of our anceſtors, he had learned to ride, and to combate with the enemie hand to hand. Theſe are the things which the diſcipline of the Countrie teacheth and commandeth euery one. What is it then that this man ought to learne? That which is proofe againſt all offenſiue armes, and all ſorts of enemies, is the contempt of death. For it is not to bee doubted, but that it hath in it ſelfe ſomething terrible, that may offend our mindes (which Nature hath formed in loue of her ſelfe) neither alſo ſhould it be needfull for him to addreſſe and accuſtome himſelfe to that, whereunto our naturall inclination ſufficiently diſpoſeth vs, as is the deſire to conſerue a mans ſelfe. No man learneth to haue power, if need ſo required, to lye ſweetly and ſoftly amongſt the roſes: but to this is he accuſtomed not to ſubmit his faith and honour to torments, but to keepe watch in the trenches ſtanding, yea ſometimes wounded: neither leaning to the dart, becauſe in the interim ſleepe ſeemeth to ſteale on thoſe that leane to any ſtay. Death hath no incommoditie, for there muſt bee ſome thing, whereby ſhe would be indamnified. And if thou haſt ſo great a deſire of prolonging thy life, conſider that none of theſe things that flie before our eyes, and hide themſelues in the boſome of Nature, from which once they are parted, and ſhall againe depart, is not conſumed. They ceaſe, but periſh not, and the death which wee feare and refuſe, onely intermitteth life, but rauiſheth it not. A day will come that ſhall reſtore vs once more to light, which happily diuers would refuſe, except it reduced thoſe that are forgotten. But hereafter I will ſhew more exactly, if all things which ſeeme to periſh are changed: herefore that muſt returne, ought not to be grieued to depart. Obſerue the circle of things that returne into themſelues, thou ſhalt ſee that nothing is extinguiſhed in this world, but that all things deſcend and mount againe by changes. The Summer departeth, but another yeare bringeth it againe. The Winter paſſeth, but yet hath he his monthes to bring him backe againe, The night concealeth the Sunne, and preſently the day driueth this away. This courſe of the Starres returneth backe againe to the place where firſt they began, and which they paſſed ouer. A part of the heauen is continually riſing and a part ſetting. To conclude, after I haue annexed this one thing, I will make an end, neither infants nor children or madde men feare death. It were therefore more then an abiect error in vs, if reaſon ſhould not afford vs that ſecuritie, whereunto folly animateth vs.

Epist. XXXVII.

That wee ought to perſeuere in the way and warfare of wiſedome: on her dependeth health, felicitie, and libertie. That wee may obtaine, and ouercome the ſame by the conduct of warre.

THat which is the greateſt obligation to prepare a man to a good minde, thou haſt promiſed to be a good man, and by oath thou haſt confirmed it. If any man tell thee that a ſouldiers profeſſion is delicate and facile, he deceiueth thee; I will not haue thee deceiued. The forme of that honorable oath, and of that other ſo diſhonorable are in the ſame termes, that is, *To be burnt, bound, and ſlaine with the ſword.* To thoſe that gaue their hands to hire vpon the ſands of the *Theater*, that eat and drink that which they ought to pay with the price of their bloods, it is couenanted with them that they ſuffer theſe things againſt their willes: from thee it is expected, that thou willingly and freely ſuffer the ſame. To them it is permitted to lay downe their weapons, and to implore the mercie of the people. Thou ſhalt neither ſubmit thy ſelfe, nor beg for thy life, it is thy part to die conſtantly, and with an inuincible minde. But what profiteth it to gaine a few dayes or yeares? We come into this world without releaſement. How then, ſayeſt thou, may I acquite my ſelfe? Thou canſt not auoide neceſſities, but thou mayeſt ouercome them. Make thy way, and *Philoſophie* ſhall giue it thee; to her haue thy recourſe, if thou wilt be ſafe, if ſecure, if bleſſed; and finally (which is aboue all) if thou deſireſt to be free. This cannot otherwiſe happen. Folly is a baſe abiect, ſordide, and a ſeruile thing, ſubiect to many, and they moſt cruel affections. Wiſdome which is the ſole libertie, diſmiſſeth thoſe rude maſters, which ſometimes command by courſe, and ſometimes are together. There is but one way to attaine thereunto, and certainely it is the right way: thou canſt not wander out of it, martch boldly, if thou wilt make all things ſubiect vnto thee, ſubiect thy ſelfe to reaſon; thou ſhalt gouerne many; if thou be gouerned by reaſon. Thou ſhalt learne of her, how and to whom thou ſhalt addreſſe thy ſelfe. Thou ſhalt not be ſurpriſed in affaires. Thou ſhalt not bring me any man that knoweth how he began to will that which he willeth. He is not inuited thereunto by mature deliberation, but it is an enforcement that driueth him thereunto. Fortune oftentimes doth no leſſe haunt vs, then we hunt after her. It is a baſe thing, not to goe, but to be carried perforce, and ſuddenly (being altogether amazed amiddeſt the ſtorme of affaires) to aske; How came I hither.

Epist. XXXVIII.

That precepts are oftentimes more profitable to wiſedome then diſputes. That they doe ſteale vpon the minde, and doe fructifie and ſpend themſelues after the manner of ſeede.

NOt without cauſe requireſt thou, that we frequent this commerce of Epiſtles betwixt thee and me. The diſcourſe profiteth much, that by little and little ſtealeth into the minde. The diſputes which a man is addreſſed to vent in the eares of the attentiue multitude, haue brute enough and leſſe priuacie. *Philoſophie* is good

good counsell. No man giueth counsell with clamour, yet must we sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced. But where this is not to be effected, to inkindle a will in man to learne; but that in good earnest hee learneth, it is good to vse these more submissiue speeches. They enter more sweetly; but they continue, for there neede not many, but such as are effectuall. We ought to spread them as seede, which although it be little, dilateth his forces, when it falleth into a good soile; and of so little as it is, it extendeth it selfe into great and meruailous great encreases. The like doth speech, it hath no extent, if thou looke into it, it encreaseth in the worke. They are few things which are spoken, but if the minde entertaine them well, they fructifie and encrease in themselues. The same I tell thee is the condition of precepts, as of seeds, they effect much, although they be short but as I haue said; let a minde well disposed and setled, draw them to it selfe. Her selfe will profit very much at her time, and shall restore more then it hath receiued.

Epist. XXXIX.

That diuers, and they diuersly haue written in Philosophy. That we ought to be stirred vp, and enkindled by example. That Nature hath this scope to call vs to high things. In which there is no plebeian felicitie, neither pleasure, because they are either fraile or hurtfull.

THe Commentaries thou demandest at my hands carefully disposed and reduced into an abridgement, I will truely compose. But see whether an ordinarie Oration be not more profitable, then this which is now commonly called a *Breuiarie*, and in times past when we spake Latine, a *Summarie*. The one is more necessarie for him that learneth, the other for him that vnderstandeth; the one teacheth, the other remembreth. But of both these I will reconcile both the one and the other. It needeth not now that thou exact at my hands, either this or that authoritie. He is vnknowne that brings his Proctor with him. I will write what thou willest; but after mine owne manner. In the meane time thou hast many, whose writings I know not whether they bee sufficiently digested or no. Take in hand the list of the *Philosophers*. This very sight will compell thee to rouse thy selfe, and if thou seest how many haue laboured for thee, thou thy selfe likewise wilt desire to be one of them. For a generous minde hath this excellent impression in it, that it is inkindled and incited to honest things. There is no nobly minded man, that is delighted with base and contemptible things: he only seeketh after and extolleth those things, which make shew of greatnes and worthines. Euen as the flame directly mounteth vpward, neither may be diuerted nor depressed, or lose his actiuitie: so is our spirit in continuall motion, by so much the more stirring and actiue, by how much it is more vehement and mightie. But happie is he that hath imployed the viuacitie hereof in matters of better estimate: he shall settle himselfe in a place exempted from Fortunes command or iurisdiction: his felicities he shall temper, his aduersities conquer, and contemne those things that draw other men to admiration. It is the effect of a great minde to contemne great things, and rather to affect the meane, then bee infected with excesse. For these are profitable and permanent, the other

hurtfull,

hurtfull, becauſe ſuperfluous. So too great fertility layeth the corne, ſo boughes ouer-loaden are broken, ſo too much fruitfulneſſe neuer endeth in maturitie. The like alſo befalleth thoſe mindes that are broken, and corrupt with immoderate felicitie, becauſe they are not onely imployed to other mens iniurie, but alſo to their owne. What enemie ſo outragious againſt any man, as is ſome mens voluptuouſneſſe againſt themſelues? whoſe impotencie and mad luſt thou mayeſt pardon for this one reaſon, becauſe they ſuffer that which they offended in. Neither vndeſeruedly doth this furie vexe them; for it is neceſſarie, that deſire ſhould extend it ſelfe aboue meaſure, that hath falſified the mediocritie of nature: for naturall affection hath his end, but vaine things, and ſuch as ſpring from an exceſſiue luſt, are interminable. Profit meaſureth things neceſſarie; how wilt thou confine ſuperfluities? They therefore drowne themſelues in pleaſures, which they cannot ſhake off, in that they are brought into a cuſtome: and for this cauſe are they moſt miſerable, becauſe they are growne vnto thoſe termes, that thoſe things which were ſuperfluous vnto them, are made neceſſarie; they therefore ſeruе their pleaſures, and enioy them not, and loue their owne miſchiefe, which is the worſt of all miſchiefe. And then is infelicitie conſummate, whereas ſuch things as are diſhoneſt, not onely doe delight, but alſo pleaſe: and then is the remedy hopeleſſe, where ſuch things as were diſhoneſt, are reputed for common cuſtome.

Epist. XL.

He exhorteth to write, becauſe in it is the Image of the minde. Then of Serapions *prompt and profuſe ſpeech, which he alledgeth to be vndecent for a Philoſopher. A graue and ſlowe ſpeech entreth and deſcendeth farther.*

THat thou writeſt often vnto me, I thanke thee; for by that onely meanes which thou canſt, thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe vnto me. I neuer receiue thy Epiſtle, but that forthwith we are together. If the pictures of our abſent friends be pleaſing vnto vs, which renew their memorie, and by a falſe and fained ſolace do lighten the griefe of their abſence; how much more pleaſing are letters, which ſet before our eyes the true trace & liuely picture of our abſent friends? For that which giueth vs an vnſpeakeable content, the hand of a friend that writeth a letter vnto vs, cauſeth vs to feele. Thou writeſt vnto me, that thou heardeſt *Serapion* the Philoſopher, when he arriued in thoſe parts, and how it was his cuſtome in diſcourſing to huddle vp his words with great volubilitie, which he powreth not out together, but ſmothereth and forceth: for more is vttered then one voyce can articulate. This allow I not in a Philoſopher, whoſe pronounciation, as his life, ought to be compoſed. But nothing is well ordered that is precipitate and haſtie. For this cauſe that running and continuate diſcourſe in *Homer* that falleth inceſſantly like ſnow, is properly attributed to the Orator; where that which is more ſlow, & ſweeter then honey floweth from an olde man. Reſolue therefore on this, that this violent and abundant vigor of diſcourſe, is more fitte for a jeſter, or Mountebanke, then him that debateth on a graue and ſerious ſubiect, or ſuch a one that will teach another man. Neyther will I that the diſcourſe be too headlong, neyther too dreaming, neyther ſuch as may ſuſpend attention, or confound the hearing For that defect & imbecilitie of ſpeech maketh the auditor leſſe attentiue,

tiue, by reaſon of the diſguſt of interrupted ſlowneſſe: yet is that more eaſily imprinted in memorie which is expected, then that which paſſeth away ſlightly. Furthermore men are ſaid to giue precepts to thoſe will learne: it is not giuen, that flieth. Adde hereunto now, that the diſcourſe which ſerueth to manifeſt truth, ought to be ſimple and without flouriſh. This popular diſcourſe, hath no truth in it, it tendeth onely to moue the people, & is forcible to rauiſh inconſiderate eares, it admitteth no moderation, but ſuffereth it ſelfe to be carried away. But how can it gouerne, which cannot be gouerned? Finally, what ſhould a man thinke of that diſcouſe, which ſerueth to heale the infirmities of the ſpirit, except it ſhould ſearch and deſcend into vs? Medicines cure not except they be digeſted: moreouer, it hath much ſlightneſſe and vanity in it, and hath more report then reckoning in it. The things that terrifie me muſt be lenified, which prouoke me muſt be pacified, that deceiue me muſt be ſhaken off: lecherie muſt be reſtrained, couetouſneſſe reproued; what one of theſe things can be done ſuddenly? What Phiſitian cureth his Patients by only paſſing by them? What profiteth this noyce of headlong and vnchoſen wordes, which yeeld not a ſhadow of any pleaſure? But euen as it is ſufficient to know diuers things, which thou wouldeſt not beleeue they could be done, ſo is it ſufficient to heare them once, that haue exerciſed themſelues in this manner of diſcourſe. For what can a man learne, or what will he imitate, or what can he iudge of their minds whoſe ſpeech is confuſed and hudled, and cannot be reſtrayned? Euen as they that runne from a ſteepe hill, ſtay not themſelues in that place where their intention was, but are borne downe ſwiftly by the waight of their bodies, and tranſported further then they would; ſo this viuacitie and celerite of ſpeech, cannot command it ſelfe, neyther is it ſufficiently beſeeming Philoſophie, which ought to employ wordes, and not to caſt them away, but by little and little to aduance it ſelfe. What then? Shall it not ſometimes ſweil alſo? Why not, prouided that the honeſtie of maners be not intereſſed; which is not depriued by maine force and minicke impetuoſitie of words? Let her haue great force but moderate. The water muſt haue a continuall courſe, but not rauiſhing. I ſcarcely will permit an Orator to haue ſuch ſwifneſſe in diſcourſe ſo irreuocable, and boundles: for how can a Iudge follow the liſt of his diſcourſe, eſpecially if it be impertinent and rude, if hee ſuffer himſelfe at that time to be borne away by oſtentation, or ſuch a paſſion as he cannot maſter? Let him in ſuch ſort make haſt, and infer that his auditories attention may be able to conceiue. Thou ſhalt therefore do well, if thou viſite them not who ſeeke how much, and not what they ſpeake. And if it happen that thou art to make an Oration, then make thy choyce to ſpeak after the maner of *Publius Vinicius*, of whom it being on a time demanded, how he diſcourſed? *Aſellius* anſwered continually: for *Geminius Varius* had ſaid, I know not how you call this man an eloquent man, hee cannot couple three words together. Why haddeſt thou not rather ſay ſo as *Venicius* did? Let ſome foole come hither, and when he ſhall ſee him dreame out his wordes one after another, as if he dictated and not diſcourſed, bid him *Speake or neuer ſpeake*. My opinion is, that the forme of haſtie ſpeech, which in that time the famous Orator *Harterius* vſed, ought to be reiected by men of vnderſtanding: hee neuer doubted, he neuer intermitted, he began and ended after the ſame manner: yet thinke I, that ſome things are more or leſſe conuenient for people of different nations. Amongſt the Greekes this licence were to be borne withall, and we alſo when we write, are wont to point euery word. And now *Cicero* alſo from whom Roman eloquence gathered excellency, was temperate in his diſcourſes.

The

The Romane tongue ouer-looketh all, and will be both reſpected and courted. *Fabianus* a worthy man both in life and ſcience (and that is leaſt of theſe) in eloquence alſo, diſputed more quickly then vehemently, ſo as it might be ſaid, that it was a facilitie, and not a celeritie. This admit I in a wiſe-man: I exact not that his ſpeech be deliuered without impediment; rather had I it ſhould be pronounced then lauiſhed. And the more doe I deterre thee from this ſickeneſſe, becauſe this thing cannot otherwiſe befall thee, then by ceaſing to haue modeſtie. Thou mayeſt rubbe thy brow, and not heare thy ſelfe: for this vnaduiſed courſe will draw on many things, which thou wouldeſt not let ſlip without reprehenſion. Theſe things I tell thee cannot happen vnto thee without preiudice of thy modeſtie. Beſides, thou haddeſt needs of daily exerciſe, and thy ſtudie is to be transferred from matters to words: and theſe alſo, although they flowe with thee, and may runne fluent without any labor of thine, yet are they to be tempered: for euen as a modeſt gate becommeth a wiſe-man, ſo doth a ſetled and not extrauagant diſcourſe. The totall ſumme then of this account ſhall be this, I enioyne thee to be ſlowe in ſpeech.

Epist. XLI.

Oh excellent and deep Epiſtle! That God dwelleth in vs, and that a good man is nothing without him. Let vs honour him, and the minde that deſcendeth from him. In him are our peculiar and proper goods, all other are forraine. But the thing that is good is perfect reaſon.

THou doeſt a worthie thing, and profitable to thy ſelfe, if, as thou writeſt, thou perſeuereſt to obtaine a good minde. How fond is it to wiſh the ſame, when as it dependeth on thine owne will? Thy hands are not to be lifted vp to heauen, neyther is the Prelate to be intreated, to admit thee to the eares of an Image, that thou mighteſt bee the better heard: God is neere vnto thee, hee is with thee, hee is within thee. Thus tell I thee, *Lucilius*: A ſacred ſpirit is reſident in vs, an obſeruer and guardian both of our good and euils: he in like manner as we intreate him, ſo handleth he vs. There is no good man but hath a God within him. May any man inſult ouer fortune, except he be aſſiſted by him? he it is that giueth the nobleſt and moſt vpright counſailes. In euery good man (but what God it is vncertaine) God inhabiteth. If happily thou light into a thicke groue, full of auncient trees, and ſuch as exceede the common height, ſhadowing the ſight of heauen from thee, through the thickeneſſe of boughes couching one another; that height of the wood, and ſecrecie of the place, and the admiration of the ſhadow, ſo thicke and continuate in the open skie, will perſwade thee there is ſome diuine preſence. And if a Caue ouer-hangeth a Mountaine, eaten out of the Rocke, not made by handes, but hollowed by naturall cauſes into ſuch a concauity, it will ſtrike thy mind with a certaine conceit of Religion. We adore the head-ſprings of great riuers. A ſuddaine eruption of a vaſt riuer out of the depth hath alters. The fountaines of warme waters are honoured, and the ſhadow or huge depth of ſome ſtanding poole hath ſacred it. If thou behold a man that is dreadles of perils, vntouched with deſires, happie in his afflictions, pacified in midſt of tempeſts, beholding men from a high place, the gods from an equall; wilt thou not grow into a certaine veneration

of him? Wilt thou not say this is a greater and more high thing, then that it might be trusted to so little a bodie as it inhabiteth? The diuine power descendeth hither. This excellent and moderate minde, ouerpassing all things as if abiect, laughing at whatsoeuer we eyther feare or hope is inkindled by a celestiall power. So great a thing cannot consist without the helpe of a God. Therefore as touching the greatest part of him, he is there from whence he descended. Euen as the Sunne beames doe in a manner touch the earth, but remaine there from whence they are sent; so a great and sacred minde, and to this end humbled, that he may more neerely apprehend diuine things is conuersant in vs, but cleaueth to his originall. Thereon it dependeth, thereat it aymeth, and thereto it endeuoureth, to vs it appertaineth, as the better part. What a one therefore is this? a minde that dependeth on no other good but his owne. For what is more foolish then to praise that in a man which is forraine to him? And what more mad then that man, that admireth those things, which may immediately be transferred vnto another man? The golden raynes make not the horse the better. In one sort doth the golden crested Lion subiect himselfe whilst hee is handled, and is compelled (being ouer-wearied) patiently to receiue his ornaments; in another sort such a one as is generous and vntamed. This being sharp in his assault, such as nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulnesse, whose comlines is in this, not to be beheld without feare, is preferd before that faint and trapped one: no man ought to glorie but in that which is his owne. We praise the Vine if she loade her branches with fruit, if she beareth down her vnder-props vnto the ground, by reason of the waight of those branches shee beareth. Will any man preferre that Vine before this, that hath golden grapes and golden leaues hanging from it? The proper vertue in the Vine is fertilitie: in a man also that is to be praised which is his own. He hath a faire train, a goodly house, he soweth much, he makes much by vsurie; none of these things is in him but about him. Praise that in him, which neyther may be taken away, nor giuen, which is properly a mans. Askest thou what it is? The minde, and perfect reason in the minde. For man is a reasonable creature; his good therefore is consummate, if he hath fulfilled that to which he was borne. But what is that which this reason exacteth at his handes? An easie matter; to liue according to his nature: but common madnesse maketh this thing difficult. We thrust one another into vices, but how may they be recalled vnto health, whom no man restraineth, and the people thrusteth on.

Epist. XLII.

That we are not suddenly to giue credite or iudgement of a good man, because it is a matter of much moment. That some make shew, others dissemble; not vnlikely to proue euill, if occasion be offered. He teacheth this by a certaine mans example. Then, that we are not to labour in externall things, which haue incommodities, or false commodities in them.

THis man hath alreadie perswaded thee, that he is a good man, and yet a good man may not so soone eyther be made or vnderstood: Knowest thou now whom I terme a good man? Him who is ordinarily so reputed: for that other happily like another *Phœnix* is borne once in fiue hundreth yeares: neyther is it to be wondred at, that great and rare things are in long continuance and space of time begotten.

ten. Fortune often times produceth meane things, ſuch are borne in troupes; but ſuch things as are excellent ſhe commendeth in their raritie. But this man as yet is very farre from that which he profeſſeth; and if he knew what a good man were, he would not as yet beleeue himſelfe to be one, and happily alſo hee would deſpaire that he might be one. But he thinketh ill of the euill, and this doe the euill alſo: neyther is there any greater puniſhment of wickednesſe, then that it diſpleaſeth both himſelfe and his. But hee hateth thoſe that impotently vſe a ſudden and great power: the ſame will hee doe when he can the ſame. Diuers mens vices lie hidden becauſe they are weake, addreſſed notwithſtanding to attempt, and dare as much as they whom felicitie hath diſcouered, as ſoone as they may haue any aſſurance of their forces. They want the inſtruments to expreſſe their malice. So may a venemous ſerpent likewiſe be ſafely handled whilſt he is ſtiffe with cold, not that he wanteth his venom, but becauſe they are benummed. The crueltie, ambition, and intemperance of diuers men would attempt as bad offices as the baſeſt men, if fortune fayled them not, giue them onely the power as much as they liſt, thou ſhalt eaſily perceiue their will. Doeſt thou not remember, that when thou toldeſt me, that thou haddeſt ſuch a man in thy power, that I anſwered thee, that he was vnconſtant and variable, and that thou heldeſt him not by the foote but by the feather? Tolde I thee a lie? He was held by a feather, which he ſhaked off and fled. Thou knoweſt verie well what Tragedies he afterwards excited, and how many things he attempted, which in all likelyhood at laſt were to fall on his owne head: he perceiued not how by other mens perils hee came headlong into his owne, hee thought not how burthenſom the things were which he asked, although they were not ſuperfluous. This therefore in thoſe things which we affect, and for which we trauell; for with great labour we ought to obſerue and looke into, eyther that there is no commoditie in them, or elſe more incommoditie. Some things are ſuperfluous, ſome are not of ſo much eſteeme; but theſe things wee foreſee not, and thoſe things that coſt vs moſt dearely, ſeeme vnto vs to be giuen for nothing. Herein although our ſtupiditie be moſt apparant, that we only thinke thoſe things to be bought, for which we pay our money, and thoſe things we call gratuitall, for which we ſell and giue our ſelues; which we would not buy if it ſhould coſt vs one of our houſes, if wee ſhould redeeme the ſame with ſom fruitful and pleaſant poſſeſſion: to theſe are we moſt ready to attaine with much care, with perill, with hazard of our modeſties, libertie, and time; ſo is there nothing more abiect and contemptible to euerie man then himſelfe. Let vs therefore in all our counſailes and affaires doe that which we are wont to doe: as often as we goe to the Merchant of any ware to buy, let vs ſee and examine that which we deſire, and know the price thereof. That often-times is higheſt prized for which no price is giuen. I can ſhew thee many things, which being gotten and poſſeſſed, haue extorted our liberty from vs: we ſhould be our owne if theſe were not ours. Thinke therefore very carefully vpon theſe things, not onely where there ſhall be queſtion of gaine, but alſo of loſſe: is this periſhable? for it was caſuall; thou ſhalt as eaſily liue without this as thou liuedſt before. If thou haſt had it long, thou loſeſt it after thou art glutted therewith: if but a little while, thou loſeſt it before thou haddeſt the true taſte and vſe therefore. If thou haue leſſe money, thy trouble ſhall be the leſſe; if leſſe fauour, thou ſhalt haue leſſe enuie alſo. Looke into all theſe things which enrage vs, and which we loſe with many teares, and thou ſhalt know that the opinion of the damage, and not the damage it ſelfe is troubleſome vnto vs, no man

feeleth but apprehendeth that theſe are loſt. He that hath himſelfe hath loſt nothing; but how many haue had the hap to poſſeſſe themſelues?

Epist. XLIII.

That he doth, lies not hidden, but that rumour publiſheth all things. Therefore ſo liue (ſaith he) as if thou liuedſt in publique. What if thou be hid alſo? Thy minde knoweth and ſeeth.

THou deſireſt to know how theſe newes came to mine eares, who it was that tolde me that thy thought was thus, whereas thou haddeſt diſcloſed it to no man liuing: he that knoweth the moſt, rumor. What then (ſayeſt thou) am I ſo great that I can excite a rumor? Thou art not to meaſure thy ſelfe in regard of this place where I bide, but reſpect thou that wherein thou liueſt: whatſoeuer is eminent amiddeſt the places neere vnto thee, is great in that place where it is eminent. For greatnes hath no certaine meaſure; compariſon either extinguiſheth or depreſſeth it. The Ship which is great in the Riuer, is little in the Sea: the helme that to one ſhip is great, to another is little. Now in that Prouince where thou liueſt thou art great, although thou contemne thy ſelfe. It is both inquired of and knowne, both how thou ſuppeſt and how thou ſleepeſt. So much the more oughteſt thou to be more circumſpect in thy carriage. Then iudge thy ſelfe happie when thou canſt liue publiquely, when as thy roofe and walles may couer and not hide thee; which for the moſt part wee iudge to be builded about vs, not to the intent we may liue more ſafely, but to the end we may ſinne more ſecretly. I will tell thee a thing by which thou mayeſt eſtimate our maners, thou ſhalt ſcarcely find any man that can liue with an open doore. Our conſcience, and not our arrogance hath ſet a guard at our gates: ſo liue we that we eſteeme a ſudden eſpiall to be an actuall ſurpriſall. But what profiteth it a man to hide himſelfe, and to haue both the eyes and eares of men? A good conſcience challengeth the whole world, an euill is alwayes doubtfull and carefull, yea euen in the deſert. If thine actions be honeſt, let all men know them: if diſhoneſt, what skilleth it if no man know them, ſo thou know them thy ſelfe? O wretch that thou art, if thou contemneſt this witneſſe.

Epist. XLIIII.

An excellent Epiſtle. Let no man contemne himſelfe for his baſeneſſe of birth, if hee commeth vnto wiſedome, that is, to vertue. This onely enobleth.

ONce againe thou playeſt the coward with me, and ſayeſt that nature firſt; and after her, fortune haue beene contrarie and vnkind toward thee, whereas thou mayeſt exempt thy ſelfe from the common ſort, and obtaine the moſt high felicitie that may befall men. If ought elſe be good in Philoſophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or diſcent. If all men be reuoked to their firſt originall they are of the gods. Thou art a Romane Knight, and to this order thine induſtrie hath aduanced thee: but vndoubtedly there are diuers to whom the fourteene

teene degrees are cloſed. The Court admitteth not all men. The Campe likewiſe cannot without trouble, make choyſe of thoſe whom they entertaine for labour and trauell. A good ſpirit and intention is open to all men, to this we are all noble, neyther dooth Philoſophie reiect or elect any man, but ſhineth vnto all. *Socrates* was no *Patritian*: *Cleanthes* drew water, and imployed his handes in watering his Garden. Philoſophie intertained *Plato*, not ſo thorowly noble as ſhe made him. And what cauſe haſt thou to deſpaire, but that thou mayeſt be like vnto theſe? All theſe were thine aunceſtors, if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe worthy of them: and ſo ſhalt thou behaue and carrie thy ſelfe, if thou incontinently perſwade thy ſelfe that no man can out-ſtrip thee in Nobilitie. There are before vs as many as we are, and the originall of all very farre ſurpaſſeth our memorie. *Plato* ſaith that there is not any King that is not deſcended of a ſlaue, & that there is not any ſlaue which is not deſcended from Kings. All theſe things hath long varietie mingled together, and fortune hath turned topſie-turuie: Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well compoſed by nature vnto vertue. This onely is to be expected, otherwiſe if thou recalleſt mee to antiquitie, no man is not but from thence, before which nothing is. From the firſt beginning of this world vnto this day, the line of alteration hath deriued vs from noble to villeinies. It maketh not a Noble-man to haue his Court full of ſmoakie Images: no man liued for our glorie, neyther is that which was before vs, ours. The minde maketh the Noble-man, which from how baſe condition ſoeuer, enobleth vs to riſe aboue fortune. Thinke thy ſelfe therefore that thou art no Roman Knight, but a libertine. Thou mayeſt attaine this, that thou alone mayeſt be free amongſt libertines. But how ſayeſt thou, if thou diſtinguiſh not good and euill by the peoples iudgements? We muſt regard, not whence they come, but whether they goe. For if there be any thing may make the life happie, it is abſolutely good, becauſe it may not be depraued or turned into euill: what is it then wherein we erre? In this, that all who affect a happy life, take the inſtruments thereof for the thing it ſelfe; and whilſt they ſeeke the ſame, flie the ſame: for whereas ſolid ſecuritie is the ſcope of a bleſſed life, and the vnſhaken confidence thereof, they gather the cauſes of ſolicitude, and by a dangerous iourney they not only beare, but draw the burthens of life. Thus alwayes recoyle they farre from the effect of that they ſeek, and the more labour they imploy, the more are they intangled, and carried backward, which happeneth to thoſe that haſte them in a labyrinth, their very ſpeed intangleth them.

Epist. XLV.

That not many, but good bookes are neceſſarie to obtaine wiſedome. That the ancient vainly wrote ſome things ſuperfluous, ſome ſubtilly. Then againſt Cauillers and miſtaking of words. The matter, and the difference thereof is to be ſought for. Who is bleſſed, and what is truely good?

THou complaineſt thee of the want of bookes in thoſe parts where thou bideſt. It skilleth not how many, but how good thou haſt, a certain reading profiteth, & that which is full of varietie delighteth. He that will attaine to his predeſtinated ſcope, let him follow one way, and not wander in many, for this is not to go, but to erre. I had rather, ſayeſt thou, that thou gaueſt me bookes, then counſell, and

for mine owne part, I am readie to ſend thee wholly, if I haue, and to voide my whole ſtore, and I would tranſport my ſelfe vnto thoſe parts, if it were poſſible, and had I not a hope, that very ſhortly I ſhould accompliſh and ſet an end to thy endeuour, I had vndertaken the iorney in theſe mine old yeares, neither might *Charibdis*, *Scylla*, and this fabulous ſea affright me. I had not onely ſailed, but ſwomne ouer theſe ſeas, ſo as I might embrace thee, and being preſent with thee, eſtimated, how much thou wert encreaſed in thy courage. And whereas thou deſireſt, that my bookes ſhould bee ſent vnto thee, I eſteeme my ſelfe no more eloquent, for that then I would account my ſelfe faire, if ſo be thou ſhouldeſt require my picture of me. I know that this proceedeth from thy goodwill towards mee, and not from thy iudgement, and that affection hath entangled and deceiued thee, and not thy iudgement. But whatſoeuer they be, ſee thou reade them in ſuch ſort, as if as yet thou ſought the truth, but knew it not, but peremptorily ſought it. For I haue not ſeuerely tied my ſelfe to any, I beare the name of no man, I aſcribe much to the iudgement of great men, and challenge ſomething to my ſelfe. For they alſo left vs not things onely found by them, but alſo thoſe which remaine to be found, and peraduenture they had found out things neceſſarie, had they not ſought after the ſuperfluous. The cauillation of words, and captious diſputations, which exerciſe a vaine braine, ſtole much time from them. We weaue knots, and tie ambiguous ſignification to words, and then diſſolue them. Haue we ſo much leaſure? Know wee now how to liue, and how to die? Thither with all our mindes are we to addreſſe our ſelues, where prouiſion may be taken, that the things themſelues may deceiue vs, and not the words. Why diſtinguiſheſt thou vnto me the ſimilitudes of words, wherewith no man is euer caught, but when he diſputeth, the things themſelues deceiue vs, diſcerne them: we embrace euill things in ſtead of good, we wiſh contrarie to that we haue wiſhed, our vowes impugne our vowes, our counſels our counſels. How much doth flattery reſemble friendſhip? It doth not onely imitate the ſame, but it ouercommeth and outſtrippeth it: it is receiued with open and fauourable eares, and deſcendeth into the inward heart, gratious in that wherein it hurteth. Teach me how I may know this ſimilitude. There comes vnto me, in ſtead of a friend, a flattering enemie. Vices creepe vpon vs vnder pretext of vertues; temeritie lies hidden vnder the name of fortitude: moderation is called ſloth, a warie man is accounted fearefull. In thoſe things we erre with great danger; imprint certaine notes on theſe to make them knowne. But he that is demanded whether he hath hornes, is not ſo fooliſh to rub his brow; neither againe ſo fooliſh and beetle-headed, that he is ignorant that he hath none of thoſe hornes, which thou wouldeſt perſwade him to haue by a ſubtill collection of arguments. But theſe deceiue without damage; in ſuch manner as the boxes and lots of the Iuglers, in which the very deceit is a delight. Bring to paſſe that I may vnderſtand how it is done, I haue loſt the vſe. The ſame ſay I of theſe cauellings, for by what more fit name can I call Sophiſmes? Neither hurt they the ignorant, neither helpe they the vnderſtanding: verily if thou wilt take away all ambiguitie of words, teach vs this, that he is not bleſſed whom the common people tearmeth ſo, into whoſe hands great ſummes of money are gathered; but he, whoſe minde is all his goodneſſe, who is erect, vpright, high minded, and a contemner of thoſe things which other men wonder at, who ſeeth no man with whom he would exchange himſelfe, which eſtimateth a man onely in that part wherein he is a man, who vſeth Nature as his miſtreſſe, and is compoſed according to her lawes, and ſo liueth as

ſhe

ſhe preſcribeth. From whom no force can rauiſh his good, who turneth euill into goodneſſe, aſſured in his iudgement, vnſhaken, vndaunted: whom ſome power moueth, but none perturbeth; whom Fortune, when with her greateſt force, ſhe hath darted the moſt dangerous dart ſhe hath againſt him, pricketh, but woundeth not, and that very ſeldome. For all other weapons of hers, wherwith ſhe warreth againſt mankind, are as the haile which falleth on the houſeeues, it ſtriketh on them, without any incommoditie to the inhabitants of the ſame, and maketh a noice, and is diſſolued. Why detaineſt thou me in this, that thou calleſt thy ſelfe *Pſeudomenon*, (that is to ſay, a lyer) of whom ſo many bookes haue beene written. Behold, all my life is but lying, reproue thou it, reduce this to truth, if thou art ſo ſubtill. She iudgeth thoſe things neceſſarie, the greater part whereof is ſuperfluous, that likewiſe which is not ſuperfluous, hath no moment in it ſelfe, in this that it may make a man fortunate or b'eſſed. For if any thing be neceſſarie, it is not preſently good. And wee proſtitute goodneſſe and abuſe it, if wee attribute that name to bread and cakes, and ſuch like things, without which life cannot be maintained. That which is truely good is neceſſarie, but that which is neceſſarie is not preſently good, for ſome things are neceſſarie which are moſt abiect. There is no man that is ſo ignorant of the dignitie of goodneſſe, which comparingly will abuſe it with thoſe things that haue their laſting but for a day. What then? Wilt thou not imploy thy ſtudy and care to make manifeſt vnto euery man, and let them ſee, that with great loſſe of time a man ſearcheth for ſuperfluous and vnprofitable things; and that diuers haue ouerpaſſed their life, in onely imploying themſelues in ſeeking out the inſtruments of life. Looke into euery particular, and conſider the whole, there is no mans life, but is aimed at to morrow. Thou askeſt me what euill there is herein? Infinite, for they liue not, but are to liue, they deferre all things. Although we were circumſpect, yet life would outſtrip vs, and now when wee are ſtaied, ſhe commeth and ouergoeth vs, and is ended in the laſt day, and euery day periſheth. But leſt I ſhould exceed the meaſure of an Epiſtle, which ſhould not fill a mans left hand in reading. I will deferre this debate with the ouer-ſubtill Logitians till another time, who onely haue care of this, and not of that.

EPIST. XLVI.

He iudgeth of LVCILIVS *his Booke, and praiſeth it.*

I Haue receiued the booke which thou promiſedſt me, and as if I ſhould reade it ouer at leaſure; I opened it, and had onely a will to taſte it. But afterwards it ſo flattered and toled me on, that I thought fit to paſſe further, which how eloquent it is, thou mayſt cõiecture by this, it ſeemed ſhort vnto me, for that neither of thy time nor of mine, but at firſt ſight it ſeemed to be either *Titus Liuius*, or *Epicurus*: but with ſo much ſweetneſſe it detained and allured me, that without all delay I ouer-read it. The Sunne inuited me, hunger admoniſhed mee, the ſhower threatened me, yet did I reade it ouer, not ſo much delighted as gladded. And I would ſay vnto thee, what a wit hath this man? What a minde? What abilitie? If he had pawſed, if he had riſen by degrees. Now hath it not beene vehemencie, but a continuate forme, and a compoſition maſculine and holy,

holy, notwithſtanding there was a mixture of ſweetneſſe and grace. Thou art great and vpright, this courſe I aduiſe thee to; ſo proceed thou. The matter alſo did ſomewhat, therefore is it to be choſen fruitfull, that may rauiſh a mans minde and excite him. I will write more of thy booke when I haue reexamined it; but as yet my iudgement is not ſetled. I ſeeme but as one that hath heard it, and not ouer-read it. Suffer me likewiſe to make inquiſition. Thou needeſt not feare, thou ſhalt heare the truth. O happie man that thou art, that haſt nothing for which a man ſhould lie vnto thee from ſo farre off: but that (euen where the cauſe is taken away) we lye for cuſtomes ſake.

Epist. XLVII.

That we ought to behaue our ſelues, and liue with our ſeruants familiarly. That the error of his age was in their pride and contempt: yet that according to each mans diſpoſition and vertue, that the one and the other are either more freely or ſeuerely to bee handled.

I Haue willingly vnderſtood by thoſe that come from thee, that thou liueſt familiarly with thy ſlaues: this becommeth thy prudence, this is anſwerable to thy wiſdome. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thy companions. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thine humble friends. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thy fellow ſeruants. If thou knoweſt that Fortune hath as much power ouer the one, as ouer the other. I therefore laugh at thoſe that thinke it an abiect and baſe thing to ſup with their ſeruants: and why? But for that their ouerweening cuſtome hath enuironed the ſupping Lord with a troope of attending ſeruants. Farre more eateth he, then he digeſteth, and with an exceſſiue greedines loadeth hee his diſtended belly, that with greater labour hee may vomit vp all thoſe things, when with ſurfet he hath ingeſted them; but his vnhappy ſeruants haue ſcarce leaue to moue their lips, no not to this end, to ſpeake. Each murmure is ſtilled by the rod, and ſcarce caſuall things eſcape the whip, a cough, a ſneeſe, a hicket; a great penaltie is threatned, if by any ſpeech a renewed ſilence be interrupted: the liuelong night ſtand they faſting, and waite they mute. So commeth it to paſſe, that theſe ſpeake of their Lord, who in his preſence haue no libertie to diſcourſe. But they who had not onely libertie to ſpeake before their Maſters, but to conferre with them, whoſe mouth was not ſewed vp, were readie to hazard their heads for their Maſters, and turne their imminent perill on their owne neckes. At the banquets they ſpake, but in their torments they were ſilent. Furthermore, a prouerb of no leſſe arrogancie is publiſhed, That as many ſeruants we haue, ſo many enemies. We haue them not our enemies, but we make them. In the meane ſpace, I let paſſe many both cruell and inhumane things: that we abuſe them not, as men only, but as beaſts. That whereas we are ſet at ſupper, one wipeth away our ſpittings, and other crouching vnder the table, gathereth the reliques of the drunkards: another cutteth vp the deereſt fowle, and conueying his cunning hand thorow their breaſts and hinder parts, in certaine conceits of caruing, cut them in peeces: vnhappy he that liueth to this one thing, to cut vp wilde fowle decently. But that he is more miſerable, that for voluptuouſneſſe ſake teacheth this, then he that learneth it for neceſſitie. Another skinking the wine, attired after woman-like faſhion, ſtriueth with

with age: he cannot flie child-hood, yet is hee drawne backe, and now ſweete faced, his haires either ſhauen or pulled vp by the rootes, in his martiall habite attendeth and watcheth hee all night, which hee diuideth betwixt his Lords drunkenneſſe and luſt, and in the chamber is a man, and at the banquet a boy. Another to whom the cenſure of the ghueſts is permitted, attendeth vnhappie as he is, and expecteth thoſe, whom flattery or the intemperance either of their mouthes or tongues reuoaketh the next day. Ad to theſe, the Caterers, who haue a certaine and ſubtill knowledge of their Lords beſt liking; who know the ſauour of that meate, they hold beſt pleaſing to their appetite, what moſt affecteth their eye, what meate will quicken their loathing ſtomackes, when hee loatheth in his fulneſſe, what he longeth for that very day. With theſe he cannot abide to ſup, and thinketh it a diminution of his maieſtie, to ſit downe at the ſame table with his ſeruant. God forbid that of thoſe they ſhould find their maſters. I ſaw *Calliſtus* maſter attend at his doore, and him excluded amongſt many that entered, who had ſet him a ſeruile ſchedule on his breſt to be ſold, and had brought him forth to ſaile amongſt his moſt ridiculous and abiect ſlaues. That very ſlaue of his did him fauour, who was by him ſet to ſaile amongſt the moſt abiect ſirt rancke, fruitleſſely proſtituted by the Crier, baſely made vendible by the maſter, yea he himſelfe thought him vnworthy of his houſe. The Lord ſold *Calliſtus*: but how many things did *Calliſtus* ſell to his maſter? Wilt thou thinke, that he whom thou termeſt thy ſlaue, was borne of the ſame ſeed, enioyeth the ſame aire, equally breatheth, liueth and dieth as thou ſhalt? Thou mayeſt ſee him as noble, as he thee ſeruile. How many men did Fortune depreſſe in the Marian ſlaughter, of noble birth, and ſuch as after being thrice Tribunes were in election to be Senators? One of thoſe ſhe made a ſhepheard, the other the keeper of a Cottage. Contemne not the man of that fortune, into which thou mayeſt be transferred, whileſt thou contemneſt. I will not intrude my ſelfe into a large field of diſcourſe, and diſpute of the vſe of ſeruants, in reſpect of whom wee are moſt cruell, proud, and contumelious: yet is this the ſumme of my precept. So liue with thine inferiour, as thou wouldeſt thy ſuperiour ſhould liue with thee. As often as thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe what power thou haſt ouer thy ſeruant, bethinke thy ſelfe that ſo much power thy maſter hath ouer thee. But I, ſayeſt thou, haue no maſter, the better thy fortune, happily thou ſhalt haue. Knoweſt thou not in what yeares *Hecuba* began to ſerue, in what time *Craſſus*, in what time *Darius* mother, in what time *Plato*, in what time *Diogenes*? Liue with thy ſeruant kindly and courteouſly, vouchſafe him conference, admit him to counſaile, and conuerſation with thee. In this place the whole troope of theſe nice companions will crie out at me: There is nothing more baſe, nothing more abiect then this is. Theſe very ſame men will I finde kiſſing the hand of other mens ſlaues. See you not, that likewiſe how by this meanes our anceſtors withdrew all enuie from the maſters, all contumely from the ſeruants? They called the maſter the father of the houſhold, the ſeruants (which as yet continueth amongſt the Mimicks) his familiars. They inſtituted a holy day, wherein not onely the maſters feaſted with their ſeruants, but wherein beſide that, they permitted them to beare honor in their houſe, and to giue ſentence and iudgement, their houſe to be a little common-weale. What then? Shall I ſet all my ſeruants at my table? No more then all my children. Thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that I will reiect ſome of them, as deſtinated to a more ſeruile office, as that Muliter, and that Cow-keeper, I will not meaſure them by their offices, but by their manners. Each one giueth himſelfe

manners,

manners, caſualtie aſſigneth him miniſteries. Let ſome of them ſup with thee, becauſe they are worthy, ſome that they may be worthy. For if any thing bee ſeruile in them by reaſon of their ſordid cõuerſation, their liuing & conuerſing with thoſe that are better nurtured will ſhake it off. Thou art not, my *Lucilius*, onely to ſeeke thy friend in the Market-place, and in the Court, if thou diligently attend, thou ſhalt finde him in thy houſe alſo. Oftentimes a good matter ceaſeth without the work-man; trie and make experiment. Euen as he is a foole, who hauing a horſe to buy, looketh not on him, but on his furniture and bit; ſo is he moſt fond, that eſteemeth a man, either by his garment, or by his condition, which is wrapped about vs after the manner of a garment. Is hee a ſeruant? But happily a free man in minde. Is he a ſeruant? Shall this hurt him? Shew one that is not. One ſerueth his luſt, another his auarice, another ambition, another feare. I will ſhew you a man that hath beene Conſul, ſeruing an old woman. I will let you ſee a rich man ſeruing a poore maid: I will ſhew you the nobleſt yong men, the very bond-ſlaues of Players. There is no ſeruitude more foule, then that which is voluntarie. For which cauſe, thou haſt no reaſon that theſe diſdainfull fellowes ſhould deterre thee from ſhewing thy ſelfe affable to thy ſeruants, and not proudly ſuperiour. Let them rather honour thee, then feare thee. Will any man ſay that I call ſeruants to libertie, and caſt downe maſters from their dignitie, in that I ſay they ſhould rather honor their maſter then feare him? Is it ſo, ſaith he, ſhall they wholly honor thee as clients and ſauiours? He that ſaith thus, forgetteth that that is very ſmall to maſters, which is enough for God, who is worſhipped and loued. Loue cannot be mingled with feare. I therefore thinke, that thou doeſt moſt vprightly; if thou wilt not be feared by thy ſeruants, that thou vſeſt the chaſtiſement of words. Such as are dumbe are admoniſhed by ſtripes: euery thing that offendeth vs, hurteth vs not. But daintineſſe compelleth vs to outrage, ſo that whatſoeuer is not anſwerable to our will, prouoketh vs to wrath. Wee put vpon vs the mindes of Kings, for they alſo forgetfull of their own ſtrength, and other mens imbecilitie are ſo incenſed, ſo wrathfull, as if they had receiued an iniurie, from the perill of which thing, the greatneſſe of their fortune ſecureth them moſt; neither are they ignorant hereof, but they take occaſion of hurting by ſeeking it; they receiued an iniurie, that they might doe wrong. I will not detaine thee longer, for thou haſt no need of exhortation. Good manners haue this amongſt other things, they pleaſe themſelues and remaine. Malice is light, and is often changed, not to the better, but to another thing.

Epist. XLVIII.

That the ſame things are expedient for friends and that the one is profitable to the other. Then againſt captious cauils and difficult follies. What doe you? What play you? The queſtion is of life. Aſſiſt and forme it. Of fortune. Againſt her giue defence.

TO that Epiſtle of thine, which thou ſendeſt to me in my iourney, ſo long as the very iourney it ſelfe was, I will make anſwer. I muſt recreat my ſelfe, and looke about me what I counſaile. For thou alſo who counſelleſt me, diddeſt bethinke thee long, whether thou ſhouldeſt counſaile; how much more ought I to doe the like, whereas a longer reſpite is requiſit to diſſolue and anſwer thee, to propound the

the queſtion: verily one courſe is expedient for thee, another for me: once more ſpeake I like *Epicurus*. But to me the ſame is expedient that to thee, elſe am I not thy friend, except whatſoeuer is done that concerneth thee, be mine. Friendſhip maketh a mutuall interchange of all things betweene vs, neyther hath any one of vs in particular a felicitie or aduerſitie, but they are communicable to both. Neyther can any man liue happily who onely reſpecteth himſelfe, that conuerteth all things to his own profits: thou muſt liue vnto another, if thou wilt liue vnto thy ſelfe. This ſocietie both diligently and holily is to be obſerued, which mixeth all of vs together, and iudgeth that there is ſome one common right of humane race. It auayleth very much alſo to perfite that interior ſocietie of friendſhip, of which I ſpake. For he ſhall haue all things in common with his friend, that hath many things common with man. This would I haue taught me, O *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, by thoſe ſubtill Sophiſters, what I ought to performe vnto my friend, what vnto a man: then after how many manners a friend may be called, and how many this word man ſignifieth. Behold wiſedome, and folly are ſeparated diuerſly, to which doe I incline? to which part willeſt thou me to goe? To this Stoicke a man is a friend, to that Epicure a friend is not for a man: he getteth a friend for himſelfe, this other himſelfe for a friend. Thou wreſteſt my wordes, and diſtinguiſheſt ſyllables. Verily except I compoſe idle Interrogations, and by a falſe concluſion deriued from truth, I vnite a lie, I cannot diſtinguiſh thoſe things that are to be deſired from ſuch as are to be eſchued. I am aſhamed. In ſo ſerious a thing as this is, though olde, yet we trifle. Mouſe is a ſyllable; but Mouſe gnaweth the Cheeſe, *Ergo*, a ſyllable gnaweth the Cheeſe. Thinke now that I cannot reſolue this doubt, what damage ſhould this ignorance of mine doe me? What diſcommoditie? Doubtleſſe it is to be feared, leſt at ſometimes I ſhould catch the ſyllables in my Mouſ-trap, or that happily if I ſhould becom negligent, my Book ſhould eate the Cheeſe: vnleſſe happily that collection is more acute; Mouſe is a ſyllable, but the ſyllable gnaweth not the Cheeſe; the Mouſe therefore gnaweth not the Cheeſe. O childiſh triflings. For this cauſe haue wee humbled our browes? For this cauſe haue we lengthened our beards? Is it this wee teach both ſad and pale? Wilt thou know what Philoſophie promiſeth to humane kinde? It is counſaile. One man death calleth, another pouertie burneth, another man eyther his owne or other mens riches torment; this man is affraide and terrified at euill fortune, that man would withdraw himſelfe, and eſcape his felicitie, this man diſliketh men, that man the goddes: Why propoſeſt thou vnto me theſe toyes? There is no place of jeſting; the miſerable craue thy aſſiſtance. Thou haſt promiſed that thou wilt help ſuch as are ſhip-wrackt, captiue, poore, ſuch as ſubiect their heads to axe and block: whether art thou diuerted? what doeſt thou? The very man with whom thou jeſteſt is affraide. Yeeld ſuccours, whatſoeuer thou art more indued with eloquence, to the paines of ſuch as periſh. All of them, on euery ſide lift vp their handes vnto thee, and implore ſom help in their periſhed and decaying life, in thee is the hope, in thee the meanes. They beſeech thee to draw them out of ſo great turmoyle, that thou wouldeſt ſhew them that are ſcattered and wandring the cleere light of truth. Shew what nature hath made neceſſarie, what ſuperfluous, what eaſie lawes ſhe hath eſtabliſhed: how pleaſant and expedite the life of thoſe men is that follow them, how bitter and implicite theirs is, that haue beleeued opinion more then truth. What extinguiſheth theſe mens deſires? What temperateth them? Would to God they did but onely not profit. They hurt. This will I make

make manifeſt vnto thee when thou wilt, that a generous ſpirit is broken and weakned, being puzled with theſe ſubtilties. I am aſhamed to tel, what weapons it lendeth to thoſe, that are to warre againſt fortune, and how they ſuborne them. This is the way to the chiefeſt good, by this Philoſophicall exceptions are blacke, filthy, and infamous, yea euen to thoſe that are young Students: for what elſe doe you, when as wittingly you entangle him whom you aske, then that he might ſeeme to be non-ſuited: but euen as the Pretor wholly reſtoreth the one, ſo doth Philoſophie theſe. Why faile you in your great promiſes? and hauing promiſed mountaines, that you will bring to paſſe that the ſhining and brightneſſe of gold ſhall no more dazle mine eyes, then that of the ſword: that with great conſtancie I ſhould contemne and ſpurn at, both that which all men wiſh, and that which all men feare, deſcend you to the elements of the Grammarian? What ſay you, is this the way to eternitie? For this is it that Philoſophie promiſeth me, to make me like to God. To this I am inuited, to this end I came, performe thy promiſe. As much as thou mayeſt therefore my *Lucilius*, reduce thy ſelfe from theſe exceptions and preſcriptions of the Philoſophers. Open and ſimple things become honeſtie and goodneſſe. Although a better part of life were yet to be ſpent, yet muſt it now be ſparingly diſpenſed, that it may ſuffice for neceſſaries; now what madneſſe is it to learne ſuch vnneceſſarie things in ſo great ſcantling of time?

Epist. XLIX.

That by the ſight of a houſe called Pompey *the memorie of his* Lvcilivs *was renewed in him. Of the ſhortneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of time, that nothing is long or olde in it. By the way againſt the Logicians, and that all that ſort are onely to be looked on.*

AEe truly my *Lucilius*, is idle and negligent, who admoniſhed from any Region is reduced to the memorie of his friend; yet ſometimes familiar places ſummon and call forth the repoſed deſire in our minde, neyther ſuffer they the memorie to be extinguiſhed, but prouoke the ſame when it is pacified, euen as the griefe of thoſe that mourne, although for a time it be mitigated, eyther the familier admiſſion of a ſeruant, or a garment, or the houſe reneweth the ſame. Behold how *Campania*, and in eſpecial *Naples*, in the beholding of thy *Pompeis* it is incredible how liuing a memorie of thee it bred in me. Thou art wholly before mine eyes, euen then when I am moſt ſeparated from thee. I ſee thee ſupping vp thy tears, and inſufficiently reſiſting thy affections, breaking forth in their reſtraint. And now ſeem I to haue loſt thee; for what is not preſent, if thou remembreſt? Not long ſince I conuerſed being a child, with *Sotion* the Philoſopher; anon after I began to pleade cauſes; not long after I deſiſted from being willing to wrangle in them: now giue I ouer to haue power to follow them. Infinite is the ſwiftneſſe of time, which appeareth moſt to thoſe that looke backe: for to thoſe that intend the preſent, it deceiueth them, ſo light is the paſſage of her headlong flight. Doeſt thou demaund the cauſe hereof? Whatſoeuer time is paſt is in the ſame place, it is beheld at once, and at once is extinguiſhed, and all things from thence fall into the depth, & otherwiſe there cannot be long ſpaces in that thing which is wholly ſhort. It is but a point that we liue, and as yet leſſe then a point; yet nature hath diuided this leaſt vnder a certaine kinde of

longer

longer ſpace. Of this point he made one part infancie, another childe-hood, an other youth, another a certaine inclination from youth to age, another age it ſelfe. In how ſmall a ſtraight hath he placed ſo many degrees? Euen preſently doe I proſecute thee, and yet this preſent is a good portion of our age; whoſe ſhortneſſe let vs thinke on, will at laſt ſhew it ſelfe. The time was not wont to ſeeme ſo ſwift vnto me: now doth the courſe thereof appeare incredible, eyther becauſe I perceiue the end at hand, eyther becauſe I haue begunne to conceiue and ſumme vp my loſſe. And the more am I vexed, becauſe I ſee ſome lauiſh the greater part of this time in vanities, which ſcarcely can ſuffice for neceſſaries, although it were kept very diligently. *Cicero* denieth that if his age were doubled, he ſhould haue time enough to reade the Liriques; and in like ſort the Logicians. They are bitterly fooliſh. Theſe play the profeſſed wantons: they thinke that they doe ſomewhat. Neyther denie I but theſe may be looked into, but that they are onely to be looked into, and ſlightly ouer-paſt, to this only intent, leſt we ſhould be deceiued, & that we ſhould iudge that there is ſom great and ſecret good in them. Why doeſt thou torment and macerate thy ſelfe about that queſtion, which is more policie to contemne then ſatisfie? It is the worke of a ſecure man, and ſuch a one as erreth from his profite to make ſearch after trifles. When the enemie is hard at our heels, and the ſouldier is commanded to martch, neceſſity ſhaketh off all that which idle peace had recollected. I haue no leiſure to affect theſe equiuocating words, and make tryall of my craft in them.

Behold what armies martch, what walls,
What warre with cloſed gates.

This noyſe of warre ſounding on euery ſide, is to be heard by me with a mightie courage. I ſhould worthily be accounted mad in all mens eyes; if when as both olde men and women gathered and brought ſtones to fortifie the Rampire, when as the young men being armed within the gates, expected or required a ſummons to ſally, when the enemies armes were at the ports, and the very ground did ſhake with mines, if I ſhould ſit idle and employ my time in ſuch like queſtions. That which thou haſt not loſt thou haſt; thou haſt not loſt thy hornes, *Ergo*, thou haſt hornes, and ſuch like, faſhioned according to the tenor of this acute madneſſe. And no leſſe fooliſh ſhould I ſeeme vnto thee, if I ſhould imploy my ſtudies in theſe, whereas euen now I am beleagred: yet then a forrain perill ſhould threaten me being beſieged, the wall ſhould ſeuer me from mine enemie. Now death and danger is with me. Now haue I time for theſe toyes. There is a waightie buſineſſe in hand. What ſhall I doe? Death followeth me, life flieth. Teach me ſomewhat againſt theſe, bring to paſſe that I may not flie death and that life may not flie me. Teach me equanimitie againſt diſaſters, and diſtreſſe againſt ineuitable harmes, giue libertie to the ſtraightneſſe of my time. Teach me that the good of life conſiſteth not in the ſpace thereof, but in the vſe; and that it may be, yea, that it often falleth out, that he who hath liued longeſt hath liued a little or nothing. Tell me when I lie downe to reſt, it may be thou ſhalt not wake. Tell me when I am awake, it may be thou ſhalt not ſleepe any more. Tell me when I goe forth of doores, it may be thou canſt not return: Tell me when I returne, it may be thou canſt not goe out againe. Thou art deceiued, if thou thinkeſt that in ſayling only, that there is but the leaſt difference and ſeparation twixt life and death: in euery place there is as little diſtance. Euery where death ſhews not himſelfe ſo nigh, yet euery where is he as nigh. Shake

off theſe cloudes, and thou ſhalt more eaſily diſcouer thoſe things, to which I am prepared. Nature bred vs docible, and gaue vs imperfect reaſon, yet ſuch as may be perfected. Diſpute with me of Iuſtice & pietie, of frugalitie, of both ſorts of modeſtie, and of that that can abſtaine from anothers bodie, and this that hath care of his owne: if thou wilt not leade me the indirect way, I ſhall more eaſily attaine to that I affect. For as that tragicke Poet ſaith, *The ſpeech of truth is ſimple*: and therfore we muſt not implicate the ſame: for nothing is leſſe conuenient then is this ſubtil craft, to thoſe minds that labour after great mattters.

Epist. L.

That we are blinde in vices, or that we ſeeke a cloake for them. Yet that they are to be acknowledged, and that the remedies are to be ſought for; whence otherwiſe is the health of the minde deriued, which may likewiſe happen, euen to the moſt inueterate vices, becauſe he is eaſie to be bent, and Nature flieth vnto goodneſſe.

I Receiued the Epiſtle which thou ſenteſt me after many months. I thought it therefore an idle thing to enquire of him that brought the ſame, what thou diddeſt. For it is a ſigne of a good memorie, if he remembreth, and yet hope I that for the preſent thou liueſt ſo, that whereſoeuer thou art, I know what thou diddeſt. For what other thing ſhouldeſt thou doe, then that daily thou ſhouldeſt better thy ſelfe, that thou ſhouldeſt lay aſide ſome one of thine errors, that thou mayeſt vnderſtand that they are thine owne follies, that thou thinkeſt to be forraine. Some things aſcribe we to places and times, but they, whither ſoeuer wee tranſport our ſelues, will follow vs. Thou knoweſt, *Harpaſte*, my wiues foole, thou knoweſt that ſhe remained in my houſe as an hereditarie burthen. For I am much diſtaſted and diſguſted with thoſe prodigies, if at any time I wil take pleaſure in a foole. I neede not ſeeke farre off, I finde ſufficient matter of laughter in my ſelfe. This foole ſuddenly loſt her eye-ſight. I tell thee an incredible matter, but yet true: ſhe knoweth not that ſhe is blinde; oftentimes ſhe prayeth her gouernour to giue her leaue to walke abroad, ſhee ſaith the houſe is darke. This that ſeemeth ridiculous vnto vs in her, take thou notice, that it happeneth vnto vs all: no man vnderſtandeth that he is couetous, no man that he is auaritious; yet doe the blinde ſeeke a guide, but wee erre without a guide, and ſay: I am not ambitious, but no man can otherwiſe liue in Rome. I am not ſumptuous, but the Citie it ſelfe requireth great expence. It is not my fault that I am wrathfull, that as yet I haue not ſetled my ſelfe in a certaine courſe of life; it is youth that cauſeth this: Why deceiue we our ſelues? our euill is not extrinſecall, it is within vs, and is ſetled in our intrailes. And therefore doe we hardly recouer health, becauſe we know not that we are ſicke; if wee haue but begunne our cure, when ſhall we ſhake off ſo many plagues and ſickneſſes? But now ſcarce ſeeke we for the Phyſitian, who ſhould ſpend leſſe time and labour, if he were counſelled vpon the beginning of the diſeaſe. Tender and rude minds would follow him, directing them aright. No man is hardly reduced vnto Nature, but he that hath reuolted from her. Wee are aſhamed to learne a good mind, yet vndoubtedly it is a ſhameful thing to ſeeke a maſter in this matter. That is to be diſpaired, that ſo much good may caſually befall vs: we muſt take paines, and (to ſpeake vprightly) the labour is not great: if, as I ſaid, we begin to conforme and recorrect our mindes, before they be confirmed in wickedneſſe.

neſſe. Yet deſpaire I not of thoſe that are indurate. There is nothing that induſtrious labour and intent, and diligent care cannot compaſſe and impugne. Thou mayeſt ſtraighten the ſtiffeſt oakes, although crooked; heate ſtraightneth crooked beames, and ſuch as are otherwiſe faſhioned by Nature, are applied to that which our vſe exacteth. How farre more eaſily doth the minde receiue a forme, being flexible and pliant to any humour. For what other thing is the mind, then after a certaine manner a ſpirit. But you ſee that a ſpirit is by ſo much more facile then any other matter, by how much he is more thinne and delicate. That, my *Lucilius*, hath no reaſon to hinder thee from hoping well of vs, becauſe malice already hath hold of vs, that of long time it hath harboured with vs. To no man comes a good minde before an euill. We are all preoccupated in learning vertues, and forgetting vices: but therefore the more ardently muſt we endeuour our amendment, becauſe the poſſeſſion of a good once imparted to vs, is perpetuall; vertue is not forgotten. For the contrarie euils haue a forraine dependance, and therefore may be expelled and excluded, they are ſurely ſetled that ſucceed in their place. Vertue is according to Nature, vices are our enemies and infectors. But euen as receiued vertues cannot eaſily be diſpoſſeſſed, and their conſeruation is eaſie: ſo is the beginning to obtaine and aime at them very difficult, becauſe this eſpecially is the ſigne of a weake and ſicke mind, to feare things vnattempted. Therefore is the minde to be enforced, that it may begin: moreouer the medicine is not bitter, for it quickely delighteth, while it healeth. Of other remedies, there is a certaine pleaſure after health: Philoſophie is both wholeſome and pleaſing.

Epist. LI.

Somewhat of Etna, and more of Baiæ. And vpon this occaſion hee inueyeth againſt ſuch as are effeminated, and giuen ouer to their pleaſure. That this is to be driuen from vs, and that we are to warfare: againſt whom? againſt Pleaſure, Paine, and others. That he who doth ſo, doth good in ſerious and holy places, auoideth laſciuious things, or ſuch as are too delightfull.

EVen as euery one can, my *Lucilius*, thou haſt there *Etna* that noble Mountaine of Sicily, the which *Meſſala* called the only Mountaine, or *Valgius* (for in both of them haue I read thereof) why I finde not, when as many places vomit out fire, not only ſuch as are high, which oftentimes happeneth, becauſe that fire mounteth vpwards, but alſo ſuch as are low. We, howſoeuer we may, are content with *Baye*, which the very next day after I had viſited, I forſooke; a place for this cauſe to be auoided, although that hath certaine naturall endowments, becauſe ſuperfluitie hath made choice thereof her ſelfe, to celebrate the ſame. What then? Is there any place to be hated? No, but euen as ſome garment is more decent and comely for a wiſe and good man, then another; neither hateth hee any colour, but thinketh one more fit for him that profeſſeth frugalitie: ſo is there a region, which a wiſe man, or one that tendeth to wiſdome, declineth, as if eſtranged from good manners. Thinking therefore of his retirement, hee will neuer make choice of *Canopus*, although *Canopus* hinder no man from being frugall. Neither *Baiæ* likewiſe; they are begun to be the hoſtrie of vices. There Luxurie permitteth her ſelfe very much, there as if a certaine libertie were due

vnto the place that hath looſeneſſe. It behoueth vs to chuſe a place, not onely healthfull for our bodies, but for our manners. Euen as I would not dwell amongſt hangmen and torturers, ſo would I not liue amongſt victualing-houſes. What needeth it to ſee drunkards reeling vp and downe the ſhore, and the banquets of ſuch as ſaile, and the Lakes reeccoing the Conſent of ſongs, and other things, which laſciuiouſneſſe (as if freed from all reſtraint) not onely ſinneth in, but publiſheth? That ought we to doe, that we flie farre from the prouocations of vices. The mind is to be confirmed, and abſtracted farre from the allurement of pleaſures. One onely Winter weakened *Hannibal*, and the delicacies of *Campania* weakned that man, whom neither Snowes nor Alpes could otherwiſe vanquiſh: he conquered in armes, he was conquered by vices. Wee muſt likewiſe play the ſouldiers, and in ſuch a kind of ſeruice as neuer affordeth vs reſt, or euer giueth vs leaſure. Vices in eſpeciall are to be conquered, which (as you ſee) haue drawne the ſterneſt and cruelleſt wits vnto them. If a man propoſe vnto himſelfe, what a taske he hath vndergone, he ſhall know that nothing is to be done delicately or effeminately. What haue I to doe with thoſe hot pooles, with thoſe ſtoues in which a drie vapour is included to waſte our bodies? Let all ſwet breake forth by labour: if wee ſhould doe as *Hannibal* did, that interrupting the courſe of affaires, and neglecting warre, wee ſhould employ our ſelues in nouriſhing our bodies, there is no man but might iuſtly reprehend our vnſeaſonable ſloth, not onely dangerous for the conquerour, but for the conquered alſo? Leſſe is permitted vs, then thoſe that followed the Carthaginian warres, more danger impendeth ouer our heads, if we giue way, worſe alſo if wee perſeuere. Fortune wageth warre with mee, I will not obey her, I receiue not her yoake, nay more, (which with greater courage I ought to accompliſh) I ſhake it off. The minde is not to be mollified. If I giue place to pleaſure, I muſt be ſubiect to griefe, ſlaue to labour, ſeruant to pouertie; both ambition and wrath will haue the ſame priuiledge ouer me: amongſt ſo many vices I ſhall be diſtracted, or rather diſmembred. Libertie is propoſed. for this reward doe we labour. Thou askeſt me what libertie is? To ſerue nothing, no neceſſitie, no fortunes; to keepe Fortune at ſtaffes-end. That day I vnderſtand my ſelfe, that I can more then ſhe may, ſhe can nothing. Shall I ſuffer her when as death is at hand? To him that intendeth theſe thoughts, retirement both ſerious and ſanctified, ought to be ſought for and choſen. Too much pleaſantnes effeminateth the minde, and vndoubtedly the contrary may doe ſomewhat to corrupt the vigor. Thoſe cattell eaſily trauell in any way, whoſe hoofes are hardned on the craggie wayes: ſuch as breed in the rotten and ſoggie paſtures, are quickly wearied. The ſouldier exerciſed on the mountaines, returneth more hardie, the citizen and home-bred is recreant. Thoſe hands refuſe no labour that are transferred from the plough to the pike. The anointed and nice ſouldier endureth not the firſt ſhock. The ſeuerer diſcipline of the place firmeth the courage, and maketh it more apt to attempts. *Scipio* was more honeſtly a baniſhed man at *Liternum* then at *Bayas*. His ruine is not to be planted in ſo effeminate a place. And they alſo to whom at firſt, and in eſpeciall the fortune of the Roman people tranſlated the publike Riches, *Caius Marius*, *Cneius Pompey*, and *Ceſar* builded certaine Manor-houſes in the region of *Bayas*, but they planted them on the tops of the higheſt mountaines. This ſeemed more warlike, from an eminent place to behold the low countrie farre and neere. Behold what ſituation they choſe, in what places, and what they builded; & thou ſhalt know that they were in camping places, and not in houſes of pleaſure.

Thinkeſt

Thinkeſt thou *Cato* would euer dwell in *Vtica*, to the end he might number the adulterers that ſaild by him, and to behold ſo many kinds of boats painted with diuers colours, and the roſes floating ouer the whole lake, that he might heare the night-brawles of ſuch as ſing? Had he not rather beene within his Trench, which in one nights ſpace he had digged, & cauſed to be incloſed, why ſhould it not better pleaſe him? Whoſoeuer is a man had rather be awakened from ſleep by the Trumpet, then a melodie or conſent of voyces. But long enough haue we contended about *Baias*, but neuer enough with vices, which I beſeech thee my *Lucilius*, perſecute beyond meaſure, and without end; for neyther haue they end or meaſure. Caſt from thee what ſoeuer tormenteth thy heart, which if they could not be drawn out otherwiſe, thy heart were to be pulled out with them. Eſpecially driue from thee pleaſures, and hold them in greateſt hatred, after the manner of thoſe theeues whom the Egyptians call *Philetæ*; to this end they kiſſe vs, that they may kill vs.

Epist. LII.

That we are vncertaine in the truth, and haue neede of helpe and direction. But that ſome are more eaſily guided and formed; then other ſome according to their nature. But to the intent that thou mayeſt be formed, make thy choyce out of the ancient, and the preſent. Yet flie pratlers, ambitious, and ſuch as affect applauſe.

WHat is this *Lucilius*, that, when we intend one way, draweth vs another, and forceth vs thither from whence we deſire to flie? What is that which wraſtleth with our minde, and permitteth vs not to will any thing once? We wauer twixt diuers counſailes, we will nothing freely, nothing abſolutely, nothing alwayes. It is a folly (ſayeſt thou) he that is conſtant in nothing, is not long pleaſed with any thing. But how, or when ſhall we withdraw our ſelues from theſe? No man is able to accompliſh it of himſelfe; ſome man muſt lend a helping hand, ſome one muſt bring vs out. Some, ſaith *Epicurus*, contend vnto truth without any mans helpe, of theſe, that he made himſelfe his owne way. Theſe prayſeth hee moſt: that had power of themſelues, that aduanced themſelues: that ſome want forraigne helpe, and are not like to goe, except ſome one conduct them, yet are willing to follow. Of this ſort he accounteth *Metrodorus*. And this alſo is an excellent, but a wit of the ſecond rancke. We are not of the firſt number, it ſufficeth vs if we be receiued into this ſecone rancke: neyther contemne thou that man that may be ſaued by another mans meanes; for it is a very great matter to haue a will to be ſaued. Beſides theſe, as yet thou ſhalt finde another ſort of men, and they not to be contemned, namely, they that may bee enforced and compelled to the right, who haue not onely neede of a guide but a helper, or to ſpeake more properly, a compeller. This is the third kinde. If thou ſeeke an example hereof; *Epicurus* ſaith that *Hermachus* was ſuch a one, therefore gratulateth hee more the one, and admireth the other. For although both of them obtayned one and the ſame end, yet the praiſe is greater, to haue performed the ſame in a more difficult matter. Suppoſe that a man hath builded two houſes, both equall, a like high and magnificent, the one of them planted on a firme foundation, whereon the worke is ſuddenly raiſed, the other on an vncertaine and falſ ground, where we ought to digge deep, and imploy infinite pains

before wee light on firme land. In the one all appeareth in ſight, that hath beene builded: in the other the better and more difficult part is hidden. Some wits are facile and expedite, ſome are (as they ſay) to be faſhioned by the hand, and to be exerciſed and occupied in making their owne foundation: therefore account I him more happie, that hath had no buſineſſe with himſelfe, and him likewiſe to haue deſerued beſt of himſelfe, that hath ouercome the malignitie of his nature, and hath not ledde himſelfe, but forcibly drawn himſelfe to wiſedome. Thou muſt know that this hard and troubleſome trauell is forced on vs. We trauell a way full of dangers: let vs therefore combate & call for aſſiſtance. Whom ſayeſt thou ſhall I cail vpon, that or this man? For thine owne part, I counſaile thee to returne vnto the firſt, that haue now no more to doe: for not onely they of this time, but thoſe that haue beene our predeceſſors may aſſiſt vs. And amongſt thoſe that liue, let vs chuſe, not them that diuide and precipitate many wordes with great volubilitie, and turne ouer common places, and that in priuate are moſt courted: but thoſe whoſe liues are our inſtructions, who when they haue told vs what is to be done, approue the ſame by their actions who teach that which is to be eſchued, and are neuer ſurpriſed or found guiltie in doing that, which they haue forbidden to be done. Chooſe him for thine aſſiſtant, whom thou admireſt more when thou ſeeſt him, then when thou heareſt him: neyther therefore forbid I thee to heare them likewiſe, whoſe cuſtom it is to admit the people, and to diſpute, if ſo be they expoſe themſelues to communitie to this intent, that they may amend themſelues & make others the better, prouided they exerciſe not this for ambition ſake. For what is more baſe then Philoſophie, that ſearcheth the fauours and acclamations of the people? Doth the ſicke man praiſe the Phiſitian that launceth him? Be ſilent, fauour and offer your ſelues to the cure. Although you yeeld me acclamations of honor, I will not otherwiſe heare you, except you ſigh at the touch of your ſinnes. Wil you haue it teſtified, that you are attentiue, and are moued with the greatneſſe of things? You haue free libertie; why ſhould I not permit you to iudge, and giue your voyce to that which you thinke beſt? Vnder *Pythagoras*, his ſchollars remained fiue yeares without ſpeaking: thinkeſt thou that it was lawfull for them incontinently to ſpeake and praiſe? But how great is his folly, whom the applauſes of the ignorant diſmiſſe with ioyfulneſſe out of the auditorie? Why art thou glad, becauſe thou art praiſed by thoſe men, whom thou thy ſelfe canſt not praiſe? *Fabianus* declaymed before the people, but he was heard with modeſtie. Sometime a great acclamation was raiſed of thoſe that praiſed him; but ſuch as the greatneſſe of the things prouoked, and not the ſound of a diſcourſe ſmoothed & fluent. There is ſom difference betwixt the applauſe of a Theatre, and of the Schooles. There is ſome libertie alſo in prayſing. There are alwayes ſome markes and ſignes of thoſe things that are diſcouered. And a man may likewiſe gather an argument of anothers manners, euen in the ſlighteſt things. The gate, the carriage of the hand, and ſometimes one onely anſwer, or the finger dallying with the head, or the bent of the eye diſcouereth the impudencie of a man. A man knoweth a wicked man by his laughter, and a mad man by his countenance and habite. For theſe things are outwardly ſhewed by certaine ſignes. Thou ſhalt know what euery one is, if thou conſider how he is praiſed. On euery ſide the auditor applaudeth the Philoſopher with his clapping, and all this troupe that admireth him, ſitteth aboue his head; now is not this man praiſed, if thou vnderſtandeſt it, but whooted at. Let theſe applauſes be reſerued to thoſe artes that haue a purpoſe to pleaſe the people, let Philoſophie be adored.

red. A man may giue sometimes leaue to young men to vse this heate of spirit, but they will doe this out of violence, when they cannot command themselues silence. This manner of praise serueth sometimes for some exhortation to the auditors, and animateth the mindes of young men. But better were it they should be moued with matter, then with painted wordes. Otherwise eloquence would but endanger them, if it should rather procure a desire of it selfe then of matter. I will speake no more for the present: for it desireth a proper and long discourse and execution, to know how a matter is to be handled before the people, what is permitted him by them, what them by him. It is not to be doubted, but that Philosophie hath lost much after it is prostituted, but she may be shewed in her most retired abode, if one day she finde not a Merchant banckier, but some honest Prelate.

Epist. LIII.

He describeth his Nauigation and tossing on the Seas, by occasion that we are tossed in our liues, but that very few know and confesse their owne faults. Philosophie will teach and excite. Let vs giue our selues vnto it, she will make vs equall with God.

WHat cannot I be perswaded vnto, who haue beene perswaded to saile? I set saile in a calme Sea, yet vndoubtedly the skie was ouer-charged with darke cloudes, which for the most part eyther are resolued into water, or into winde. But I thought that so few miles betwixt thy *Parthenope* to *Puteoli* might easily and quickly be cut ouer, although the skie were doubtfull and dangerous. To the end therfore that I might more swiftly finish my iourny, I put out forthwith to sea, and shaped my course for *Nesida*, without bearing by the creeks: when I had passed so farre already, that I cared not whether I went forward or returned; first, that equalitie of heauen that perswaded me to saile, was ouer-blowne; as yet it was no tempest, yet begun the Sea to rise, and the surges to swell and beate one another. Then began I to require the Master to set me on some shoare. But he told me, that the shoars of the sea were dangerous, and vnfit to land at, and that he feared nothing more in a tempest then to beare vp for land; yet was I so tormented that I remembred not my selfe of any danger: for a certaine languishing desire to vomit, that prouoked but preuailed me nothing in emptying my stomacke: it pained me infinitely, which stirred but voyded not choller. I therefore importuned the Master so, that will he nill he, I compelled him to beare for the shoare; whereto when we somewhat neered, I expect not to do any thing that *Virgil* commandeth, that the Prow of the Ship should be turned towards the Sea, or that the Anchor should be let slip into the Sea; but remembring my selfe of that I was accustomed to doe, I cast my selfe into the water, couered in a Veluet mantle, as they are wont who wash themselues in colde water. What thinkst thou I suffered, whilst I striue to escape these perrils, whilst I seek, whilst I make a way thorow these dangers? I know well, not without cause, that Marriners feared the land. They are incredible things that I suffered, considering that I could not support my selfe. Learne this of me, that the Sea was not so incensed at the birth of *Vlysses*, that it should cause ship-wracke in all places. He vomited easily. For mine owne part I had rather remaine twenty yeares vpon my way, then passe by Sea to any place. As soone as I had recouered my stomacke

macke (for thou knoweſt well that in leauing the Sea a man loſeth not his deſire to vomit) and for my recreation had annoynted my bodie, I began to bethinke my ſelfe, how great forgetfulneſſe of our ſinnes followed vs, not onely of vices, which becauſe they are more great, keepe themſelues hidden, but alſo of the vices of the bodie, which at all times draw vs into remembrance of them. A light alteration may well deceiue ſome one man; but when it is augmented and groweth to be a burning feuer, it cauſeth the moſt ſtrong and endurate perforce to confeſſe the ſame. Our feet greeue vs, the ioynts feele ſome little ſhootings; we diſſemble as yet, and ſay that it is ſome ſtraine, or that we haue freed our ſelues too much in doing ſome exerciſe. We are much troubled what to call our infirmitie, which is not as yet knowne, but when it beginneth to ſwell vp our anckles, we are enforced to ſay it is the goute. It falleth out farre otherwiſe in regard of thoſe ſickneſſes which ſeize our ſoules. For the more that anie one is ſick, the leſſe ſenſible is he of the ſame. Thou muſt not wonder deere *Lucilius* hereat: for he that ſlumbreth ſlightly, and dreameth in ſome ſort during his repoſe: ſometimes in his ſleeping thinketh that he ſleepeth; but a profound ſleepe extinguiſheth dreames alſo, and drowneth the mind more deeply, then that it permitteth the ſame to make vſe of any her intellectiue faculties. Why doth no man confeſſe his faults? Becauſe he is as yet plunged in the ſame. It is the part of one that is awake to ſhew his dreame, and it is a ſigne of amends for a man to confeſſe his faults. Let vs awake therefore, to the end wee may blame and correct our errours. But onely Philoſophie muſt quicken vs, ſhe only muſt ſhake off our heauie ſleepe. To her onely dedicate thy ſelfe, thou art worthy of her, & ſhe worthy of thee, embrace and latten on another, denie thy ſelfe conſtantly and openly to all other things. Thou canſt not Philoſophie without taking ſome paynes: if thou wert ſicke thou wouldeſt giue ouer the care of thy whole family, and neglect thy forraine buſineſſe; there is no friend ſo deere vnto thee, whoſe cauſe thou wouldeſt deſire to pleade. All thy care and coſt ſhould be to recouer thy health ſpeedily. What then, wilt thou not now doe the like? Lay aſide all impediments, and thinke on nothing, but how to make thy ſoule more perfect, no man commeth vnto her that is occupied or diſtracted. Philoſophie vſeth ſoueraigne power as a King, ſhe giueth time, and taketh it not: ſhe is no ſecondarie care but will be ſerued ſeriouſly; ſhe is a Miſtreſſe, ſhe is preſent and commandeth. *Alexander* to whom a Cittie promiſed to giue a part of their lands and the halfe of all their goods: I am come, ſaith he, into *Aſia* with this reſolution, not to take that which you will giue me, but that you ſhould enioy nothing elſe, but what I leaue you. Philoſophie vſeth the like authoritie in all things. I will not, ſaith ſhee, accept that time that you haue to come, or haue reſerued contrariwiſe: you ſhall haue none, but which I wil giue you. Addreſſe thy whole minde vnto her, be alwayes neere vnto her, giue her all the honour thou canſt; there will be a great difference betwixt thee and others. Thou ſhalt farre exceed all mortall men, and the gods ſhall but very little ſurpaſſe thee. Wilt thou know what difference there is betwixt them and thee? They ſhall continue more long. But truely it is the honour of a good worke-man to finiſh his taske ſpeedily. A wiſe-man is as content with the ſpace of his life, as God is of all the time of his eternitie. Some thing there is wherein a wiſe-man exceedeth God; God is not wiſe but by the goodneſſe of his nature, and the wiſe-man is by his owne. It is a maruellous thing to haue the frailtie of a man and the ſecuritie of a God. Incredible is the force of Philoſophie, to repell all the forces of fortune. There are ſome ſorts of armes that can conquer

This accordeth to the prouide doctrine of Stoicks but is a lie to the high Throne of heauen to whom we owe.

quer her. She is couered with thicke and maſſiue armour, ſhee wearieth ſome things that combat her, and like light darts, receiueth them with her open breſt, ſome ſhe ſhaketh off, and darteth them backe on him that caſt the ſame.

Epist. LIIII.

That he was troubled with often ſighing, and thereupon thought on death. That it is not to be feared, becauſe that we ſhall be the ſame after death, that we were before. Let vs be prepared.

MY ſickneſſe, that had giuen me a long truce and intermiſſion, ſuddenly inuaded me. After what manner, ſaieſt thou? Truely thou haſt reaſon to aske mee, for there is not any one ſort, but that I haue beene ſenſible of it: yet am I, as it were, deſtituted to one ſickneſſe, which why I call by the Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called a ſickneſſe. It continueth a very little time in his violence; which is like vnto a guſt, and paſſeth away almoſt in an houre. For who is he that continueth long time a dying? All the dangers and ſickneſſes that may trauell a bodie, haue paſſed by mee, no one of them ſeemeth more troubleſome vnto me: and why? For in all other euils whatſoeuer, a man is but ſicke, but this is death it ſelfe. And therefore the Phyſitians call it the meditation of death. The ſhortneſſe of breath will at length effect that, which it hath often endeuoured to doe. Thinkeſt thou that I write this vnto thee with great ioy, becauſe I haue eſcaped? If to this end that I tooke delight to be in health, I doe as ridiculouſly as he, that thinketh himſelfe diſmiſſed of the ſuite, when he hath deferred his putting in baile to the actiō: yet in the very ſuffocation intermitted, I ceaſe not to comfort my ſelfe with ſome pleaſing & confident cogitations: What is this (ſay I?) Doth death come ſo often to aſſaile mee? Let him doe it hardly. For mine owne part, it is a long time I haue proued it. When was it (ſayeſt thou?) Before I was borne, it is a death not to be that it was before. I know alreadie what thing it is, that ſhall be after my death, which was before my birth: if a man feele any torment therein, it muſt needs follow, that we had ſome ſenſe thereof before we came into this world; but then felt I no vexation. I pray you, ſhould he not be a great fool, that ſhould think that a candle were more vnhappy after it were extinguiſhed, thē before that it was light? So faireth it with vs, we are lightned, & extinguiſhed; betwixt both theſe times we ſuffer ſome things. But before and after is a certaine and profound aſſurance of our euils. For in this, my *Lucilius*, we erre, except I be deceiued, in that we iudge death to follow; wheres it goeth before, and is like to follow. Whatſoeuer was before vs, is death? For what difference is there whether thou beginneſt not, or whether thou endeſt; the effect of both theſe is not to bee. With theſe and ſuch like ſilent exhortations (for ſpeake I might not) I ceaſed not to talke vnto my ſelfe, at length by little and little, this ſighing which began alreadie to returne to be a breathing, took more long pauſes, and hauing more libertie, kept his accuſtomed tune and proportion. Neither as yet, although the fit be ceaſed, hath my breath his naturall courſe. I feele a certaine touch and hanging on thereof. Let him doe what he will, prouided that I ſigh not in my ſoule; aſſure thy ſelfe thus much of mee, that when I ſhall find my ſelfe at the laſt gaſpe, I will not be aſtoniſhed. I am alreadie reſolued, I care not when the day com-

commeth. Praiſe and imitate him that is not aggrieued to die, when as he hath the greateſt occaſion to reape the pleaſures of life. For what vertue is it to iſſue out, then, when thou art caſt out? yet is there a vertue herein. True it is, that I am driuen out, but ſo it is as if I iſſued voluntarily. And therefore a wiſe man is neuer driuen out; for to be driuen out, is to to be caſt out of a place in ſpight of a mans teeth: but a wiſe man doth neuer any thing perforce, he flieth neceſſity, becauſe he willeth that which ſhe may conſtraine.

Epist. LV.

Of the Manor-houſe of Vatia, *and of* Vatia *himſelfe. Then of good and euill Leaſure. Likewiſe that friends may and ought to be preſent in minde.*

When I returne hence from my cariage and exerciſe in my chaire, I am for the moſt part no leſſe wearie, then if I had walked ſo long time, as I was ſitting: for it is a labour to be long time carried, and I know not whether in that it be more great, becauſe it is againſt Nature, which gaue vs feete, that we might walke by our ſelues, eyes, that we might ſee by our ſelues. Daintineſſe hath cauſed this infirmitie in vs, and that which we would not, long time we haue deſiſted to be able to do: yet had I need to trauell my bodie, and to doe exerciſe, to the end, that if I had either choller ſtayed in my throat, I might diſcuſſe the ſame, or if my breath by any cauſe were growne ſhort, I might extenuate the ſame by this agitation, which I haue knowne to haue done me much good: and therefore cauſed I my ſelfe to bee carried more long time, for the pleaſure that I tooke vpon the ſhoare, which ſhooteth out a certaine abutment or bowing land, betwixt the towne of *Cumæ* and *Seruilius Vatia* his Lordſhip, encloſed as a ſtrait paſſage betweene the ſea, which is on the one ſide, and the lake which is on the other, becauſe at that time it was more hard and more thicke, by reaſon of the tempeſt which had raigned a little before. And as thou knoweſt when the billowes of the raging flouds couer the ſame very often, the ſands become more full and vnite, but a long calmie time cauſeth them to relent, and diuideth the ſand which was hardened by the water, after the humour hath beene wholly dried: yet according to my cuſtome I began to looke about me, if I could find any thing in that place that might breed me any profit, and I addreſſed my ſight vpon a country houſe which had in times paſt pertained to *Vatia*. There it was, where that rich man, who in times paſt had beene Pretor, and had neuer beene knowne by any other meanes, but for retiring himſelfe thither, ſpent his later yeares, and was for this cauſe reputed happie. For as often as *Aſinius Gallus* friendſhip, as often as *Seianus* hatred or fauour had drowned ſome men, (for it was as dangerous to haue offended him, as to haue loued him) all men cried out, O *Vatia*, thou art the only man that knoweſt how to liue; & yet he knew but how to hide himſelfe, but not to liue. Truely there is a great difference, whether thy life be idle or ſlothfull. I neuer paſſed by this houſe of *Vatia*, but that I ſaid *Vatia* is enterred heere. But Philoſophie, my *Lucilius*, is a thing ſo ſacred and venerable, that if there be any thing that reſembleth it, it pleaſeth in the deluſion. For the common ſort ſuppoſe, that a man that is retired from the Citie, to liue in repoſe, is full of aſſurance and contentment: and that he liueth but to himſelfe, all things, both the one and the other, cannot but befortune, and attend a wiſe man. True it is that

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the wiſe man careth not for any thing, and that he knoweth how to liue vnto himſelfe. For (that which is the principall good) he knoweth how to liue. For he that flieth both from men and affaires; he whom the miſerie of his ambitions hath baniſhed out of the Citie, that cannot ſee any more happie then himſelfe, that like a fearefull and ſlothfull creature, hath been hid for feares, he liueth not to himſelf, but that which is more loathſome & diſliking, he liueth to his belly, his ſleepe and his luſt. He liueth not to himſelfe, that liueth to no man; yet conſtancie and perſeuerance in our firſt deſignes, is a thing ſo valued, that obſtinate idleneſſe retaineth and hath ſome authoritie alſo. Touching the building it ſelfe, I can ſpeake or write thee nothing certaine, for I onely know it outwardly, and by the ſhow it maketh to all paſſengers. There are are two caues of marueilous workmanſhip, alike with ſpacious entrance, and builded by hand, the one whereof neuer admitteth the Sunne, and the other is filled with his reflections vntill he ſet. There is a place planted with Plane-trees, in the middeſt whereof there runneth a brooke, that falleth afterwards into the ſea, and into the lake of *Acherniium*, and it diuided is as an *Euripus*, ſufficient to nouriſh much fiſh, although a man take them daily: but it is ſpared when the ſea affordeth good fiſhing time, and when as a tempeſt reſtraineth the fiſher-men: each one may catch and fiſh them eaſily. But the greateſt commoditie that is in this houſe, is that it hath behind the wals thereof, the *Bayas*, and that being exempt from all the incommodities thereof, it pertaketh all the pleaſures and delights of the ſame. I my ſelfe on my knowledge can giue it this commendation, that I beleeue it to be a place fit to be inhabited all the yeare long. For it is oppoſite againſt the Weſt-winde, and intercepteth it ſo conueniently, that it hindereth it from blowing vpon *Bayas*: not inconſiderately, as it ſeemeth, did *Vatia* make choice of this place, in which he might beſtow his idle time, and old age; yet very little or nothing doth place profit to the tranquillitie of the ſpirit, it is the minde which commendeth all things, I haue ſeene ſome liue penſiue and melancholie in their houſes of pleaſure: I haue ſeene otherſome liue in ſolitarie places, as if they had much buſineſſe. Wherefore thou art not to thinke, that therfore thou art little at thine eaſe, becauſe thou art not in *Campania*: but why art thou not? ſend thy thought hither: Thou mayeſt conferre with thine abſent friends, yea as often, and as long as thou wilt, then moſt of all enuie we this pleaſure (which is the greateſt) when wee are abſent. For preſence maketh vs wantons, and becauſe that we conferre together, that we walke together, and that at ſometimes we ſit together; ſo ſoone as we are departed one from another we remember them no more, whoſe preſence we haue loſt of late. And for this cauſe ought we not to bee grieued with the abſence of our friends, for there is not one, that is not farre abſent from them, euen in their very preſence: if thou wilt firſt of all recount the nights, wherein thou art ſeparated from them: the diuers occupations that both one and the other haue; the ſecret ſtudies, the goings and commings out of the Citie; and thou ſhalt ſee that the time, which long voyages make vs looſe, is not ouer-great. A friend is to be poſſeſſed in minde: ſhe ſeeth alwaies him whom ſhe will ſee. And therefore I pray thee ſtudie with me, ſup with me, and walke with me: we ſhould liue in a miſerable reſtraint, if any thing were hidden from our thoughts. I ſee thee, my *Lucilius* then with moſt content, when I heare thee. I am ſo truely with thee, that I am' in doubt whether I ſhould begin to write, not Epiſtles, but bookes vnto thee.

Epist. LVI.

That a ſetled minde enioyeth it ſelfe, and intendeth his ſtudies, yea euen amiddeſt the preſſe of men. This teacheth me by his example. That inward ſilence and peace is more to be wiſhed for. Furthermore, that ſloth is euill, and the mother of deſires.

LEt me die, if ſilence be as neceſſarie, as it ſeemeth to him that is retired to his ſtudie. Behold what different cries ſound about me on euery ſide, I am lodged euen ouer the bathes. Repreſent vnto thy ſelfe now all ſorts of voyces, that may draw the eares into hatred of them: when the ſtronger ſort doe their exerciſes, when they ſpread their hands loaden with leade, when either they trauell, or imitate him that labo reth, I heare their groanes. As ſoone as they haue giuen libertie to their retained breath, I heare their wheefings and waightie breathings. When a man falleth into the hands of an vnmannerly ſot, that taketh vpon him to annoint men, and is content to ſerue them, as he would doe any one of the inferiour people, I heare the ſtroake of his hand that ſtriketh them on the ſhoulders; which according as hee layeth it on, either flat or hollow, changeth his ſound. But if perchance he that caſteth the balles annointed with pitch to nouriſh the fire vnder the baynes, commeth in, and that he beginneth to reckon them, all is loſt. Count him likewiſe that cleanſeth the ordures, and the theefe taken in the act, and he alſo that taketh pleaſure to heare his voice ring in the bath. And likewiſe to this number thoſe that with a full leape, and with a great ſhout, caſt themſelues into the bayne. Moreouer, put them in this rancke, who at the leaſt, if they doe no other thing, haue their voices and words ful-mouthed; as him that draweth the haire from the arme-pit, that inceſſantly breatheth forth a ſmall and trembling voice, to the end hee may be the better noted amongſt the reſt, that neuer holdeth his peace, but at ſuch time when he riddeth the arme-pits of haire, to ſome one whom he conſtraineth to crie for him. A man heareth afterward an infinite crie of Cake-ſellers, of Saudſige-mongers, and crackling Merchants, and all the Cookes skullions, who ſell their meate, euerie one of them with their proper tune, to the end they may be the better marked. O how iron a braines is thine (ſayeſt thou) O how deafe art thou, if thy ſpirit be not troubled, amidſt ſuch dimme, and diuerſitie of cries, ſince our *Chryſippus* fell downe almoſt dead, to heare the good-morrowes which men gaue him in ſaluting him. For mine owne part, I honeſtly ſweare vnto thee, that I care as little for all theſe cries, as for the flouds or fall of a riuer; although that I haue heard ſay, that a people was conſtrained, for this only cauſe, to go and rebuild their citie in another country, becauſe they could not endure the fall which the noiſe of *Nilus* made. In my opinion, words diſtract a man more then noyſes. For words diſtract the minde, and noiſe doth no other thing but fill and beate the eare. Amongſt thoſe that make a noiſe, but diſtract not my ſpirit, I place thoſe coach-men and ſmithes that hire my ſhop, the lock-maker my neighbour, and he that dwelleth neere to the Temple of peace, when hee trieth his Trumpets and Hant-boyes, and who not only ſingeth, but exclaimeth. The noice likewiſe more troubleth me that is intermitted, then that which is continued. But I am now in ſuch ſort hardened to all this, that I can now heare a Captaine of a Gally, when he teacheth his Gally ſlaues with a ſterne voice, how to manage their oares. For I compell my mind to be intentiue to it ſelfe, and

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not to be diſtracted by exterior things. Let whatſoeuer voice be made exteriorly, prouided there be no debate in my ſoule, prouided that deſire and feare in me are not at oddes, prouided that auarice and prodigality haue not any quarrell together, and that the one maketh not warre againſt the other. For what auaileth it vs to haue ſilence round about vs, if the paſſions of the minde ſtorme and be diſtempered.

Night couered all compos'd to quiet reſt.

This is falſe, there is no peaceable ſleepe, but when as reaſon engendreth it. It is the night that repreſenteth vnto vs all our troubles, in ſtead of drawing them from vs, and doth nothing but change our cares. For the dreames of thoſe that ſleepe are as troubleſome vnto them, as is the day. That is true tranquillitie, on which a good and holy ſoule may repoſe. Marke me him that ſeeketh for his ſleepe in a large and ſpacious houſe, and how to prouide that no noiſe offend his eares: all the troope of his ſeruants keepe ſilence and are ſtill, and how they that would approach his bed, lift vp their feete, and ſet them ſoftly on the ground. Truely he doth nought elſe but turne and toſſe this way and that way, he taketh but a ſlight reſt, intermixed with diſcontents of the minde, hee complaineth that he heareth that which he heareth not. What thinkeſt thou is the cauſe hereof? It is a tumult that is engendred in his ſoule, that it is, which hee ſhould appeaſe, it is the ſedition of the minde that ſhould bee extinguiſhed, which thou muſt neuer ſuppoſe to haue quiet reſt, although thy bones be laid to reſt. Repoſe ſometimes as without repoſe. It ſhall be therefore requiſite for vs to awake our ſelues by the managing of ſome affaires, and to occupie our ſelues, in the ſearch of good arts and ſciences, when we perceiue that the ſourge of idleneſſe (which cannot endure it ſelfe) doth ouerwhelme vs. The greateſt Generals of armies, at ſuch time as they perceiue that their ſouldiers doe grow diſobedient, they make them martch, to keepe them in obedience, and cauſe them to vndertake ſome ſudden onſlaught. They that haue buſineſſe, haue no leaſure to waxe wanton. It is a thing moſt certaine, that there is nothing that more confoundeth thoſe vices, which are engendred by idleneſſe, then trauell and occupation doth. We ſeeme very often to haue retired our ſelues out of the Citie, by reaſon of our diſtaſte for the euer managing of publike affaires, and for that we repent our ſelues, that we haue ſo long time remained in a place, where we receiue nothing but miſeries and diſpleaſures. And yet notwithſtanding, in that verie caue, into which our feare and wearineſſe hath caſt vs, our ambition reuiueth and flouriſheth. For it is not wholly loſt, it is only wearied, it is onely repulſed, ſeeing the affaires grew not anſwerable to his expectation. As much ſay I of prodigalitie and lauiſh expence, which ſeemeth ſometimes to be retired, and commeth afterwards to ſollicite thoſe anew, who haue reſolued with themſelues to liue ſoberly and wiſely, and in the middeſt of their thrift ſhe reaſſumeth thoſe pleaſures (which ſhe had not wholly condemned, but onely left for a time) with a force as much more violent, as ſhe is couertly hidden. For thoſe vices which appeare outwardly are much leſſe dangerous, and infirmities themſelues begin to take remedie, when they appeare in ſight, and manifeſt their venome. Make account therefore, that auarice, ambition, and thoſe other euill paſſions which trauaile our ſoules, are more pernicious, when we faine our ſelues to be healed, and to haue loſt them. We ſeeme to be idle, and we are not. For if it were true that we are, if we had ſounded retreate to retire

our ſelues from vices, if wee haue contemned that which ſeemeth to bee faire in outward appearance, as I haue ſaid a little before, there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither ſong of birds nor muſicke of men that may croſſe our holy thoughts, when they ſhall alreadie be firmed and aſſured. That wit is ſlight, and as yet ſcarce well retired into it ſelfe, that admireth at the bruite of euery ſmall accident. He hath ſome care hidden in his ſoule, and ſome feare that maketh him penſiue; and as our *Virgil* ſaith,

And me whom erſt no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troopes for courage once improu'd,
Now euery winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my ſleepes, and breedes my ſudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me ſurpriſe,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewiſe.

The firſt of theſe is wiſe, and is not daunted with the darts that are ſhot againſt him, neither with the threatning armes of a great ſquadron of the enemie, nor with the out-cries of a Citie diſturbed with ſedition. But the other is an ignorant ſot, he is afraid to loſe his goods, he is affrighted at the firſt noiſe he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the leaſt motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongſt all theſe rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou ſhalt ſee that he is alwaies in feare, both for thoſe that he beareth with him, as for thoſe that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well compoſed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy ſelfe, not at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it ſhall make a noiſe in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their ſlanders? I confeſſe it. Therefore is it that I would retire my ſelfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exerciſe my patience. What needeth it a man to ſuffer himſelfe to be tormented a long time, if *Ulyſſes* haue found ſo eaſie a remedie for his companions, againſt the Sirens themſelues?

Epist. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault and the horror there. Then that our firſt motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the tenuitie and celeritie of the minde.

WHen I would depart from *Baias* to returne to *Naples*, I eaſily beleeued that we ſhould haue a tempeſt, becauſe I would no more trauaile by ſea: but there were ſo many ſlowes all the way long, that a man might iuſtly imagine that I had iourneyed by water. I was enforced that day to ſuffer all the fatallitie of the wreſtlers. For after we had beene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with duſt in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that priſon, nothing more obſcure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cauſe that we ſaw not through the darkneſſe, but darkeneſſe themſelues; neuertheleſſe, although the place had light in it, yet the duſt which is likewiſe as troubleſome and diſpleaſant

diſpleaſant in open aire, would obſcure the ſame. What thinkeſt thou then that it ſhould be in this Vault, where after it is raiſed like a tempeſt, encloſed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on thoſe that haue raiſed it. We haue ſuffered two great and contrary commodities, in the ſame way, and the ſame day, we haue beene tormented with dirt and with duſt. Yet this obſcuritie gaue me ſome fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great ſhake and feareleſſe change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing ſo vnaccuſtomed, and the loathſomeneſſe of that place had cauſed. I ſpeake not now with thee of my ſelfe, who am farre ſhort of a man entirely perfect, but yet of a tollerable taught man. I ſpeake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for that other would change both colour and courage. For there are certaine paſſions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admoniſheth him that he is mortall. And therfore he will, frown at the firſt cauſe of ſorrow; he will tremble for feare at a ſudden accident; his ſight will bee troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountaie, he behold the huge and vaſte depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall paſſion, which reaſon cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that ſome valiant men, and moſt readie to ſhead their owne blood, that cannot endure to ſee another mans. Some that cannot behold a freſh wound, and otherſome that ſwound, with onely touching an old and mattery ſore; and others that are afraid to ſee a naked ſword drawne in ieſt, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I tould thee, not an aſtoniſhment, but a change. Againe, as ſoone as we came vnto the light, a ſudden ioy ſurpriſed me, without thinking of that. Then began I to ſay in my ſelfe; how without cauſe wee feare ſomethings more, ſomethings leſſe, although the end of all of them be alike. For what difference makeſt thou, whether the ruine of a tower, or of a mountaine, fall vpon a ſentinel? Thou ſhalt find none: notwithſtanding there are ſome that will feare more the fall of the tower, although both of them be powerfull enough to make them die: becauſe feare apprehendeth more the effects, then the cauſe that engendreth them. Thou thinkeſt (it may be) that I will ſpeake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the ſoule of a man, which is ſtifled and cruſhed vnder a great ruine, cannot iſſue, but that ſhee diſperſeth her ſelfe incontinently, becauſe ſhe might not eſcape freely. But I do not; and they that ſay ſo are very much deceiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, becauſe it flieth and retireth it ſelfe, with that which drieueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a ſtroake, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but ſpreadeth it ſelfe round about the bodie, to which it maketh place: So the ſoule, which is the ſubtilleſt and pureſt thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her ſubtiltie, ſhee glideth thorow all that which preſſeth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blaſted an houſe, departeth thorow a very little hole: So that ſoule which is farre more ſubtill then fire, paſſeth and penitrateth thorow all ſorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing aſſured, that if it ſuruiue the bodie, that conſequently it cannot periſh by any meanes whatſoeuer, becauſe it may not periſh. For there is not any immortalitie, that is ſubiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing alſo which may hurt that which is eternall.

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Epist. LVIII.

That certaine late wordes are now out of vse. He passeth to the Phisiques, and sheweth how manifolde Ens *or Being is out of* Plato. *He fitteth it to the Ethnick, and that nothing here is the same, or perpetuall. Then what vse can subtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euery thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neyther is to be wished or refused.*

NEuer had I better knowledge of the pouertie, or, to speake truely, the indigence which we haue of wordes, then I haue at this day. A thousand things happened when as casually we spake of *Plato*, which wanted or had not their names, and some which had, and some that through our delicacie had lost that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that disgust in so great pouertie? That Ox-flie which the Grecians call *Oestrum* that stingeth and chafeth beasts, and scattereth them in the Forrests, our Latines called *Asilus*. Thou mayest well beleeue *Virgil:*

And those Ox-flies that in great troupes do flie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or to Siler wood;
The which in Roome Asilus signifie,
And by the Greekes for Oestrum vnderstood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell stray
Amidst the Forrests scattered with dismay.

I thinke that he vnderstood that this word was wholly lost. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were some simple words in vse, as when they said amongst themselues *Cernere ferro inter se*, that is to say, to determine their quarrels betwixt themselues by armes. The same *Virgil* shall proue this,

And King Latinvs *too amazed stands*
To see two men both borne in forraine landes,
In seuerall Angles of this mighty frame,
Could thus assembled meete, and ioyne their hands,
To trie their right by sword, and winne the same.

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to say as Decide. The vse of this simple word is lost. Our ancestors said *Si iusso*, that is to say, *Si iussero*, which signifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleeue me. Heerein *Virgil* is a faithfull witnesse;

Let all the other troupes
Which I command come after to the fight.

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may shew how much time I haue lost after the Grammarians, but that thou mayest vnderstand this, how many wordes a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are rustie and out-worne, since those of *Virgil* himselfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in some sort lost vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, sayst thou?

Where-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My desire is (without offensing thine eare) to say *Essensed*; if not, I will neuertheless say it, although I should displease thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no shame to imitate, author and approuer of this word; whose example and authoritie I thinke is sufficient. If thou art desirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vsed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profession, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a stile full of sharpenesse and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neateneesse of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet sometimes disgusteth with too much affectation. What should I doe my *Lucilius?* How should I call this Greeke word οὐσία, that is to say, Essence, or Existence, or Being, or Substance? A thing so necessarie, contayning in the vnderstanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philosophers both auncient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vse this word. Yet wil I make vse of the libertie thou hast giuen me to vse this word, most sparingly; & will not vse it but vpon necessitie, when no other word will so perfitly explicate the sense: and it may be that I will not vse it all, but content my selfe with the priuiledge onely. But whereto shall this facilitie of thine serue me, considering that I cannot in any sort expresse this word in Latine, which is the cause that I haue so much exclaimed against our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou shalt finde there is a syllable which I cannot translate. Askest thou me what it is, τὸ ὄν, which is as much to say as That which is. Thou mayest suppose me to be grosse witted, and imagine it a very easie matter to be done, and that a man may translate that after this maner, and say, *Quod est*, That which is. But there is a great difference betweene them. For I am constrayned to vse a Verbe for a Noune; and if I must needs giue one, I will say *Quod est*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge tolde me this present day, that *Plato* gaue sixe significations to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, so soone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* also: for first of all we ought to seeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kindes doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuisions proceede, and vnder whom all is compriſed. But this shall we finde out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we shall ascend and attaine vnto the first. A man, as *Aristotle* saith, is a kinde, a horse is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteth together all these things, and comprehendeth them all in himselfe; and what shall this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all those I named of late; of a man, of a horse, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a soule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing most certaine that seedes and trees haue soules; and therefore we say that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then shall holde the highest place, because that all things which haue life and sense are vnder this forme, yea, seedes also. Some things want a soule, as stones. Some things therefore shall be more high and greater then such as are liuing creatures, that is to say a bodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may say that all bodies are animated or inaminated: and notwithstanding all this, there is something more high then a bodie. For we say that there are somethings corporeate, and other incorporeate: what then shall that be from whence these are deduced? That it is too much, we haue heretofore assigned a name improper enough.

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Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell ſtray
Amidſt the Forreſts ſcattered with diſmay.

I thinke that he vnderſtood that this word was wholly loſt. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were ſome ſimple words in vſe, as when they ſaid amongſt themſelues *Cernere ferro inter ſe*, that is to ſay, to determine their quarrels betwixt themſelues by armes. The ſame *Virgil* ſhall proue this,

And King Latinvs *too amazed ſtands*
To ſee two men both borne in forraine landes,
In ſeuerall Angles of this mighty frame,
Could thus aſſembled meete, and ioyne their hands,
To trie their right by ſword, and winne the ſame.

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to ſay as Decide. The vſe of this ſimple word is loſt. Our anceſtors ſaid *Si iuſſo*, that is to ſay, *Si iuſſero*, which ſignifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleeue me. Heerein *Virgil* is a faithfull witneſſe;

Let all the other troupes
Which I command come after to the fight.

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may ſhew how much time I haue loſt after the Grammarians, but that thou mayeſt vnderſtand this, how many wordes a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are ruſtie and out-worne, ſince thoſe of *Virgil* himſelfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in ſome ſort loſt vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, ſayſt thou?

Where-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My desire is (without offending thine eare) to say *Essensed*; if not, I will neuertheless say it, although I should displease thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no shame to imitate, author and approuer of this word; whose example and authoritie I thinke is sufficient. If thou art desirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vsed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profession, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a stile full of sharpenesse and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neatenesse of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet sometimes disgusteth with too much affectation. What should I doe my *Lucilius?* How should I call this Greeke word οὐσία, that is to say, Essence, or Existence, or Being, or Substance? A thing so necessarie, contayning in the vnderstanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philosophers both auncient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vse this word. Yet wil I make vse of the libertie thou hast giuen me to vse this word, most sparingly; & will not vse it but vpon necessitie, when no other word will so perfitly explicate the sense: and it may be that I will not vse it all, but content my selfe with the priuiledge onely. But whereto shall this facilitie of thine serue me, considering that I cannot in any sort expresse this word in Latine, which is the cause that I haue so much exclaimed against our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou shalt finde there is a syllable which I cannot translate. Askest thou me what it is, τὸ ὄν, which is as much to say as That which is. Thou mayest suppose me to be grosse witted, and imagine it a very easie matter to be done, and that a man may translate that after this maner, and say, *Quod est*, That which is. But there is a great difference betweene them. For I am constrayned to vse a Verbe for a Noune; and if I must needs giue one, I will say *Quod est*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge tolde me this present day, that *Plato* gaue sixe significations to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, so soone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* also: for first of all we ought to seeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kindes doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuisions proceede, and vnder whom all is comprised. But this shall we finde out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we shall ascend and attaine vnto the first. A man, as *Aristotle* saith, is a kinde, a horse is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteth together all these things, and comprehendeth them all in himselfe; and what shall this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all those I named of late; of a man, of a horse, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a soule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing most certaine that seedes and trees haue soules; and therefore we say that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then shall holde the highest place, because that all things which haue life and sense are vnder this forme, yea, seedes also. Some things want a soule, as stones. Some things therefore shall be more high and greater then such as are liuing creatures, that is to say a bodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may say that all bodies are animated or inaminated: and notwithstanding all this, there is something more high then a bodie. For we say that there are somethings corporeate, and other incorporeate: what then shall that be from whence these are deduced? That it is too much, we haue heretofore assigned a name improper enough.

That which is: for ſo will it be diuided into *Species*, if we ſay, That which is, hath eyther a bodie or is incorporate. So here then is the firſt Gender & the higheſt, and if I ſhould ſay ſo, the generall; the reſt, to ſpeake truth are Genders, but they are *Speciats*, as a man is a *Genus*. For he contayneth vnder him the kindes of Nations, Greekes, Romanes, and Parthians; and of colours, as white, blacke, and redde. There are alſo ſome particulars, as *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Lucrece*. For this cauſe when he containeth diuers things vnder him, he taketh the name of a Gender, and when he is contained vnder any other he is called a *Species*. But that Gender which is generall hath nothing aboue it ſelfe: it is the beginning of all things. All whatſoeuer is, is vnder the ſame. The Stoicks would place another Gender aboue this as more principall, whereof I will ſpeake anon, ſo ſoone as firſt of all I haue made manifeſt this, that the Gender whereof I haue ſpoken, ought in right to be placed in the firſt ranke, ſince in it ſelfe it comprehendeth all things. I diuide That which is, into theſe kindes; that is to ſay, into corporeall and incorporeall: for there is no third. But how ſhall I make diuiſion of the bodie? I muſt ſay, that eyther they are animated, or inanimate. Againe, how diuide I things animated? I will ſay that ſome haue vnderſtanding, other ſome haue but a ſoule: or rather thus; ſome haue motion, walke or paſſe, ſome others are tyed to the earth, and are nouriſhed and increaſe by their roots. Againe, into what kindes ſhould I diſtinguiſh liuing creatures? Eyther they are mortall, or immortall. Some Stoicks ſuppoſe the *primum Genus* to be *Quid*; but why they ſo think I will hereafter ſet downe: In nature, ſay they, there are ſome things which are and are not, and that nature comprehendeth thoſe things which are not, and preſent themſelues to our vnderſtanding, as are Centaures, Giants, and all other ſuch things; which being formed by a falſe imagination, begins to haue ſome Image, although they haue no ſubſtance. Now returne I to that which I promiſed thee, that is to ſay, how *Plato* hath diuided al things that are in ſix ſorts. That firſt, *Which is*, a man cannot comprehend eyther by ſight or touch, or by any other ſence. That which is generall is but in imagination. As a man in generall is not ſeene by the eye, but a particular man is, as *Cicero* and *Cato*. A liuing creature is not ſeene, but is onely comprehended in the vnderſtanding; yet are the kindes thereof ſeene, as a horſe and a dogge. Of things which are, *Plato* putteth for the ſecond Gender, that which is called eminent, and ſurpaſſeth all other. He ſaith that this is in way of excellencie. As a Poet is a common name, for all they that make Verſes are ſo called. But now amongſt the Greekes this word ſignifieth but one, and when thou ſhalt heare them ſay Poet, thou muſt vnderſtand that it is *Homer*. What is it then that thou wouldeſt ſay? It is God who is the greateſt and the moſt powerfull of all other things. The third kinde is of thoſe things which are proper, and theſe are innumerable, but they are alſo placed out of our ſight. Askeſt thou me what they are? They are *Platoes*, proper implements, and moueables, he calleth them *Ideas*, of which all things which we behold are made, and to which all things are formed. Theſe are immortall, immutable, and inuiolable. Heare I pray you what *Idea* is, and what *Plato* thinketh of it. It is a patterne, and eternall moulde of all things, which are made by nature: yet will I adde an interpretation to this definition, to the end the matter may more plainly appeare vnto thee, I haue a will to make thy picture. Thou art the patterne of my picture, of which my mind gathereth ſome habit, which he will delineate in his worke. So that face which teacheth and inſtructeth me, and from which I deriue my imitation, is *Idea*. Nature then, the mother of all things, hath an infinitie of theſe patternes, as of men, of fiſhes, of trees, on which is drawne and

expreſt all that which ſhe ought to doe. The fourth place is giuen to an Image. But it behoueth thee to be very carefull in vnderſtanding what this Image is, and that thou lay the blame on *Plato* and not on me, as touching the difficultie of things. Yet is there nothing that is ſubtill, which is not accompanied with difficultie. Not long ſince I vſed the compariſon of the Image which a Painter made. He when in colours he would paint *Virgil* to the life, beheld him. *Virgils* face was the *Idea*, and the patterne of his intended worke; but that which the Painter hath drawne from that viſage, and that which he hath painted on his table is εἰδωλον, that is to ſay, an Image. Askeſt thou me what difference there is? The one is the patterne, the other the figure, drawne from the patterne, and put vpon the worke: the one is that which the Painter imitateth, and the other is that which he maketh. A ſtatue that repreſenteth a man, hath ſome face that is εἰδωλον, which is as much to ſay, as an Image. The patterne it ſelfe alſo hath ſome face, on which the worke-man in beholding it, hath formed his Image, and that is the *Idea*. Askeſt thou as yet another diſtinction? εἰδωλον, that is to ſay, an Image is the worke which is made, and the *Idea* is out of the worke, and is not only out of the worke, but it is before that the worke was. The fift Gender is of thoſe that are commonly, and they begin to appertaine vnto vs. There it is where all things are both men, and beaſts, and all other things. The ſixth Gender is of thoſe things that ſeeme to be, as voyde and time, *Plato* numbreth not amongſt theſe that which we ſee and touch, becauſe they feete, and paſſe, and haue no being, but in a continuall diminution and adiection. There is no one of vs that in his olde age is that which he was when he was yong. No one man is the ſame in the morning which he was in the euening, before our bodies are rauiſhed and rouled after the manner of Riuers. All that which thou ſeeſt runneth with the courſe of time, nothing is permanent whatſoeuer we ſee. I my ſelfe, whilſt I ſay that theſe things are changed, am changed my ſelfe. This it is that *Heraclitus* ſaith, we neuer deſcend two times into the ſame riuer: the ſame name of the Riuer remayneth, but the water is ſtolne by. This is more manifeſt in a riuer then in a man; yet doth a no leſſe current carrie vs away. And therefore maruell I ſo much at our follie, that we can ſo heartily loue the bodie, which is a thing ſo ſubiect vnto flight, and that we haue feare to die ſome day, ſince euery moment is a death of the firſt eſtate, wherein we were. Wilt thou feare that, that ſhall be once done, which is daily don? I haue ſpoken of a man, which is a matter fraile, perriſhable, and ſubiect to all accidents of fortune. But the world alſo, although it be eternall and inuincible, yet is it ſubiect to changes, and remaineth not in the ſame eſtate. For although as yet it hath all that which it euer had, yet hath it the ſame otherwiſe then it had it, and changeth his order. What ſayeſt thou, ſhall this ſubtilty profite me? If thou aske, I will anſwer thee nothing. But euen as the Grauer, after he hath held his eyes ſo long time fixed on his worke, that they are wearied, fauoreth and recreateth them, or, as we are wont to ſay, repoſeth them: ſo likewiſe ought we ſometimes to recreate our ſpirit, and refect the ſame with ſome delights prouided that theſe recreations be workes. Amiddeſt which, if thou take good heede, thou ſhalt finde ſomething that may be wholſome. This my *Lucilius*, am I wont to do. In all things wherin I imploy my ſelfe, although they be far eſtranged frō Philoſophie, I endeuour to draw ſome profit wherof I may make vſe. But what profit can I take from this Diſcourſe that I haue now intertained, ſo eſtranged from reformation of manners? How can theſe *Ideas* of *Plato* make me better? What ſhall I draw from theſe that may reſtraine my deſires? At leaſtwiſe I ſhall learne that *Plato* denieth, that nothing

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of that which ſerueth our ſenſualitie, that heateth and prouoketh vs, is of the number of thoſe things that are really. Theſe things then are imaginarie, and beare ſome appearance for a time: there is nothing in them that is firme and aſſured; and notwithſtanding we deſire them as if they ſhould be alwayes durrable, and continually permanent with vs. We are wearied and feeble, and linger for a time in the way. Let vs fixe our mindes on thoſe things that are eternall: let vs admire the formes of all things that flie on high, and how God conuerſing amongſt them, and prouiding for all conſerueth that againſt death which he could not make immortall becauſe the matter hindered him, and how by reaſon he might ſurmount the vices of the bodie. For all things remaine, not becauſe they are eternall, but becauſe they are defended by the care of him that gouerneth them. Immortall things neede no conſeruer or tutor, the work-man that made them, maintayneth them, ſurmounting by his vertue the frailtie of the matter. Let vs contemn al theſe things which are not ſo pretious, that it is to be doubted whether they be at all. Let vs thinke alſo by the ſame means, that if the diuine prouidence freeth and keepeth this world (which is no leſſe mortall then we are) from all perils and dangers, that we likewiſe may by our prouidence lengthen out a litle time, and prolong life in this little bodie of ours, if we can bridle and moderate our pleaſures, by meanes whereof the greater part of men are loſt. *Plato* himſelfe by a diſcreet gouernement, of himſelfe hath attayned to olde age. He had a ſtrong and able bodie, and men gaue him that name by reaſon of the broadnes of his breaſt; but his voyages by Sea, and thoſe dangers he had paſſed, had very much diminiſhed his forces: yet his ſobrietie and the moderation of thoſe things which call on, and prouoke voracitie, and the diligent gouernment of himſelfe; the manie others cauſes hindered him, continued to his olde age. For thou knoweſt this as I thinke, that this befell *Plato* by reaſon of the benefite of his diligence, that he departed on his birth-day, and finiſhed the race of foure-ſcore and one yeares without any deduction. And therfore it was that certaine *Magi*, who by fortune were in the Cittie of *Athens* at that time, ſacrificed vnto him after his death, ſuppoſing that his nature was more excellent then that of other mens, becauſe that he had iuſtly attained the moſt perfect number of life, which nine times nine accompliſh. I doubt not but that he was readie to remit ſome few daies of this ſumme, and ſacrifice. Frugalitie may lengthen olde age, which in my opinion, as it is not to be deſired, ſo is it not to be refuſed. It is a matter of great contentment for a man to be with himſelfe as long as he may, and eſpecially when he hath made himſelfe worthie to enioy the ſame. Neerely approcheth he the nature of a coward, that ſlothfully expecteth the laſt houre of his life: as he is beyond all meaſure addicted to wine, who after he hath drunke all the wine out of the tunne, would ſwallow downe the lees likewiſe. Yet will we notwithſtanding diſpute further whether the laſt part of our age be the lees of our life, or whether it be the moſt pureſt and liquideſt part of our age, prouident that the ſoule be not any wayes enfeebled, and that the ſenſes be as yet entire for the ſeruice of the ſame, and that the bodie be not deſtitute of his forces, and halfe dead before his time. For it auayleth much whether a man prolong his life, or linger his death. But if the bodie be in ſuch ſort vnprofitable, that it cannot any longer performe his functions; why ſhould not a man draw his ſoule out of priſon, that doth but languiſh? Peraduenture it were the beſt to doe it the ſooneſt that a man might, leſt when it ſhould be done thou canſt not doe it. And whereas there is a greater danger of liuing badly, then of dying quickly: he is a foole the which the price of the loſſe

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of a little time will not redeeme the hazard of a great inconuenience. Few men hath long age brought to death without iniurie. And diuers men haue ouerpaſſed their life time idlely, without doing any thing. But why ſhouldeſt thou eſteeme him more cruell to loſe ſome part of life, which muſt likewiſe take an end? Be not diſpleaſed to vnderſtand that which I ſay, as if this ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt thee; but iudge thou of that which I ſay. I wil not abandon mine olde age, if ſhe reſerue me wholly vnto my ſelfe. I ſay wholly in reſpect of that part which is the beſt. But if ſhe haue begun to trouble mine vnderſtanding, or to ruinate ſome part, or that ſhe hath not left me my life, but my ſoule: I will depart out of this ruinous and rotten houſe: I will not flie a ſickneſſe by the remedie of death, prouided that it may be healed, and that it breed no damage to my ſoule: I will not kill my ſelfe, to make an end of my paine; for it is as much as to be vanquiſhed, to die after this manner: yet if I knew that I ſhould endure the ſame, all the reſt of my life, I would depart from it, not by reaſon of the griefe, but for that it would hinder me from doing all things for which a man deſireth to liue. A man is a recreant, and of little courage that dyeth to eſcape from paine. He is a foole likewiſe that liueth to feele nothing but paine. But I am ouer-long, there is matter beſides which cannot be expreſſed in a day. But how might he make an end of his life, that cannot make an end of his letter? Farewell then: for thou wilt reade theſe later words more willingly, then the other diſcourſes which intreate of nothing but death.

Epist. LIX.

The difference betwixt voluptuouſneſſe and ioy, and that this is an honeſt word. Then praiſeth he Lvcilivs *his ſtile, and that a Philoſopher likewiſe is not to neglect words: and that parables and ſimilitudes are to be loued, yet that we are ſeriouſly, and not ſlightly to ſtudie Philoſophie, neyther muſt we pleaſe our ſelues quickly, ſince flatterie confoundeth vs.*

I Haue read thy Letter with great pleaſure, permit me, I pray thee, to vſe theſe common words; neyther reuoke them to the Stoicks ſignification. We beleeue that pleaſure is a vice. Put caſe it be; yet are we wont to vſe this word to expreſſe an affection of ioy in our ſoules. I know well, I tell thee, that pleaſure (if we will that our wordes be aymed to our own purpoſe) is an infamous thing, and that ioy cannot happen but to a wiſe-man. For ioy is a certaine lifting vp of the minde, that truſteth to his proper goods and forces. Yet commonly we ſpeake thus, and ſay that we haue conceiued a great ioy of ſuch a mans Conſulate, or of ſome marriages, or of our wiues bringing to bed, which are not ſo certaine ioyes, but that oft-times they are the beginnings of future ſadneſſe. But true ioy hath this benefite to accompanie it, that it neuer hath end, neyther is turned to his contrarie. Therefore when our *Virgil* ſaith, *And the euill ioyes of the minde*, he ſpeaketh elegantly, but yet not properly. For there is not any euill that bringeth ioy. He hath giuen this name vnto pleaſures, and hath very well expreſſed that which he would ſay; for he meant and expreſſed thoſe men that reioyce in their euill and miſfortune: yet haue not I without cauſe ſaid that I took great pleaſure in thy Epiſtle. For although an ignorant man reioyce vpon a good occaſion, yet ſo it is, that I call that affection which he cannot moderate, and that preſently will caſt

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it ſelfe vpon other diuers ſubiects. I call it, I ſay pleaſure, conceiued by opinion of a fained good, conducted without meaſure and diſcretion. But to returne to my purpoſe, heare what delighted me in thy Epiſtle: Thou haſt wordes at will, thy diſcourſe tranſporteth thee not, & draweth thee not further then thou haſt deſtinated. There are ſome that are drawne by the beautie of ſome word that beſt likes them, to write more then they had purpoſed, but the ſame befalleth not thee. All is well ordered and well applyed. Thou ſpeakeſt as much as thou wilt, & ſignifieſt more then thou ſpeakeſt. This is a ſign of ſom greater matter. Moreouer, it appeareth that it hath no ſuperfluitie in it, & nothing proude: yet finde I ſomtimes Metaphors, which as they are not ouer-hardie, ſo are they not vnprouided of beautie, and that haue alreadie made proofe of their good grace. I finde certaine compariſons, whereof if there be any one that will interdict vs the vſe, and permitteth them onely to Poets, he ſeemeth to me that hee hath not read any of the auncient authors: amongſt whom as yet a plauſible ſpeech was not affected or expected. They that ſpeake ſimply, and to make vs onely vnderſtand that they would ſpeake, were full of Metaphors & ſimilitudes, which in my opinion were neceſſarie, not for the ſame cauſe the Poets had to vſe them, but to aſſiſt the feeblenes of our ſpirit, and to repreſent moſt liuely to the Diſciple, and to the auditor that which they ſaid. As behold when I reade amongſt other, *Sextius* a vehement and ſubtill man, Philoſophying in Greeke wordes and Romane manners, I tooke great pleaſure to ſee the ſimilitude and compariſon which he vſed, that an armie which feareth to be aſſailed by an enemie, martcheth in a ſquare battell, to be more readie for the fight: The wiſeman, ſaith he, ſhould doe the like; he ought to ſtretch out his vertues on all ſides, to the end that if there be any danger that threatneth him, his ſupply may be in a readineſſe, and that without any diſorder they may obey their gouernour; which we ſee to fall out in armies, which great Captains know how to arrange, where all the troopes are ſo orderly diſpoſed, that both the one and the other vnderſtand at the ſame time the commandement of their Generall, and the watchword is as ſoone heard amongſt the battell of footmen, as the troopes of horſemen. But *Sextius* ſaith, that this is more neceſſarie for vs, then for men of warre. For they haue oftentimes had feare of the enemie without cauſe, and the high-way they feared to be moſt dangerous to them, was moſt aſſured. Folly hath nothing which is exempt from feare. She feareth as much from aboue, as from beneath; ſhe is afraid both of the one quarter and of the other. There are dangers that come before her, and that follow after her. She is afraid of all things; ſhe is neuer aſſured, but feareth her owne ſuccours and aſſiſtants. But a wiſe-man is armed, and aduiſed againſt all fortunes and violences, although pouertie, miſerie, ignominie and paine aſſault and charge him, he will neuer retire, he wil march, without any feare againſt his miſchiefs, and in the midſt of them. diuers things hold vs bond, and reſtraine vs, diuers other take from vs our forces, wee haue ſo long time lien ſoyled in theſe vices, that wee can hardly bee cleanſed from them. For wee are not onely ſoiled, but alſo wholly poyſoned. And to the end, that from one compariſon we paſſe not to another. I will aske thee (which I haue oftentimes conſidered in my ſelfe) why it is that folly doth ſo opimatiuely tie vs vnto her? Firſt, becauſe we repulſe her not valiantly, and that we will not doe our vttermoſt endeuour to ſeeke helpe. Next, becauſe we giue not ſufficient credit to thoſe things which are found out by wiſe men; neither receiue them with an open breaſt, and paſſe ouer, and that ouer-lightly, a thing of great importance. But how can any man ſufficiently learne what ſuffi-

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ceth againſt vices, who learneth but then, when he hath leaſure to giue ouer the libertie of his vices. There is none of vs that diueth to the bottome, we haue onely gathered the top. It is ouer-much to haue beene employed, and to haue giuen a very little time to Philoſophie. But that which moſt hindereth vs, is that we ouer-much pleaſe our ſelues, with our ſelues: If we finde any man that will call vs good men, wiſe and holy men, we beleeue them. We are not ſatiſfied with a moderat praiſe, whatſoeuer immoderat flatterie hath heaped on vs, we receiue as due vnto vs, we conſent vnto thoſe that ſay we are very wiſe and very good, although we know well that they are accuſtomed to lie. And ſo farre flatter we our ſelues, that we will be praiſed for things wholly contrarie to that we doe. Such a one there is that heareth, that euen they whom hee ſendeth to execution, call him ſweete and mercifull, liberall in his thefts and robberies, ſober and temperate in his drunkenneſſe and lecherie. Whence it commeth to paſſe, that wee will not make any change in our ſelues, becauſe wee iudge our ſelues to be honeſt men. *Alexander*, at ſuch time as he ouer-ranne all India, and pillaged the ſame by warre, as far as thoſe nations that were ſcantly knowne to their neighbors, riding about the wals of a Citie, which he beheld beſieged, to know on what ſide it was moſt eaſie to bee aſſaulted, and finding himſelfe wounded by the ſhot of an arrow, he remained a long time on horſebacke, and continued his enterpriſe. But after the blood was ſtanched, and that the paine of the wound which was alreadie dried, began to encreaſe, and that his legge which hung on his horſe pommell, began to be aſtonied, he was conſtrained to retire himſelfe, and to ſay, *All the world ſweareth that I am* IVPITERS *ſonne, but this wound of mine crieth out that I am a man*: The like let vs do, when as by force of flattery, euery one of vs are made fooles. Let vs ſay, You report that I am wiſe, but I ſee how many vnprofitable things I deſire, and how many hurtfull I wiſh for. Neither vnderſtand I this which ſacietie teacheth brute-beaſts, what meaſure ſhould be allotted for meat, what for drinke, as yet I know now how much I ſhould take. Now will I teach thee how thou mayeſt vnderſtand, that as yet thou art not wiſe. Hee may be termed, and is wiſe, who is repleniſhed with ioy, glad and moderate, and that feeleth no paſſion, liueth equall with the gods. Now counſell thou thy ſelfe, if thou art neuer ſad, if no hope ſollicite thy minde, in expectation of that which is to come, if day and night, thy ſpirit enioy an equall and aſſured repoſe, if it be contented in it ſelfe, thou haſt attained to the fulneſſe of that felicitie a man may deſire. But if as yet thou hunteſt after all ſorts of pleaſures, both heere and there, make account that thou art as farre eſtranged from wiſdome, as thou ſhalt be from ioy and content. Thou haſt a will to attaine thereunto, but thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe, if thou thinkeſt that thou mayeſt atchieue the ſame by the meanes of riches. Searcheſt thou thy ioy amiddeſt honors, that is to ſay, amongſt cares? Theſe things which thou thus deſireſt, and thinkeſt to be any tables to breed thee pleaſure and content, are but occaſions of ſorrowes. All theſe, I ſay, thinke to finde ioy and pleaſure but they know not the meanes to gaine a great and perdurable contentment. One taketh that in his banquets and his fooliſh expences: another in his ambition and great troope of vaſſals, that follow and flocke about him on euery ſide, and others by the fauours of his friends, another by vaine oſtentation of the ſtudie of liberall Arts and Sciences, and letters which heale nothing. All theſe are beſotted with a flattering pleaſure, which continueth not long as drunkenneſſe, which yeeldeth ſome fooliſh ioy for an honor, and ſeeth it ſelfe afterwards followed with a tedious repentance. Or as the honor of an applauſe, and fauourable

ble acclamation of the people, which hath beene gotten and ended with much paine. Thou muſt then thinke this, that the effect of wiſdome is the equalitie of ioy. The minde of a wiſe man is ſuch, as is the ſtate of the world aboue the Moone, there is the aire alwaies peaceable and faire. See here wherefore thou oughteſt deſire to be wiſe, for the wiſe man is neuer without ioy. This contentment groweth not, but from the conſcience of vertues. No man can reioyce, but he that is conſtant, iuſt, and temperate. What then (ſayeſt thou) do fooles and wicked men neuer reioyce? No, no more then Lions doe, that haue found their prey. When they are wearied and glutted with wine, and all other pleaſures, when as the night which they wholly ouer-paſſe in drinking, is as yet but very ſhort vnto them, when in a little bodie a man hath included greater pleaſures then it may containe, & that he beginneth to giue ouer, & caſt them out, then wretches as they are, begin they to exclame and cry out this verſe of *Virgil.*

For how we lewdly ſpent this later night
In fained pleaſures thou well vnderſtandeſt.

They which are addicted to fooliſh expence and ſuperfluitie, paſſe all the night long in fooliſh pleaſures, as if it ſhould be their laſt. But that pleaſure and ioy that followeth the gods, and thoſe that liue as they doe, is neuer intermixed or brought to end: it ſhould ceaſe, if it proceeded and were borrowed from an other. But becauſe it commeth not by the meanes of another, it dependeth not alſo on the power and authoritie of another. Fortune cannot take that away which ſhe hath not giuen.

Epist. LX.

That the vowes of the common ſort are to be deſpiſed, and Nature is to be heard.

I Complaine, I wrangle, and am wrathfull. As yet denieſt thou that which thy Nurſe, thy Tutor, or mother haue wiſhed thee. Thou knoweſt not as yet how many euils they haue wiſhed thee. O how harmefull are the wiſhes of our friends vnto vs! Yea euen then moſt hurtfull, when they fall out moſt happily. I do not now marueil if all the miſchiefes of the world befall vs, from our firſt infancie. We are growne amiddeſt the execrations of our parents. Let the gods at any time heare our vowes, without asking them any thing. How long ſhall it be, that we will alwayes craue ſome good at the hands of the gods, as if we had not wherewith to nouriſh our ſelues? how long ſhall we till the fields with corne, that might ſuffice to ſatisfie great Cities: how long time ſhall it be that a whole Prouince or Nation ſhall be employed in reaping our corne? How long time ſhall it be, that a great number of ſhips ſhall be employed, to carrie from diuers ſeas the corne that ſhould ſerue but one mans table? The Bull is fatned in the paſture of a few acres. One only Forreſt ſufficeth many Elephants. A man feedeth both of the land and ſea. What then? Hath Nature giuen vs ſo vnſatiable a belly, in regard of that little bodie ſhe hath giuen vs, that it ſhould ſurpaſſe the voracitie and hunger of the hugeſt and moſt rauenous beaſts in this world? Noe truely. For how little is it that wee owe vnto Nature? A man may content himſelfe with a little. It is not the hunger of our bellies that coſteth vs ſo deere, it is our

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glorie and ambition. And for this cauſe (as *Saluſt* ſaith) they which follow the pleaſures of their belly, ought to be reckoned and ranked amiddeſt the number of beaſts, and not of men; and ſome of them beſide, not amongſt the number of beaſts, but of the dead. He liueth that vſeth him ſelfe, but they that lie hid in ſluggiſhneſſe, ſo liue in their houſes as in a ſepulchre. Although in their porches thou regiſter their names in marble: yet they are buried before they are dead.

Epist. LXI.

Let vs ſtudie to be amended and changed. Let vs thinke on death, as if alwaies imminent, and addreſſed to lay hold on vs.

LEt vs deſiſt to will that which we would, for mine owne part, as old as I am, I endeuour my ſelfe not to will that which I would, when I was a child. In this one thing employ I all my dayes and nights, this is my onely labour, this my care, to be able to bring mine old euils to an end. I endeauour that one day may bee to me as much as my whole life. And to ſpeake truth, I take it not as yet as if it were the laſt, but I regard it, as if it might bee laſt of all my dayes that I am to liue. I write vnto thee this letter with ſuch an apprehenſion, as if death ſhould call mee, whileſt I am writing of it. I am addreſſed and ready to depart; and therefore by ſecuritie enioy I life, becauſe I am not much troubled how long it ſhall laſt. Before-age I tooke care that I might liue in mine old yeares, that I might die well; and to die well is to die willingly. Labour with thy ſelfe that thou doe nothing vnwillingly, whatſoeuer is neceſſarie will come to paſſe, neceſſitie is but to him that refuſeth, and not to him that willeth. There is no neceſſitie for him that hath a will. I auerre it, that he who willingly ſubmitteth himſelfe to another mans command, hath fled the moſt vnſeaſonable and cruelleſt part of ſeruitude, that is to ſay, to doe that which he would not doe. Not he that vpon any command doth any thing, is a miſerable man, but he that doth it againſt his will. In ſuch ſort therefore let vs compoſe our mindes, that we will that which neceſſitie requireth to be done: and aboue all things let vs thinke vpon our end, without any ſhew of heauineſſe. We muſt ſooner prepare our ſelues to death, then to life. Life hath but ouer-much to entertaine the ſame, but weare they that long after theſe inſtruments, that entertaine the ſame. Wee thinke, and ſo ſhall wee alwayes ſuppoſe, that wee want ſomewhat; neither yeares nor daies ſhall bring to paſſe that wee haue liued ſufficiently, but the minde. I haue liued, my deareſt *Lucilius*, as much as ſufficeth, I expect death, as one glutted with life.

Epist. LXII.

That neither men or affaires are hinderances to a good minde. The praise of Demetrivs.

They that would make men belieue, that the multitude of affaires is a hinderance vnto them, in the purſuite and ſearch of liberall ſtudies, doe nought elſe but lie. They pretend and faine occupations, they augment them, and buſie themſelues. I am diſcharged of affaires, my *Lucilius*, I am diſcharged, and whereſoeuer I am, I am wholly to my ſelfe. For I ſubiect not, but accommodate my ſelfe to affaires. I runne not after the occaſions which might make me loſe time, and in what place ſoeuer I bide, there is it that I entertaine my thoughts, and ruminate ſome profitable matter in my minde. If I giue my ſelfe vnto my friends, for all that, forſake I not my ſelfe. I ſtay not alſo long time with them, whoſe company I haue entertained for a time, and for ſome cauſe that in duetie commanded me. But I am with vertuous men. I ſend my thoughts and minde vnto them, in what places, and what times ſoeuer they haue beene. I leade alwayes with me, my *Demetrius*, the beſt of men, and leauing a part theſe purpurated fellowes. I talke with this man halfe naked, and admire him. But how ſhould I chuſe but admire him? He wanteth nothing. A man may contemne all things, and no man can haue all things. The ſhorteſt way to riches is by contempt of riches. But our *Demetrius* liueth in ſuch ſort, that hee ſeemeth not to haue contemned all things, but onely to haue permitted that others ſhould enioy them.

Epist. LXIII.

A conſolatorie Epiſtle vpon the death of a friend, both wiſe and excellent.

Thou art very impatient, becauſe thy friend *Flaccus* is deceaſed, yet will I not that thou ſubiect thy ſelfe to diſordinate ſorrow. I dare not exact this at thy hands, that thou ſhouldeſt not grieue, yet know I this, that it is the better. But to whom is it, that ſo firme a conſtancie of minde may happen, but to him alone, who hath troden fortune vnder his feete. Yet him alſo would this thing trouble and pricke, yet would it but onely pricke. For our ſelues we may be pardoned, if we will, in teares, prouided that they be not ouer-lauiſh, and that we our ſelues haue repreſſed them. In the loſſe of a friend, neither let our eyes be drie, nor ouerflowing; we muſt ſhead teares, but not weepe out-right. Suppoſeſt thou that I ſubiect thee to a rigorous law? When as the greateſt Poet amongſt the Greekes gaue leaue and limit to teares for one day only, when he ſaid that *Niobe* alſo bethought her of her meate. Wilt thou know from whence theſe plaints and immeaſurable teares proceed? By teares wee ſeeke the teſtimonie that wee bewaile them, and wee follow not griefe, but wee ſhew it. No man is ſad to himſelfe. O vnhappy folly, there is alſo ſome ambition of griefe. What then, ſayeſt thou, ſhall I forget my friend? Vndoubtedly thou promiſeſt him a verie ſhort remembrance, if it muſt continue no longer then thy griefe. The leaſt occaſion

occaſion of fortune, will ſuddenly change the wrinckles of thy brow into ſmiles. I grant thee not a more long time, the length whereof notwithſtanding might calme and allay the greateſt ſorrowes of this world, and make an end of the moſt bitter griefes. As ſoone as thou ſhalt ceaſe to flatter and nouriſh thy griefe, this opinion of ſadneſſe will forſake thee; now keepeſt thou, and entertaineſt thy ſorrow, but how charily ſoeuer thou keepe it, it will eſcape from thee, and the ſooner, the more ſharper it is. Aboue all things, let vs labour that the remembrance of our friends which we looſe, be agreeable and pleaſing vnto vs. No man taketh pleaſure to remember ſuch a ſubiect, whereon hee cannot thinke without torment, notwithſtanding if it cannot otherwiſe be, that the name of our friends, whom we haue loſt, may be reduced to our memorie, without ſome touch and attaint of ſorrow, that very touch it ſelfe hath ſome pleaſure in it. For as our *Attalus* was wont to ſay; The memorie of our deceaſed friends is pleaſing vnto vs, no otherwiſe then the ſowreneſſe of old wine, or as apples eager-ſweet are taſtefull vnto vs. But after a little time is ouer-paſt, all that which tormented vs is extinguiſhed, and then a pure and true pleaſure is conceiued in our mindes, if wee will giue credit vnto him, to thinke that our friends are in health, is to eate hony and cakes. But the memorie of thoſe that are deceaſed can yeeld no ioy, but that which is intermixed with ſome little bitterneſſe. But who is he that would deny that theſe ſharpe things, and ſuch as haue in them ſome acrimonie, are not hurtfull and diſpleaſing to the ſtomacke? Yet am not I for all this, of that opinion. The remembrance of my friends that are deceaſed, is agreeable and pleaſing vnto me. For I had them, as if I were to loſe them, and I haue loſt them, as if I had them. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thy diſcretion requireth. Forbeare to giue an euill interpretation of the benefits of Fortune, ſhe took away, but ſhe had giuen. Let vs then enioy our friends with a greedie deſire, becauſe we know not whether they ſhall continue with vs a long time or noe. Let vs thinke that we haue oftentimes left them, when as we had made ſome long voyages, and how oftentimes abiding with them in the ſame place, we haue not ſeene them; and we ſhall find that we haue loſt more time when they were aliue. But may a man endure thoſe that make no reckoning and account of their friends when they haue them, but bewaile them afterwards moſt miſerably, and neuer loue any, but euen then when they haue loſt him? And therefore do they then more abundantly weepe, becauſe they are afraid, leſt it ſhould grow in doubt whether they loued them or no. Thus ſeeke they to take teſtimonies of their amitie. If wee haue other friends, we doe them iniurie, and conceiue an euill opinion of them, to thinke that they cannot comfort vs as much, as one onely whom we haue loſt. And if we haue not any, we our ſelues doe our ſelues greater wrong, then we haue receiued at Fortunes hands. She hath onely taken one from vs, and we haue not made any. Againe, he ſcarcely loued any one, which could not loue more then one. If a man that were robbed, and had loſt the onely one coate that he had, had rather bewaile his misfortune, then bethinke him by what meanes hee might eſcape the cold, and finde ſomething to couer his ſhoulders, wouldeſt thou not eſteene him for a great foole? Thou haſt buried him thou louedſt, ſeeke now another whom thou mayeſt loue. It is better to get a new friend, then to bewaile an olde. I know well that the thing which I pretended now to ſpeake is verie vulgar, and knowne vnto euery man: yet will I not pretermit it, though all the world hath vſed it. Hee that by reaſon and counſaile, could not finde an end of his ſorrow, met with it in time, but it is moſt con-

temptible for a wise-man to finde no remedie for his sorrow, but by wearying himselfe with the same. I had rather thou shouldest relinquish thy sorrow, then that thou shouldest be left by it. Desist from doing that as soone as thou canst; which although thou wouldst thou canst not long do. Our auncestors limitted the tearme of a yeare for women to mourne in, not that they should mourne so long; but that they might not mourn longer. To men they prefixed no distinct time, because no time is honest; yet which of these women wilt thou name me, which could scarcely be drawn from the pile where their husband was burned, or dragged from his dead carcasse, whose moans continued for a whole month? Nothing groweth more soone into hatred then griefe; which being new, findeth a comforter, and draweth some vnto him to solace him, but being inueterate is derided; and not without cause, for eyther it is fained, or it is foolish; yet doe I write this vnto thee, euen I, who haue immeasurably bewayled *Annæus Serenus* my deere friend, that (which I write with hearts-griefe) I might be numbred amongst the examples of those, whom sorrow hath ouercome. But at this present time I condemne mine owne action, and thorowly perceiue that the greatest cause of my so mourning, was, because I neuer thought that I might haue died before him. I thought onely that he was younger, and farre more young then I, as if the destinies called vs by order of our birth. Let vs therfore continually meditate, as well on our owne mortalitie, as theirs whom we loue. Then should I haue said: my *Serenus* is yonger, what is this to the purpose? he must die after me, but he might also before me: and hauing not thought hereupon, fortune surprising me on the sudden, strooke me thus. Now know I that all things are mortall, and that they are mortall, vnder an vncertaine lawe. That may be done to day, what euer may be done. Let vs thinke therefore deere *Lucilius*, that we shall quickly come thither where he is lodged, whom we so lament for. And happily (if the opinion of wise-men sauor of truth, and any place receiue vs, he whom we suppose to haue perished is but sent before vs.

Epist. LXIIII.

The praise of Quintvs Sextivs, *and then of wisedome it selfe. That the true authors thereof are venerable, and that notwithstanding we may adde thereunto.*

THou wert yesterday with vs. It may be demanded whether yesterday onely, and therefore I added, with vs; for thou art alwayes with me. Certaine friends came suddenly to me, vpon whose arriuall the Chimney smoaked more then it was accustomed; not that this smoake was of that kind, as that which was wont to fume from the Kitchins of those that intertaine feasts, or to terrifie those that watch by night; but a little smoake that signified that some guests were come to me. We had diuers and different discourses, as it happeneth to those that sit at banquet, reducing nothing to a resolution; but passing from one thing to another. Afterwards the booke of *Quintus Sextius* the father (a man of much knowledge if thou wilt beleeue, and a Stoicke, although some would denie it) was read vnto vs. O good God, how is this man repleniſhed with constancy and courage: Thou shalt not find the like amongst all the Philosophers. Some mens writings haue only a goodly title, the rest of them are without life, they make institutiõs, they dispute, and cauill, they adde no courage, because they haue none. When thou

thou haſt read *Sextius*, thou wilt ſay he liueth, he is full of vigour, he is free, he is more then a man. He leaueth me alwayes repleniſhed with great aſſurance. Howſoeuer my minde be diſpoſed, if I read him (I will confeſſe vnto thee) I am addreſſed to prouoke all caſualties, and freely to exclaime. Why ceaſeſt thou Fortune? Come and encounter me, thou ſhalt and doeſt ſee me in a readineſſe. I cloath my ſelfe in his courage which ſerueth for a ſubiect, againſt which he may approue, and where he may expreſſe his vertue.

He wiſheth freely that he might behold
A foaming Boare amidſt his idle folde,
Or ſome ſterne Lion from the hils deſcend,
With golden creſt his cattell to offend.

I deſire to haue ſomewhat that I may ouercome. I will ſuffer to exerciſe my patience: for *Sextius* likewiſe hath this admirable qualitie in him, that he will ſhew thee the excellency of a happy life, and wil not put thee out of hope to obtaine the ſame. Thou ſhalt know that ſhe is lodged in a place very high, notwithſtanding a man that hath will, may mount thereunto. Amongſt all other things, only vertue may giue thee the ſame, that thou maiſt admire therat, without loſing thy hope to attaine the ſame. Truely the onely contemplation of wiſedome, very oftentimes robbeth me of very much time. I beholde the ſame with no leſſe aſtoniſhment, then I doe the heauens and the world, on which I oftentimes caſt mine eyes, as if I had neuer ſeene the ſame: therefore is it that I reuerence and honor the intentions of wiſedome, and the inuenters alſo: It delighteth me to goe and take poſſeſſion thereof, as of an heritage common vnto many. Theſe things are gotten, theſe things are laboured for me. But let vs play the part of a good father of a family: let vs increaſe that inheritage which was left vs, and let this poſſeſſion deſcend to my poſteritie, in more ample manner then I receiued it from mine auncеſtors. Much there is that as yet remaineth to be done, and much more ſhall remaine: for after the reuolution of a thouſand ages, the occa ion ſhall neuer be left to them that are borne hereafter, to adde ſomewhat. And although antiquitie hath inuented all things, yet the vſe, the ſcience, and diſpoſition thereof, which hath beene inuented, ſhall alwayes remaine new. Put caſe we had ſome medicines left vnto vs for the healing of eies, I need not ſeeke for other; yet are theſe to be fitted both to the diſeaſes, and to the times: by one of them the heate of the eyes is extinguiſhed, by another the thickneſſe of the eye-lids is attenuated; by one a ſudden flux of humour and rhume is diuerted, by another the ſight is quickned. It behoueth thee to grinde theſe remedies, and allay them well, to make choice of the time, and that thou obſerue a meaſure in euerie one of them. The remedies of the minde were inuented by our auncients, but it behooueth vs to ſeeke, how and when they ſhould be applied. They that liued before vs haue done much, but they haue not finiſhed the ſame. Yet muſt we honour them, and reuerence them as Gods. But why ſhould I not haue the Images of theſe vertuous and great men in my houſe, to kindle & quicken vp my ſpirit? And why ſhould I not celebrate their birth-dayes? Why ſhould I not name them alwayes for honours ſake? That veneration that I owe to my Maſters, the ſame owe I to theſe Maſters of mankind, from whom the beginnings of ſo manie benefites are flowen. If I ſee eyther a Conſull or a Pretor, I will doe all that which is vſually done in yeelding them honor & reuerence, I wil light off my horſe, I wil put off my hat, and giue him

him the way: why then can I remember both the *Catoes*, wiſe *Lælius*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, without ſome great acknowledgement of honour? Truely I reuerence them, and hearing the greatneſſe of theſe names, I alwayes ariſe to yeelde them honour.

Epist. LXV.

He intreateth of the ſearch of naturall things, Of cauſe and matter, and teacheth how much they are profitable, if they be moderately handled, and to a good end, that is of life: by theſe lifteth he vp his minde to God and honeſty.

I Diuided yeſterday into two parts; the one was for my ſelfe, the other for my ſickneſs, which vſurped all the fore-noone to it ſelfe, and left the after-noone for me: for which cauſe I firſt of all aſſayed the forces of my ſpirit in reading ſome booke. But I ſaw that hee tooke pleaſure herein, I grew bolde to command him farre more, yea, I permitted him. I wrote therefore ſomething with a greater care then I was accuſtomed, whilſt I contend with a difficult matter, and will not be ouercome, vntill ſuch time as ſome of my friends came in vnto me, who withdrew me perforce, and reprehended me for a man intemperate in the time of my ſickneſſe. In ſtead of writing, ſome diſcourſe was ſet abroach, whereof I will relate vnto thee that part which is in queſtion, wherin thou art made Vmpeire. Thou haſt more buſineſſe in hand then thou thoughteſt of. Certaine it is, that there are three cauſes, & the Stoicks, as thou knoweſt, ſay, that there are two things in nature, whereof all other things are made, The Cauſe and the Matter: the matter remaineth idle; yet prepared to all things, which will not ſtirre, except it be moued. But the Cauſe, that is to ſay the reaſon, formeth the matter, and turneth it which way ſoeuer he liſt, and produceth out of it diuers works. There muſt be then ſome thing, wherof a thing may be made, and after that a meanes by which it is made. This is the Cauſe, that the Matter. All artes are the imitation of Nature; and therefore all that which I haue ſaid of the world, may be transferred to theſe, which are to be made by man. A ſtatue had a matter that ſhould receiue the workmanſhip, and an artizan that ſhould giue form vnto the matter. Therefore in the ſtatue the matter was braſſe, and the cauſe the workman: all other things are of the ſame and alike condition. They take their Eſſence from that whereof they are made, and of him which maketh them. The Stoicks ſay that there is but onely one cauſe, namely that which maketh. But *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the cauſe may be ſaid after three manners. The firſt cauſe, ſaith he, is the matter it ſelfe, without which nothing may be made: the ſecond is the workeman: the third is the forme, that is annexed to any worke whatſoeuer, as vpon a ſtatue: for *Ariſtotle* calleth it εἶδος, that is to ſay, an Image. There is yet another (ſaith he) which is annexed for the fourth, which is the deſigne and intention of the whole worke. I will tell thee more plainly what it is: The Braſſe is the firſt cauſe of the ſtatue; for it had neuer beene made, if that whereof it was founded and drawne had not beene. The ſecond cauſe is the workeman: for this Braſſe could not haue faſhioned it ſelfe into the forme of a ſtatue, if ſome skilfull artiſt had not beene imployed therein. The third cauſe is the forme; for neither ſhould this ſtatue be called *Doriphoras* or *Diadumenus*, except this forme had beene expreſſed in the ſame. The other fourth cauſe is, the pur-

purpose and intention wherefore it was made; for without it, it had not beene made. And what is this intention? It is the same that inuited the work-master, that it is which he followed: it is then either siluer, if he made it to sell; or glory, if he made it for reputation; or his deuotion and pietie, if he would giue it for a present to a Temple. This fourth cause then is, that for which it is made. Thinkest thou that amongst the causes of a work which hath beene made, that we ought not to count that without which it could not be made? To these doth *Plato* annex a fift, which he calleth *Idea*; for this is the example or pattern, on which the workman casting his eyes, doth that which he had destinated and determined to doe; and it skilleth not whether he haue his patterne abroad whereunto he referreth his eye, or within, in his fancie which he hath conceiued and placed in himselfe. God hath the patternes and examples of all things in himselfe. He hath conceiued in his vnderstanding the members and fashions of all that which should be made by him: he is full of all these formes and figures, which *Plato* calleth *Ideas*, which are immortall, immutable, and indefatigable. So that although men die, yet humanitie vpon which man is made, remaineth: and although men become sicke, and doe die, yet that suffereth nothing. There are then fiue causes, according to *Plato*; That whereof, that by which, that whereby, that whereto, and that wherefore. In the last place, in the worke which is made of these things, as in a statue (because of it we haue begun to speake) that whereof is the brasse, that by which is the workman, that whereby is the forme that is giuen vnto it, that whereto is the patterne which the workeman imitateth, that wherefore is the designe and intention of him that made it, and that which is composed of all these is the statue. All these things the world hath also, as *Plato* sayth. The workeman is God, that which is made is the matter, and the forme is the fashion, and the order which we see in this world the pattern and example is that whereon God hath formed the greatnes of this faire worke; the intention is the designe for which he made it. Askest thou me what Gods intention was? His goodnesse. Truely *Plato* saith so. What cause had God to make the world? He is good, he hath made good things. He that is good enuieth not any thing which is good: and therefore he hath made the best that he could. Giue now thy iudgement hereupon, and pronounce who he is, that in thy opinion hath most neerely aimed at the truth, not who hath said the truth, for that is far beyond our apprehension, as the truth it self. But this great multitude of causes, set downe by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, eyther comprehend ouer much, or too little. For if they thinke that the cause to make a thing, be al that without which nothing may be made, they haue set down too few causes; they should nominate time, for nothing can be done without time; they should set downe place, for if there be not a place where a thing should be done, it cannot be made. They should put downe motion, without which nothing is made, nothing perisheth: moreouer, there is not any art or change without motion. But here seeke we the first and generall cause. This should be wholly simple, because the matter is simple. We aske what this cause is? It is the reason that maketh, that is to say God. And by this reason that I tolde you, there are not diuers and particular causes; but they depend wholly vpon one, that is on that which maketh. Thou sayest that forme likewise is one of the causes, and that it is it which the workeman putteth vpon his worke: it is a part but not a cause. The patterne also or example is not a cause, it is a necessarie instrument of the cause, so is the patterne necessarie to the workeman, as the polishing iron, or the fyle, for without them art can profit nothing: yet are they not

not parties, or causers of the art. The intention of the work-man (saith he) for which he vndertaketh to make anie thing is a cause; yet though it were a cause it should not be efficient but accessarie. Now these causes are innumerable, but we dispute of a generall cause: vndoubtedly they haue not spoken with their accustomed subtilty, when they haue said that this whole world and this worke so well finished, was the cause: for there is a great difference betwixt the worke and the cause of the worke. Pronounce then thy sentence, or say (as it is more easie in matters that are doubtfull) that this question is not yet in state to be iudged, and so dismisse vs. Thou wilt say vnto me, what pleasure doest thou conceiue in losing thy time after these things, which cannot disburthen thee of any passion, nor matter any couetousnesse? For mine owne part, first of all I discourse of that which may settle my minde in repose, and I rather enquire after my selfe then the world or this Vniuerse. Doing this I loose not my time as thou thinkest. For all these discourses, if they be not cut off, if they be not drawn to vnprofitable subtilties, do animate and raise the minde, which feeling it selfe pressed with a heauie burthen, desireth nought else but to deliuer her selfe, and to returne to those places where she hath beene. For this bodie is but a burthen and prison of the soule. She is wearied with the burthen, she is in bondage, if Philosophie come not to succour her. But she hath commanded her to breathe in the contemplation of nature, and hath permitted her to forsake the earth, and annex her selfe to diuine things. This is the libertie she hath, this is her refectorie; meane while she issueth out of prison where she is detained, and goes to recreate her selfe in heauen. Euen as worke-men, who haue long time held their eyes fixed vpon any subtill worke, and wearied them thereupon, especially if they labour in some obscure place, and with little light, goe out into the open aire, and seeke out some publique place, where the people are accustomed to disport themselues, & recreate their sight in the cleere light of the day: so the mind, imprisoned in this darke and obscure receptacle, as often as it may, seekes libertie, & reposeth it selfe in the contemplation of the works of nature. A wise-man, & he that followeth wisdom, is in some sort tyed to his bodie, but is absent from the same in his best part, and addresseth his best thoughts to high and sublime matters, and as if he had taken the oath of a souldier, he maketh account, that the time that his life lasteth is his pay or wages: and in such sort is he reformed and resolued, that hee beareth neyther loue nor hatred to his life, and patiently suffereth all transitorie things, although hee know that a greater good remaineth hereafter. Wouldest thou interdict me the contemplation of all things in nature, and retiring me wholly, restraine me to one onely thing? Shall I not search what the beginnings of all things are? Who it is that formed them? Who it was that distinguished all that which was confuse, and mixed in a masse in a matter idle and immoueable? Shall I not seeke who it was that made this world? By what wisedome this incredible greatnesse of the Vniuerse hath receiued his lawes and his order? Who it is that hath gathered together so many things that were scattered? Who hath seperated those that were confused? Who hath diuided the beautie amongst those things which were hidden vnder an abiect deformity? Whence commeth this so great light? Is it fire, or any thing more resplendent then fire? Should I not enquire after these things? Shal I not know whence I descended? or whether I shall see them but once or diuers times? Shall I not know whither I must returne, and what place attendeth my soule, after it shal be deliuered from this humane seruitude? Wilt thou hinder me from mounting to heauen, that is to say, Wilt thou com-

mand

mand me to liue abiectly? I am more great, and borne for greater things, then to be a slaue to my bodie, ouer which I neuer fixe mine eyes, but as on the chaines that hold me prisoner, and restraine me from my liberty. It is my bodie which I expose to Fortune, to withstand her assaults: I permit not any wound to passe thereon, that may afflict my soule. All that which may subiect it selfe, or suffer iniurie in me, is but this prison of mine, abiect and slauish; the soule that remaineth therein is free. Neuer can this flesh of mine make me partake any feare, nor vse any cowardize, vnderualuing a good man, nor to lie to doe honor to this miserable bodie. When it pleaseth me, I will breake the company I haue with him. And now although we are vnited together, we wil not be companions vpon equall tearmes. The soule will say that all appertaineth to her. The contempt of her bodie is her true libertie. But to returne to my purpose. Truely the contemplation of that we spake of late, may serue very much to this libertie. That is to say, that all things are composed of matter and of God. God gouerneth all these things, which being spread round about him, follow their Gouernour and their Chiefe. And God who is he that maketh, is more powerfull then the matter which suffereth the forme that God will giue vnto it. The same place that God obtaineth in the world, the same hath the soule in the bodie. That which the matter is to God, the same is the bodie to vs. The Inferiour therefore ought to enioy the Superiour. Let vs be firme and constant against Fortune, and let vs not feare or tremble at iniuries, wounds, imprisonment or pouertie. What is death? Either it is the end, or a passage: neither feare I to cease to be, for it is the same, as if I had neuer beene, nor to passe, because in no place shall I bee lodged more straitly.

Epist. LXVI.

That Claranvs *is old, but liuely, and that in bodie he was deformed, but in minde honest. He careth not for the house wherein he dwelleth. The diffence of goods among the Stoicks, and that all things are equall. What then? Are ioy and patience the same? They are so in regard of vertue, not of matter. And that externall things also giue not any augmentation of good. These things handleth he copiously, distinctly and excellently. O let vs reade it, and apply the same.*

I Haue seene *Claranus* my companion in studie, whom of long time before I had not seene. Thou expectest not, in my opinion, that I should tell thee he is old, but at least as yet hath he his spirits liuely and vigorous, and such as striue with his little body. To speake the truth, Nature hath done amisse, to lodge so faire a minde in so foule an hostrie. Or else, it may be, she had an intent to teach vs, that the strongest and blessedest minde might hide it selfe vnder any skin, whatsoeuer. Yet hath he ouercome all impediments, and through the contempt of himselfe hath he attained so farre, as to contemne all other things. In my opinion, he deceiued himselfe, that said,

Vertue is farre more gracious, getting place
Vnder the conuert of a comely face.

For

For ſhe hath no need of any forren ornament, ſhe deriueth her dignitie from her ſelfe, and maketh the bodie which ſhe poſſeſſeth, holy and ſacred. Truely I began to behold my friend *Claranus* very neerely, and in my iudgement hee ſeemeth very faire, and as well learned in bodie, as confirmed in minde. A great man may iſſue from a ſheepe-coate, and a vertuous and faire ſoule may be cloſed in a deformed and baſe bodie. And Nature, in my opinion, expreſſely cauſeth ſome to be borne after this manner, to make vs ſee, that vertue may be lodged in all places, if poſſibly ſhee could haue brought foorth naked ſoules, ſhee would haue done it. But now doth ſhee farre more diſproportioned in nature, notwithſtanding ouercome theſe impediments. *Claranus*, as I ſuppoſe, was made to ſerue for a patterne, and to let vs ſee, that the ſoule cannot be defiled by the deformitie of the bodie, and that the bodie may receiue ornament by the beautie of the ſoule. But although we haue remained very few dayes together, yet notwithſtanding diuers diſcourſes paſſed betweene vs, which I will orderly digeſt, and afterwards ſend vnto thee. The firſt day the queſtion was, how goods ſhould be equall, ſince there was a three-fold condition of them. Some of theſe goods, as our Philoſophers ſay, are placed in the firſt ranke, namely, ioy, peace, and felicitie of the Country. The other are in the ſecond, which neuer make themſelues knowne, but in a miſerable ſubiect, as patience in the middeſt of torments, and temperance in a great ſickneſſe. We deſire that the firſt ſhould befall vs euery day, and the ſecond when need requireth. There is alſo a third ſort, as to walke modeſtly and grauely, to carrie a modeſt countenance, and vſe the geſtures and behauiours of a wiſe man. How is it then, that theſe goods may be equall among themſelues, ſince we are to deſire the one, and depart from the other? If we will diſtinguiſh, let vs returne to the firſt, and conſider what it is. A ſoule that fixeth his eyes vpon the truth, that knoweth that which ſhe ought to eſchew or deſire, that priſeth all things, not by opinion, but by the lawes of Nature, that intermixeth it ſelfe amiddeſt this great vniuers, and fixeth her contemplation vpon the effects thereof, that is, inceſſantly occupied in thinking and doing, that is, as great as ſhe is vehement, that ſuffereth not her ſelfe to be ouercome, neither by aduerſe, or pleaſing things, that ſubmitteth not, neither to the one nor to the other fortune, that is, eminent aboue all things that may happen or befall her, that is, faire with a good grace, that hath her ſtrength accompanied with health and ſobrietie, that is, neuer affrighted nor aſtoniſhed, whom no violence can ſhake, whom Fortune cannot raiſe or depreſſe. Such is the vertue of the ſoule, ſuch is her face, if ſhe might expreſſe her ſelfe at once, and might wholly and at once diſcouer her ſelfe to our ſight: yet many differences hath ſhe in her ſelfe, which diſcouer themſelues in the diuerſitie of life, and his actions; and yet becommeth ſhe neither more great nor more ſmall then ſhe is. For the ſoueraigne good may not decreaſe, neither hath vertue power to goe back-ward, yet changeth ſhe in diuers qualities, and conformeth her ſelfe according to the habit of thoſe things ſhe will do. She changeth and transfigureth into her likeneſſe all that which ſhe toucheth; ſhe maketh the actions, amities, and ſometime whole houſes where ſhe entereth, and which ſhe hath vnder her gouernment, honorable: all that which ſhe manageth, ſhe maketh amiable, admirable, and reſplendent; & therfore her force and greatnes cannot be raiſed higher, becauſe that which is greateſt cannot receiue encreaſe. Thou ſhalt finde nothing more iuſt, then that which is iuſt, nothing more true, then that which is true; nothing more temperate, then that which is temperate. Conſtancie findeth nothing that may aduance it, no more then Confidence,

dence, veritie, or Faith. What thing is that, which may be added to a perfect thing? Nothing: or if any thing might be annexed, it is not perfect: therefore not to Vertue alſo, for if any thing might be annexed, it were deficient. Honeſtie alſo cannot receiue any augmentation. For honeſtie is in the ſame ranke with other things, which I haue ſpoken of. But what ſhall we ſay of that which is decent, of that which is iuſt, and of that which is lawfull? Thinkeſt thou not that they are of the ſame forme, and comprehended vnder certaine limits. To haue power to encreaſe, is a ſigne of an imperfect thing. All ſorts of good are ſubiect to the ſame lawes, the priuate and publike profit are ioyned together, and truely inſeparable in ſuch ſort, that one may not ſeparate that which is praiſe-worthie, from that which is to be deſired. Vertues therefore are equall and alike betweene themſelues, as alſo their effects are, and all men to whom they befall. But the vertues of vegitables and liuing creatures, becauſe they are mortall, fraile, fluxible, and vncertaine, ariſe and fall, and therefore are they not eſteemed in the ſame reckoning. But humane vertues haue but one onely meaſure. For there is but one right and ſimple reaſon. Nothing is more diuine then that which is diuined, nor more celeſtiall then that which is celeſtiall. As touching mortall things, we ſee that they are ſometimes high, ſometimes low, that ſometimes they are abaſed and encreaſed, exhauſted and repleniſhed. And therefore in ſo vncertaine a condition they are vnequall; but things that are diuine, are of the ſame nature. But reaſon is no other thing but a part of the diuine ſpirit, infuſed and plunged in our humane bodies: if therefore reaſon be diuine, and that there is not any good without reaſon, all goods of what kinde ſoeuer are diuine; but there is no difference betwixt diuine things, therefore not betweene goods. Ioy therefore, and a ſtout and obſtinat ſufferance in torments are equall, for in both there is the ſame greatnes of minde, but in the one more remiſſe and relenting, in the other more withſtanding and intent. What? thinkeſt thou not his vertue is great, that ſtoutly entereth his enemies citie, as his that patiently ſuſtaineth the ſiege? *Scipioes* courage is great, which holdeth *Numantia*, ſo cloſely beſieged and beleagred, that conſtrained that inuincible nation, to make away themſelues by their owne hands: and great is the minde of of thoſe beſieged, that know that nothing is ſhut vp from him to whom death is open, and that expireth in the embracing of his libertie. The like equall are the reſt alſo among themſelues, tranquillity, ſimplicitie, liberality conſtancie, equanimity, ſufferance: for in all theſe, there is but one vertue that maketh the minde vpright and immutable. What then? is there no difference betwixt ioy and the inflexible patience of paines: none at all in regard of the vertues themſelues, much in reſpect of thoſe things, in which both the vertues are exemplified. For in the one there appearth a recreation and repoſe of ſpirit, in the other a griefe contrarie to nature. Theſe ſubiects then are the meanes, which receiue betweene them a great difference. But the vertue is equall both in the one, and in the other. The matter changeth not the vertue. That which is diſtaſtefull and difficult cannot make it worſe, neither that which is ioyfull and agreeable better. It followeth then, that both the one and the other of theſe goods are equall. For this man cannot beare himſelfe more vertuouſly in his ioy, nor the other in his torments, and truely two things in which nothing may be bettered, are equall. For if thoſe things which are placed out of vertue, either can diminiſh or encreaſe the ſame, that ceaſeth to be one good which is honeſt. If thou grant this, all honeſtie periſheth. Why? I will tell thee: Becauſe there is nothing honeſt, that is, done either by an vnwilling man, or by him that

that is enforced: all honeſtie is voluntarie; if thou mixe with it ſlothfulneſſe, complaints, refuſals, and feare, he hath loſt all that is good in it ſelfe, to pleaſe himſelfe. It cannot be honeſt, which is not free, for that which feareth is in bondage. But that which is honeſt is equally aſſured, and full of peace and repoſe. If he refuſeth any thing, if he weepeth, if he iudgeth that it is euill, hee entereth into ſome perturbation, and feeleth a great diſcord in his ſoule. For on the one ſide, the appearance of good calleth him, & on the other the feare of euill retireth him. Thus he that will do any thing with honor, ought to iudge, that nothing of that which oppoſeth it ſelfe againſt his wil, is euil, although it be incommodious. All that which is honeſt, ought to be effected, without another mans command or conſtraint. It is pure and ſincere, and no waies intermedled with any other euill. I know well what a man may anſwere me heere. Thou endeuoureſt to perſwade vs this, that there is no difference whether any man be in ioy, or lie in torture, and wearie his executioner. I might anſwere that which *Epicurus* ſaith, That a wiſe man would crie out with a loude voice, although he were roaſted in *Phalaris* bull: O how ſweet is this torment, and how little appertaineth it to me? Why wondereſt thou, if I ſay, that the good of him that is ſeated in the middeſt of a banquet, and of that other, which remaineth and ſtandeth firme and conſtant amiddeſt the torments, are equall, whereas (which is farre more incredible) *Epicurus* ſaith) that it is a ſweet thing to be tortured. But I anſwere thereunto, that there is a great difference betwixt ioy and dolour. For if I ſhould be put to my choice, I would demand the one, and flie the other: the one is amicable to Nature, the other is contrarie. As long as they are eſteemed after this rate, they are very different betweene themſe'ues: but when we come vnto vertue, both the one and the other are equall, as well that which maketh his way by ioy, as the other that maketh it by ſorrow. Vexation, griefe, and whatſoeuer other incommoditie are of no moment, for they are ſurmounted by Vertue. Euen as the clearenes of the Sunne extinguiſheth the leſſer lights: euen ſo paines, afflictions and iniuries, are diſſipated and abated by vertue; which, in what place ſoeuer ſhee ſhineth, extinguiſheth all that which appeareth not to be enlightned by her. And thoſe paines and incommodities that fall vpon vertue, haue no more power ouer her, then a little raine ouer the ſea. But to the end thou mayeſt beleeue that this is true, a good man will runne without any cunctation to euery faire thing, although the hangman be there, the torture be prepared, the fire be enkindled, hee perſeuereth, he will not bethinke him of that he muſt ſuffer, but on that which he ought to doe. He will caſt himſelfe vpon an honeſt thing as betwixt the armes of a good man, he will make account that it is profitable, aſſured, and full of good happe. An honeſt thing therefore ſhall haue the ſame place and credit with him, although it be heauie and troubleſome, as a good man ſhould haue, although he were poore, baniſhed and ſicke. Well then, ſet me on one ſide a good man full of riches, and on the other ſide, one that hath nothing at all, and yet notwithſtanding, hath all things in himſelfe; the one ſhall bee as good a man as the other, although their fortunes be different. The ſame reckoning ought a man to make in all things, as he doth of men: Vertue is as laudable in a healthfull and free bodie, as in a ſicke and impriſoned. Thy vertue then ſhall be no leſſe praiſeworthie, if Fortune hath conſerued thy bodie in health, & without harme, then if it were maimed in ſome member. Otherwiſe it were to praiſe the Maſter by his mens liueries. For al theſe things on which Fortune exerciſeth her power are baſe and ſeruile, as are riches, the bodie & honors, they are weak, fraile, mortall,

and

and poſſeſſed with vncertaintie. Contrariwiſe, the workes of vertue are free and inuincible, the which are not to be wiſhed for more, when they are fauoured by any flattering fortune, nor leſſe alſo when they are followed with ſome diſaſter. That which we call friendſhip towards men, is a deſire and couetouſneſſe towards good things. I ſuppoſe thou wouldſt not rather priſe a good rich man for his wealth; then thou wouldeſt do a poore man, nor a ſtrong and mightie man, then a feeble and weake man. By the ſame reaſon, thou wouldeſt not rather wiſh a faire and peaceable thing, then that thing which is painfull and laborious. And if it be ſo of the two that ſhould be equally good, thou haddeſt rather like of him that ſhould be neate and perfumed, then him that ſhould be ſlouenly and vncombed: In fine, thou wouldeſt come thus farre, that thou wouldeſt more loue a man that were complete in all his members, that had neuer beene hurt, then a weake and ſpur-blinde fellow. Briefly, by little and little thy diſdaine would increaſe ſo farre, that of the two that ſhould be equally ſage and iuſt, thou haddeſt rather haue him that were faire locked and friſled, then him that is diſguiſed and balde. When the vertue both of the one and the other is equall, the inequalitie of other things appeareth not. Becauſe all theſe other things are not partes, they are but acceſſaries. For who is hee that would make ſo iniuſt an eſteem amongſt his children, that he would make better reckning of him that were whole, then of him that were ſick: of him that were great and high of ſtature, more then of him that were low and little? Wilde beaſts diſtinguiſh not their yong ones, they couch themſelues on the ground to nouriſh them altogether: birds doe equally diſtribute their meat to their young. *Vlyſſes* maketh as great haſt to ſee his rockes of *Ithaca*, as *Agamemnon* his noble walles of *Mecenæ*. For no man loueth his countrey becauſe it is great, but becauſe it is his owne. But whereto tend theſe things? To the end that thou mayeſt know, that vertue carrieth an equall eye and regard on all her workes, as on her proper children, that ſhe loueth all of them alike, and thoſe farre more that feele anie paine, becauſe the loue of fathers extendeth more towards thoſe, on whom they haue moſt compaſſion. In like manner vertue beareth not leſſe affection to thoſe her workes, which ſhe ſeeth ſuffer more affliction and torment, but following the cuſtome of good parents, ſhe embraceth and cheriſheth them the more. But why is it that one good cannot be greater then another? Becauſe there is nothing more apt then that which is apt, nor nothing more full then that which is full. Thou canſt not ſay that this is more like vnto a thing then that, conſequently there is nothing more honeſt then that which is honeſt. So then, if the nature of vertue be all alike, all the three ſorts of goods are equall. And therfore I ſay that it is all one to be moderate in ioy, and moderate in pain. Ioy ſurmounteth not the conſtancie of the ſoule, that deuoureth his complaints vnder the crueltie of a hang-man. The one of theſe goods are to be deſired, the other to be admired; yet both of them are equall: for all that which is ill is couered vnder the cloake of a more greate good. He that ſhould be of an opinion that theſe two things were not equall, he ſhould ſhew that he would neuer caſt his eyes vpon vertue, and that hee onely regarded exterior things. True goods haue the ſame waight and greatneſſe, both the one and the other. But the falſe are vaine and deceiueable. Therefore it is that thoſe goods that ſeeme ſo faire and ſo great to the exterior eye, deceiue vs when they are brought to their touch and waight. This is true, my *Lucilius*, all that which reaſon and vertue praiſeth and priſeth, it is firme, it is eternall, it maketh the ſoule aſſured, and lifteth it vp to heauen, to remaine there euerlaſtingly. But the goods which

we commend without reaſon,and that haue their onely being in vulgar iudgement,doe but fill them with winde, that reuiue in them. Contrariwiſe, that which a man feareth as euill,doth but affright our minds, and terrifie the ſame no otherwiſe then apprehenſion of ſome danger troubleth beaſts. All theſe things then doe recomfort the ſoule,or torment it without reaſon: for neyther is the one worthie of any ioy,nor the other of any feare. There is nought but onely reaſon,which is immutable and conſtant in her iudgement; for ſhee obeyeth not,but commandeth the ſenſes. Reaſon is equall with reaſon, as right to that which is right. Vertue then is the like; for ſhe is nought elſe but right reaſon. All vertues are rightfull reaſons, if they be rightfull they are equall. Such as the reaſon is, ſuch are the actions. Therefore all are equall: for ſince they are like vnto reaſon,they are alſo like betweene themſelues. And thoſe actions terme I equall betweene themſelues,which are vpright and honeſt. But yet they ſhall be much different,by reaſon of the varying of the matter, which is now more ample,now more ſparing,now more worthie, now more ignoble, now pertayning to many, now vnto few. And notwithſtanding in all thoſe things,that which is the beſt is equall. Euen as amongſt good men,all are equall as they are good men,yet haue they ſome differences in age,the one is elder,the other younger; they haue difference in bodie, the one is faire, the other deformed; they differ in fortune,this is rich, that is poore: he is gratious, powerfull, knowne to Cities and Nations, this vnknowne to many and obſcure. But in that they are good,they are equall. The ſenſe iudgeth not of good and euill: it knoweth what is profitable,and is ignorant of that which is vnprofitable: hee cannot giue his aduice,but of that which is repreſented before his eyes: he cannot foreſee thoſe things that are to come to paſſe,neither haue remembrance of that which is forepaſſed; leſſe knoweth he that which may enſue: notwithſtanding,thereupon dependeth the order and ſucceſſe of things,and all the conſtancie of life,which ſhould be right and perfect. Reaſon then is it that iudgeth of good and euill,that maketh no account of forraine matters, which come externally,and that thinketh that thoſe things which are neither good nor euill, to be ſome ſmall and light increaſing; all good to him is in the mind. Moreouer, there are certaine things which ſhe placeth in the firſt ranke, to which ſhe purpoſely commeth,as to a victorie,to wiſe children and well borne,and the health of his countrey. There are other goods of the ſecond degree, which are not knowne but in aduerſities,as to ſuffer a ſickneſſe or baniſhment patiently. And certaine other indifferent, which neuertheleſſe are more friendly then contrary to nature: as to walke modeſtly,and to keepe a graue countenance when a man ſitteth. For it is a thing as naturall to ſit as to ſtand,or to walke. But the two firſt are much different the one from the other; for the firſt are according to nature, that is to ſay,to reioyce at the pietie of his children,and the felicitie of his countrey. The ſecond are againſt nature; to ſuſtaine torments with a great conſtancie and endure thirſt,when as the infirmitie burneth the entrailes. What ſhall it then be? Is there any thing contrarie to nature that may be called good? No truely. But this good is often found in a thing which is enemie to nature: for to be hurt, to be dried and conſumed in the fire, to be afflicted with a ſickneſſe is againſt nature,but to conſerue a mans ſoule in ſuch harmonie,that ſhe is not wearied to ſuffer torments,this is friendly to nature. What is reaſon then? It is an imitation of nature. What is mans chiefeſt good? It is to doe all things according to natures will. It is vndoubted (ſaith he) that a peace which hath neuer beene interrupted,is better then that which hath beene gotten with effuſion

ſion of bloud. There is no doubt (ſaith he) but that health which neuer hath beene ſhaken, is better and more happie, then that we haue recouered perforce, and by a long patience of a ſickeneſſe that threatned vs with death: In like manner it is not to be doubted, but that ioy is a greater good, then a ſoule ſubiect to ſuffer torments, wounds, and fire, yet are theſe things nothing. For thoſe things that happen caſually receiue a great difference, becauſe they are eſteemed by the profite of thoſe that receiue them. The intention and end of good men is to conſent vnto nature. She is equall in all. When as the whole Senate followeth the opinion of one man: a man cannot ſay, This man is better aduiſed then the other; for all of them haue followed that opinion. I ſay the ſame by vertues; all of them conſent vnto nature: I ſay the ſame by good men; all of them conſent vnto nature. One is dead young, another olde: ſome one moreouer is dead in infancie, that hath enioyed no other good then to haue the onely ſight of life: all theſe were equally ſubiect to die, although death hath ſuffered ſome of them to liue more long, and that to others ſhe hath cut off the threed of life, euen in the flower of their age, and hath interrupted the beginnings and birth of ſome other. One dieth in the middeſt of his ſupper, to another his ſleepe and death hath beene but one, and ſome alſo haue been ſtrangled amiddeſt the embraces of their minions. Adde alſo to theſe, thoſe that are dead by the ſword, or haue beene ſlaughtered by the ſting of Serpents, or that haue beene cruſhed to death vnder ſome ruine, or that are dead through a long conuulſion of their ſinewes, that by little and little hath tortured them. A man may ſay that the end of ſome is better, and of others is worſe. But the death of them all is equall. The meanes whereby they come thereunto are diuers; but the point where they ended is but one. There is not any death more great, the one then the other: for ſhe hath one and the ſame meaſure in all perſons, that is to put an end to life. I ſay the like of goods; one of theſe goods nouriſheth it ſelfe, betwixt pleaſures and delights, and the other ſealeth nothing but aduerſities and diſaſters. Some one hath gouerned at his pleaſure the ſweetnes of a good fortune, and another hath euer borne the force of a tyrannie: yet both the one and the other goods are wholly equall, although the one hath not marched but by plaine and eaſie pathes, and the other by places both tedious and dangerous. In briefe, the end of all is wholly alike. They are goods, they are praiſe-worthy, they follow vertue and reaſon: vertue maketh all things equall amongſt themſelues, which ſhe acknowledgeth. It behoueth thee not, amongſt thoſe opinions which I hold, to wonder hereat. In *Epicurus* opinion there are two ſorts of goods, wherof this happie and ſoueraigne good is compoſed, which are, that the bodie be without paine, and the ſoule without paſſion and perturbation. Theſe goods increaſe not when they are compleate: for which way may that increaſe which is full? The bodie is without griefe; what may be added to this indolencie? The ſoule is peaceable, and in aſſured repoſe; what may be added to this tranquillitie? Euen as the cleere skie and the heauen appearing in his brightneſſe cannot receiue any more accompliſhed beautie: ſo the eſtate of a man that hath care of his bodie and of his ſoule, and will compound his good by the meanes, both of the one and the other, is wholly perfect; it hath attained the fulneſſe of his deſire, if he feeleth no tempeſt in his ſoule, nor trouble in his bodie. If anie other forraine contentments befall vs, they augment not any wayes this ſoueraigne good, but in a ſort ſeaſon the ſame, and make it pleaſing. For this intirely perfect good of humane nature, contenteth it ſelfe with the placabilitie of bodie & ſoule: I will alleadge you from *Epicurus* himſelfe, a diui-

ſion of goods wholly like vnto ours. For there are ſome with him that he had rather ſhould happen vnto him, that is to ſay the repoſe of the bodie, free from all paine, and the contentment of the ſoule that may reioyce in the contemplation of her goods. There are others which he praiſeth and approueth, although he could not wiſh, they ſhould befall him, as that patience which I ſpake of late in a great ſickneſſe, and extreame dolours, which *Epicurus* ſuppoſed his laſt and fortunateſt day of his life. For he ſaid that he ſuffered torments in his bladder and in his vlcerated bellie, which could not receiue a more greate increaſe of dolour. And yet he eſteemed that day the moſt happie. But nothing can make a man happie, but him that enioyeth the ſoueraigne good. There is then amidſt *Epicurus* goods, ſuch as thou wouldeſt not feele: but ſince fortune willeth that it muſt be ſo, we muſt embrace, priſe, and praiſe the ſame as the greateſt goods. A man cannot ſay but that the good which hath giuen a period to a happie life; and for which *Epicurus* in his laſt wordes, hath giuen thankes, is not euen and equall with the greateſt goods. Permit me yet further, my *Lucilius*, to ſpeake more boldly to thee: if any goods may be greater then others, I had rather follow thoſe that were diſpleaſant, then thoſe that are gratious and delicate. For it is more honour to ouercome ſuch things as are difficult, then to moderate thoſe that are ioyfull. I know well by the ſame reaſon that it may be effected, that ſome one may entertaine his felicitie modeſtly, and his calamitie conſtantly. As valiant ought he to be eſteemed that hath all night ſtood Sentinell in the Trenches, although the enemie hath not ſallied to force the Campe, as hee that after his legges haue beene cut off, hath entertained the combate on his knees, and hath neuer forſaken his weapons. We ſay to thoſe that ordinarily returne from the field, conquered with bloud, God increaſe your vertue. Therefore it is that I would alwayes praiſe thoſe goods farre more continually, which are become conſtant by a continuall exerciſe, and that haue combated againſt fortune. Should I make doubt rather to praiſe that roaſted and maimed hand of *Mutius*, then the moſt healthſomeſt hand of the moſt valiant man that is: he ſtood vpright, contemning his enemies and the flames, he beheld his hand that conſumed and dropped thorow his enemies Torch, vntill at laſt *Porſena* enuied the glorie of him, at whoſe griefe in the beginning he took pleaſure, and cauſed to his great diſguſt, the fire to be taken from him. Why ſhould I not account this good amiddeſt the firſt and principall? Why ſhould I not eſteeme it farre more then thoſe, which ſome enioy in ſo much ſecuritie, without feare of fortune, ſince it is a thing more rare to haue ouercome an enemie with a dried and waſted hand, then with a whole and well armed? But why, wilt thou ſay, wouldeſt thou deſire this good? Wherefore not? for there is not any one can do the like but he that can wiſh the ſame. Should I wiſh rather to yeeld my feete to be ſoftly rubbed by one of mine olde varlets, or to ſome woman, or to ſome one that from a man ſhould become a woman, to ſtretch the ioynts of my little toes? Why ſhould I not thinke *Mutius* more happie for managing the fire, in ſuch ſort as if he had ſtretched out his hand to any man, to rubbe him ſoftly? He ſalued all the offence he had done, hee made an end of the warre diſarmed and lame, and with that maimed hand he ouercame two Kings.

Epist. LXVII.

After his ſmall Preface, a queſtion whether euery good is to be wiſhed for. He ſaith that it is, yea euen that whoſe matter is in euills. As to be conſtantly burned, ſicke, and whipped. Neither is the burning it ſelfe, a ſickneſſe, nor the whipping, but that, ſaith he, is to be wiſhed for, to ſuffer the ſame ſtoutly and conſtantly. Againe, that Vertues are vnited together, and as one, ſo all. Theſe alſo are worthy and befitting a ſtout and reall Stoick.

TO the end that I make the beginning of my letter, with thoſe things that are common: the ſpring began to open it ſelfe, but as if it approched alreadie towards Summer, and at ſuch time as it ſhould be hot, it waxed warme. Neither as yet is it to be truſted, for oftentimes it returneth to Winter. Wilt thou know how vnaſſured it is? As yet I dare not aduenture to bath my ſelfe in cold water, as yet doe I temper the cold thereof. This is, ſayeſt thou, not to ſuffer either heat or cold. So it is, my *Lucilius*, mine age is contented enough with his coldnes, that ſcarcely may be thawed in the middeſt of ſummer. And therefore for the moſt part of the time, I lie couched on my mattreſſe. I thanke mine age that hath tied me to my couch. And why ſhould I not giue it thankes for this? All that which I ſhould not will, I cannot act. My greateſt diſcourſe is with my books: if at any time thy Epiſtles come betweene, me thinkes I am with thee, and ſo am I affected in minde, as if I did not write backe vnto thee, but anſwered thee face to face. And therefore will I entreate of that which thou demandeſt of me, as if I ſpake with thee. We will both of vs examine what this queſtion is. Thou wilt haue me tell thee whether euery good be to be deſired. If it bee good, ſayeſt thou to endure torments courageouſly, and to ſuffer the fire with a great conſtancie, and to endure a ſickneſſe peaceably: it followeth that all that is to be deſired, and yet ſee I nothing in it, that is worthy to be wiſhed. Truely, as yet know I not any man, that hath payed any vow he hath made for being beaten with whips, or made lame by the gout, or made longer by the racke. Thou muſt, my *Lucilius*, make a diſtinction of theſe things, and then ſhalt thou finde that there is ſome point which may be wiſhed for. I could well wiſh that torments ſhould be alwaies eſtranged from me: but when of force I muſt needs feele the ſame, then would I wiſh that I might endure them vertuouſly, courageouſly, and honorably. Why ſhould I not rather wiſh, that the warre ſhould neuer happen? But if it be proclaimed and begun, then would I wiſh, that with a generous courage I might ſuffer wounds, famine, and all that which the neceſſitie of warre bringeth with it. I am not ſo fooliſh, as that I would deſire to bee ſicke, but if it muſt ſo fall out, I would deſire alſo that I might not do any thing intemperately, or effeminately. So the euils and incommodities are not to be deſired, but the vertue whereby incommodities are ſuffered. Some of our Stoicks thinke, that the conſtancie and patience in torments and euils, neither ought to be deſired nor deteſted. For when a man wiſheth, he ought to deſire a thing wholly peaceable, pure, and exempt from ſorrowes. But I am not of their opinion. Wherefore? Becauſe it cannot be that a thing ſhould be good, and ſhould not be deſired. Furthermore, if vertue is to be deſired, and if there be not any good without vertue, it followeth that all good is to be deſired. Againe, if a conſtant patience in torments ſhould not be deſired. I aske thee a-

gaine, is not Fortitude to be wished for? But she contemneth and prouoketh all perils. The faireſt and moſt admirable part that is in it, is not to flie from any flames, and to preſent himſelfe to wounds, and ſometimes not to auoide them, but to open his breaſt to receiue them. If then fortitude is to be deſired, and patience in ſuffering torments is to be wiſhed for, (for this is a part of fortitude) but ſeparate theſe things, as I ſaid, there ſhall be nothing that ſhall deceiue thee. For to ſuffer torments, is not to bee wiſhed for, but to ſuffer them couragiouſly. That courage wiſh I for, which is a vertue. Yet who euer wiſhed this to himſelfe? Some vowes are open and profeſſed, when they are particularly made: ſome are obſcured, when as many things are comprehended in one vow. As when I deſire an honeſt life, but an honeſt life conſiſteth of diuers actions. In this is *Regulus* tombe, *Catoes* wound rent open by his owne hands. *Rutilius* baniſhment, the inuenomed cup that tranſlated *Socrates* out of priſon into heauen. So when I wiſhed my ſelfe an honeſt life, I wiſhed theſe things alſo, without which ſometimes it cannot be honeſt.

O thrice and foure-times happy men were they,
That vnder Troy-towne walles diſmembred lay,
Before their parents eyes.——

What difference makeſt thou, either that thou wiſheſt it vnto any one, or that thou confeſſeſt that it is to be deſired? *Decius* made a vow to die for the Common-weale, and ſeeking nought but death, galloped his horſe into the ſwarmes of his enemies. Another after him, that emulated his fathers vertue, after hee had pronounced the ſolemne words, which were alreadie familiar vnto him, thruſt himſelfe mainely into the throng of his enemies, hauing no other care, but to beſeech the gods to effect the intention of his vow, ſuppoſing that a good death was a thing to be deſired. Doubteſt thou then, that it is not a great good to die, to the end, to leaue a happie memorie of a man, and of ſome his vertuous enterpriſe? When any one endureth torments, conſtantly he employeth all vertues, although it may be he had but patience onely, which might appeare and ſhew it ſelfe. But there is Fortitude, whoſe patience, ſufferance and tollerance are the branches. There is Prudence, without which no counſell is conceiued, which perſwadeth to endure that valiantly, which thou canſt not flie. There is Conſtancie, which cannot be deiected from her place, and giueth not ouer her reſolution by no feare of torture. There is that inſeparable ſocietie of all the vertues. All that which is done honorably, one only vertue doth it, but it is by aduice of counſell. But that which is allowed by all vertues, although it ſeeme to be done by one, is to be deſired. Why? Suppoſeſt thou that thoſe things are only to be wiſhed for, which come by pleaſure and idleneſſe? And that which we receiue from painted, tapiſſed, and adorned gates? There are ſome ſad pleaſures, and ſome vowes that are celebrated, not with reioyce, but with adoration and veneration of the the whole aſſembly. Thinkeſt thou not that in this kinde *Regulus* wiſhed not to returne into the hands of the Carthaginians? Put vpon thee the minde of a generous and vertuous man, and ſeparate thy ſelf a little from the opinions of the common ſort. Aſſume as faire and magnificent a forme of vertue as thou oughteſt: which is to bee honored by vs, not with gauds and garlands, but with ſweate and blood. Behold *Marcus Cato*, thruſting his moſt pure hands into that his ſacred breſt, to enlarge his wound, which as yet was not ſufficiently deepe, whether at length wouldeſt thou ſay vnto him,

him, I would that which thou wouldeſt, and I am much grieued at that which thou doeſt. Happy be it vnto thee which thou doeſt. In this place our friend *Demetrius* commeth to my minde, who termed a ſecure life, and ſuch a one as was not ſubiect to Fortunes incurſions, the dead ſea. For to haue nothing to awaken thee, nothing to moue thee, nothing by whoſe aduertiſement and aſſault, thou mayeſt make triall of the firmitie of thy minde, but to liue alwaies in a repoſe which hath neuer been troubled, this is not a tranquillitie, but a calme, and relent of the ſea. *Attalus* the Stoick was wont to ſay, I had rather that Fortune ſhould nouriſh me in the campe, then in her delights. I ſuffer torments, but it is with conſtancie: this is well. I am maſſacred, but endure it conſtantly; this doth well. Heare moreouer what *Epicurus* ſaith: And ſweete it is: I will neuer giue a delicate name to a thing ſo honeſt and ſeuere; I am burned, yet remaine I inuincible: why ſhould it not be deſired, not that the fire burne me, but that it ouercome me not? There is nothing more worthie then Vertue. All that whatſoeuer, which is done by her direction and command, is good and deſirable.

Epist. LXVIII.

He perſwadeth repoſe, but ſo as it be ioyned with Philoſophie. That we are not to boaſt thereof. And in it we are to entreate of our ſelues, with our ſelues, that is, to enquire of our vices, and to amend them. To conclude, that this repoſe is aboue all other affaires, becauſe it ſerueth the great Common-weale.

I Will be of thy minde; go to then, and retire and hide thy ſelfe in repoſe, or rather hide thou thy repoſe. If thou canſt not learne this by the Stoicks precepts, at leaſt thou ſhalt learne it by their example. But by their preceps alſo thou ſhalt learne it, which I will approue vnto thee when thou wilt. We ſend not ouer to euery Common-weale, neither alwayes, neither without any end. Moreouer, when we haue giuen a wiſe-man a Common-weale worthy of himſelfe, that is to ſay, the world; he is not out of his Common-weale, although he be retired. But it may bee rather that forſaking a little corner, hee goeth into places more great and ſpacious, and lodging himſelfe in heauen, he then vnderſtandeth, that when he was mounted in his chaire, and in his throne, he was rather deſcended into a more baſe place. I will ſhut this ſecret in thy boſome. That a wiſe-man neuer profiteth ſo much, then when both humane and diuine things become the obiects of his eyes. I returne now vnto that which I began to perſwade thee vnto, that is, that no man may know that thou wilt liue in repoſe. It behoueth thee not to couer this reſolution vnder the cloake of retirement, whereby thou mayeſt intend Philoſophie. It were better thou ſhouldeſt obſcure thine intent vnder ſome other title. Thou muſt call it ſickneſſe, feeblenes, idleneſſe. It is a fooliſh ambition to glorie in doing nothing. There are certaine beaſts, which becauſe they will not be tracted, confound their ſteps euen about that place where they lurke in. The like muſt thou doe; otherwiſe thou ſhalt not want them that will follow the queſt of thee. There are many that paſſe before the gates of thoſe that are opened, without entring into them, and peepe into the cranies of thoſe thoſe that are cloſed. The coffer that is cloſed, whetteth on the theefe to breake it open, no man maketh reckoning of that which is vnlocked,

vnlocked, and theſe lock-pickers aſſault not the doore that is open. Theſe are the manners of the common people, and thus doth the moſt ignorant. They deſire to enter forcibly into others mens ſecrets. It is therefore moſt expedient for a man not to boaſt of his retirement, and it is a kinde of boaſting, to lie hidden too much, and to ſequeſter a mans ſelfe from the ſight of the people. This man is locked vp in *Tarentum*, that man is retired in *Naples*, and that other man for many yeares hath not ouerſtrid his threſhold. Vndoubtedly hee ſummoneth the world to come and ſee him, that will ſuffer a report to paſſe of him through the citie, that he is retired. After thou haſt retired thy ſelfe, thou muſt doe nothing that men may talke of thee; ſpeake thou only with thy ſelfe. But what ſhalt thou talke with thy ſelfe? That which ſome men do willingly entertaine of others. Haue alwayes an ill opinion of thy ſelfe. Accuſtome thy ſelfe to ſpeake the truth, and to heare it alſo. Aboue all things, ſpeake thou often of thoſe imperfections which thou feeleſt in thy ſelfe. There is no man but knoweth his owne infirmities. Therefore it is that ſome man diſburdeneth his ſtomacke by vomit, another ſtuffes it with continuall eating, another emptieth and weakeneth his bodie by the meanes of faſt. Thoſe that are often tortured with the paines of the gout, abſtaine either from bathing themſelues, or drinking of wine. And without obſeruance of any other manner of diet, they ordinarily ouercome the ſickeneſſe wherewith they are tormented. So likewiſe there are certaine parts in our ſoule, which are the cauſes of our infirmities, which how we ought to recouer, we diligently muſt bethinke our ſelues. What doe I in that repoſe I take? I cure mine vlcer. If I ſhould ſhew thee my foote ſwolne, my hand wholly mortified, or the dried ſinewes of my contracted leg, thou wouldeſt giue me leaue to lie in one place, and to take pitie and regard my griefe. But that euill which I cannot ſee is farre greater. It is an inflamation and apoſteme which I haue in my breſt. I will not that thou praiſe me, neither will I that thou ſay, O great man! Hee hath deſpiſed all things, and after hee hath condemned all the furies of humane life, hee is fled. Alas I haue condemned nothing but mine owne proper actions. Thou muſt not deſire to come vnto me, to the end to profit thy ſelfe. Thou art deceiued, if hence thou expecteſt any ſuccours. Heere dwels not the Phyſitian, but the patient. I had rather when thou art gone, thou ſhouldeſt ſay. I thought this man to be a happy and learned man, I gaue eare vnto him, I am deceiued, I heard nothing, I ſaw nothing that I might deſire, or that might allure me to returne againe vnto him. If this be thy opinion, if this be thy ſpeech, I know thou haſt profited ſomewhat; I had rather thou ſhouldeſt pardon my repoſe, then enuie it. What then *Seneca*, commendeſt thou repoſe of ſpirit vnto me? Thou groweſt an Epicure in thy opinon at length. I recommend vnto thee repoſe, to the end, that by the means thereof, thou mighteſt doe things more great and more excellent, then thoſe which thou haſt left behinde thee. To knocke at great mens gates, to keepe reckoning of old men that haue no children: to haue great reputation in Court, is but a momentany power, and full of enuie; and if thou wilt ſpeake truth, an abiect. This man farre ſurpaſſeth me in reputation amongſt the Lawyers. He in his allowances and paies for ſeruice, and his dignities gotten thereby, he in the multitude of his clients, I cannot be ſo well followed as the one, nor recouer ſo great reputation as the other. But I ought not to make ſo great account to be ouercome by men, prouide alwaies that I may ouercome Fortune. Would to God that had beene thy minde heretofore, to haue followed this purpoſe. Would to God wee held not this diſcourſe of happie life, vpon that inſtant,

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wherein death preſenteth her ſelfe to our ſight, yet let vs not delay for all this. For now beleeue we many things by experience, which we ſhould haue beleeued by the diſcourſe of reaſon, to be both ſuperfluous and harmefull. Let vs do like thoſe that ſet forward on their iourney late, and that by diligence would recouer the time which they haue loſt, let vs pricke forward on the ſpurre. This age is as yet very proper to this ſtudie: it is alreadie clenſed from his skum: it hath alreadie left thoſe vices which ſhe could not conquer in the heate of her youth. There wanteth little, but that ſhe hath wholly extinguiſhed them. And when, ſaieſt thou, ſhall this profit thee which thou learneſt euen in the period of thy yeares, or to what intent? To this, that I may die the better: yet oughteſt thou not to thinke that there is any age more proper vnto wiſedome, then that which by long experience, and by a continuall and frequent ſufferance of caſualties hath mortified and ouercom her ſelfe; and which after it hath triumphed ouer her affections, hath attained to the knowledge of that which profiteth and concerneth her ſelfe. This is the true time of that good which remaineth but a little while, what man ſoeuer, and how olde ſoeuer hee be that hath attained wiſedome, it is by his yeares that he hath compaſſed it.

Epist. LXXIX.

That places are not to be changed, but that we ought to be more repoſed in bodie, to the end the minde may be more pacified. That we are to fixe the ſame on a wholſome ſtudie, and to auoyde thoſe things which diſtract vs.

I Will not that thou change countries, or tranſport thy ſelfe from one place to another, firſt, becauſe ſo often change is a token of an inſtable and vnſetled minde. Thou canſt neuer make profite of thy retirement, vnleſſe thou giue ouer trauell, and wandring from countrey to countrey. If thou wilt ſettle thy minde, limit thy bodie in ſome place; then will thy continued remedies profite thee much. Thou muſt not breake the repoſe or forgetfulnes of thy former life: ſuffer thine eyes to forget; ſuffer thine eares to accuſtome themſelues to wholſome counſailes. As oft-times as thou ſhalt walke in the ſtreets, thou ſhalt finde in paſſing by, ſomething that may renue thy affections. Euen as he that would deſpoile himſelfe of loue, ought to flie the remembrance of that beautie, which he hath loued: ſo he alſo that will diſcharge himſelfe of the affection of all things, of that deſire wherewith he burned in times paſt, he muſt retire both his eyes and eares from that he hath forſaken. Affection reuolteth ſuddenly: on which ſide ſoeuer ſhe turne her ſelfe, ſhe ſhall finde a readie recompence of her employment. There is no euill without reward. Auarice promiſeth vs money, luſt manie and diuers pleaſures, ambition the purple and applauſe, and thereby power and authoritie, and what ſoeuer authoritie may doe. Vices ſollicite thee with rewards, but here muſt thou liue without taking any thing. Scarce can it be effected in a whole age, that thoſe vices which haue had their increaſe by ſo long libertie, ſhould be ſubdued & brought in ſubiection, much leſſe may it be done, if we diuide the time which is ſo ſhort, into little parcels. Hardly can continuall watch and labour bring one onely thing to perfection. Truely, if thou wilt liſten to me meditate hereupon, exerciſe thy ſelfe to receiue death, and to ſeeke her out when any occaſion ſhall counſaile thee thereunto. It skils not whether

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ſhe come to vs, or we to her, perſwade thy ſelfe that the fooliſh mens prouerbe and vſuall ſpeech is falſe; *It is a faire thing to die a good death.* Thou mayſt beſide this thinke thus with thy ſelfe: No man dieth but on his prefixed time: thou looſeſt none of thy time; for that which thou leaueſt behinde thee is another mans.

Epist. LXX.

That by the ſight of the Pompeies, *and the admoniſhment of time paſt, he thought vpon the ſwiftneſſe and flight thereof. That death is at hand, which is the hauen of troubles. That ſhe is neyther to be feared nor deſired, or intertained but ſometimes, and when? When reaſon not violent paſſion perſwadeth. Many and most excellent things to this purpoſe.*

AFter a long ſpace of time I haue ſeene thy *Pompeies*, and in ſeeing them me thought that I had recouered againe my former youth: all whatſoeuer I had done there whilſt I was a young man, me thought I could as yet doe it, and that but a little while ſince I did it. Wee ſaile by our life, my *Lucilius*, and as in the Sea, as our *Virgil* ſaieth;

The ſhores and Citties flie.

So likewiſe in this ſo ſwift courſe of time, we loſe the ſight, firſt of our childehood, and after of our youth, and then whatſoeuer intercurreth betwixt youth and old age, which is confined both to the one and to the other, anon after alſo the better yeares of our olde age. In the laſt place the common end of all humane race beginneth to diſcouer it ſelfe. Are we ſo fooliſh to thinke that it is a rocke? It is the Port which we ought one day to deſire, and neuer to refuſe; into which, if any man hath beene caſt and carried in his young yeares, he ought not to complain, no more then he would, that with a ſhort cut hath ended his Nauigation. For as thou knoweſt there are ſome whom ſlacker winds mocke and detaine, and wearie with gentle tediouſneſſe of a peaceable calme, ſome are ſwiftly borne away by a ſudden guſt. Thinke that the ſame befalleth vs. Life hath brought and raviſhed ſome very ſwiftly thither, whether although they would haue delayed, they muſt needs come. Otherſome hath ſhe pined and burned, which as thou knoweſt are not alwaies to be retained; for it is not good to liue, but to liue well. And therefore a wiſe-man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can. He will alwayes ſee in what place he ought to liue, with what perſons, in what manner, and what he ought to doe. If diuers troubles and ſorrowes ſuddenly ſurpriſe him, to the intent to intercept his peace, he openeth the priſon himſelfe; neither doth he this onely in a deſperate extreamity, but as ſoone as he hath the leaſt ſuſpicion of fortune, he taketh a diligent heede whether that day ſhould be his laſt or no. He makes no great reckoning, whether by his own hand or another mans hatred he receiue his death, or whether it be ſooner or later. He feareth not as it he were endangered to loſe much; no man can haue great loſſe of water by a dropping Ewer. It skils not whether a man die ſooner or later: to die eyther well or ill, that importeth much; and to die well is to flie the perrill of an euill life. Therefore thinke I that *Rhodians* ſpeech moſt effeminate, who by a Tyrant being caſt into a caue, and nouriſhed there

thereof after the manner of a wilde beast, being perswaded by some to abstaine from his meate, answered, *A man ought to hope for all things whilst he liueth.* But suppose this were true, yet ought we not buy life an euery rate. There are certaine things, which although they are good, although they are certaine, yet would I not attaine them by a confession of feeblenesse and faintnesse of heart. Shal I beleeue that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, rather then suppose, that fortune can do nothing ouer him that knoweth how to die? Yet sometimes, although assured death be dependent, and that a man know that a punishment is destinated for him, yet must he not set hand and further his punishment. It is a follie to die through the feare of death: Comes he that should kill thee? Expect him. Why putteſt thou thy selfe forward? Why vndertakeſt thou the charge of another mans crueltie? Doſt thou enuie thy hangman, the officer to execute thee, or wilt thou spare his labour? *Socrates* could haue ended his daies by his absence, & might haue rather died for hunger then of venome; yet remained he full thirtie dayes in prison, attending his death, not with this minde, that all things might be pacified, or that so long a time might intertaine so many hopes, but that hee might yeelde himselfe vnto the lawes, and suffer his friends to enioy *Socrates*, euen vntill his last. But what more great follie could haue beene seene, then to despise death and to feare prison? *Scribonia* a woman of great authoritie, was aunt on the fathers side to *Druſus Libo*, a young man, who had as weake braine as his descent was noble, and that hoped for farre more greate fortunes, then any other might hope for in that time, or himselfe in any other time after; when as he was borne away from the Senate in his Litter, not with frequent obseruances (for all his neereſt friends had forsaken him shamefully, not as a guiltie, but a conuicted person and executed) he began to aske counsaile whether he should haſten his death by his own hands, or expect the same. To whom *Scribonia:* What pleasure haſt thou, said she, to finish that which another ought to execute? But she could no wayes perswade him. He murthered himselfe with his owne handes, and not without cause: for being assured that within three or foure dayes after, if he had beene found aliue, he should die that death whatsoeuer was beſt liking to his enemie, he finished that which another man should haue executed. Thou canſt not then make a generall iudgement, when as the violence of a forraine tyrant denounceth thee death; whether thou oughteſt to further or expect the same. For there are diuers reasons, which draw vs both to the one and the other opinion. If the one death should be accompanied with torments, and the other should be simple and facile: why should I not allow of that? Euen as I would chuse a ship to saile in, and a house to dwell in; in like manner would I chuse the better death to depart out of this life. Furthermore, euen as the longeſt life is not the beſt, so the longest death is the worſt. There is nothing wherein wee should giue more contentment to our soules, then in the maner of death which they beſt like of. Let the soule depart by that issue, her selfe inforceth, whether it be she desire the dagger or the halter, or a poisoned cup that may suddenly seize all the veines, let her proceed and breake the bonds of her seruitude. Euerie one ought to endeuour to approue his life vnto others, and his death vnto himselfe. That which pleaseth vs moſt is the beſt. This is but a follie to think thus. Some will say that I did it not couragiously enough, some that too much rashly, some that there was a kinde of death more generous. Thinkeſt thou that it lieth in thy power to make choice of a counsaile, which shall not be subiect to common report and censure? Thinke onely to dispatch thy selfe speedily out of the power

wer and handes of fortune; otherwiſe there will not want ſome who will conceiue an euill opinion of thine action: thou ſhalt finde ſome, yea euen thoſe who haue made profeſſion of Philoſophie, that will denie that any man ought to violate or ſhorten his life, and that maintaine it for a foule offence, for a man to murther himſelfe, and that it were better to exſpect the end which Nature hath determined. But he that ſpeaketh thus, ſeeth not that he cutteth off the way of libertie. The eternall law hath done nothing better, then to giue vs one onely entrance into life, and diuers iſſues. Shall I expulſe the crueltie of a ſickneſſe, or the tyrannie of a man, when as I may eſcape euen through the middeſt of torments, and driue all aduerſities farre from me? This is one thing, wherein we cannot complaine of life, ſhe retaineth no man. It is a great good for humane affaires, that there is not one that is miſerable, but by his owne default. Takeſt thou pleaſure in life? Liue. Art thou diſpleaſed therwith? Thou mayeſt returne to the place from whence thou cameſt. To heale thy head-ach thou haſt oft-times let bloud, to extenuate thy bodie thou haſt opened thy veine: Thou needeſt not to open thy breaſt with a deepe and vaſt wound; a lancet will giue way to that great libertie, and in a pricke conſiſteth ſecuritie. What is it then that maketh vs fearefull and ſlacke to diſlodge? There is not one of vs that thinketh that he muſt depart one day out of this houſe: ſo doth the cuſtome and indulgence of the place detaine the auncient inhabitants, although to their owne vndoing. Wilt thou alwayes keepe this libertie againſt this bodie? Inhabite it as if thou ſhouldſt leaue it, and make account that one day thou muſt loſe his company. Thou ſhalt afterwards be more conſtant and reſolute, when anie neceſſitie ſhall conſtraine thee to depart. But how can they thinke vpon their ends, who couet all things without end? There is nothing in this world, the remembrance and meditation whereof is more neceſſarie. For happily it is in vaine, where a man thinketh on other things. Haue wee prepared our mindes againſt pouertie? The riches remaine with vs. Are we alreadie armed againſt contempt of paine? The felicitie of a whole and healthfull bodie hath had no need, that we ſhould make proofe of our vertues. Haue we gotten this authoritie ouer our ſelues, that we can ſuffer death and the loſſe of our friends conſtantly? Yet fortune hath conſerued and made all them ſuruiue vnto vs, whom we moſt loue. But the day that ſhall haue neede of the vſe and practique of this onely thing, ought vndoubtedly to come. Thou muſt not thinke that great perſonages onely, haue had that courage and force to breake the bonds of their humane ſeruitude. Thou muſt not thinke that *Cato* onely could rent out his ſoule with his hand, which he could not pricke out with his poynard. Since ſome men of as bad condition as may be, with great heate of courage haue attained that place of aſſurance, and being vnable ſuddenly to finde wherewith to make themſelues away to their liking, or chuſe any inſtrument which was proper for them thereunto, haue laide hand on the firſt thing they could encounter, and haue made vſe of that for weapons, which of their nature were no wayes hurtfull. Not long ſince an Alman, one of thoſe that ſhould combate with the beaſts, in the ſports & ſhows in the morning, retired himſelf, fayning that he would withdraw himſelfe to diſcharge his natural neceſſities; for they were not ſuffred to go into any other ſecret place without guard, there ſtopped he the ſticke or ſtaffe (to which a ſpong was faſtned, to cleanſe and cleere the priuie parts) wholly into his throat, & forcibly cloſing vp the paſſage of his breath, ſtifled himſelfe: this was to braue death and contemne it. It was vndoubtedly, although ſcarce cleanly and honourably. What follie is there greater

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ter, then to die effeminately, when we muſt die aſſuredly. O ſtrong, O worthy man, deſeruing the election of that death that beſt liked him! How couragiouſly had he vſed his ſword, had he found it? with what reſolution of minde had he caſt himſelfe into the depth of the Sea, or the cauitie of a clouen Rocke? Being diſpoyled of all commodities, he found the meanes how he might be beholding vnto himſelfe onely, both for the meanes and weapons for his death. To the end that thou mayeſt know that there is nothing that hindereth vs from dying but want of will. Let each man iudge as he liſt of this violent mans actions, prouided that it be reſolued vpon as a thing aſſured, that we ought to preferre a baſe and villeynous death, before the moſt cleanlieſt ſeruitude in the world. But becauſe I haue begun to vſe abiect examples, I will contiue them: for euerie one will inforce himſelfe to doe his beſt, if he ſhall perceiue that death is contemptible to perſons that are moſt abiect and baſe. We think that theſe *Catoes* and *Scipioes*, and thoſe other whoſe memories we entertaine with admiration are inimitable. But I will proue you preſently that this vertue is accompanied with as many examples, amiddeſt the men moſt miſerable, deſtinated to the ſports and ſpectacles of beaſts, as amiddeſt the Chiefe-tains of ciuill warres. When as not long ſince, with ſure guard, the ſouldiers carried forth a wretch, ſent out for the morning ſpectacles, ſtouping downe his head as if he were preſſed with ſleepe, he ſuffered it to hang ſo lowe, that he put it betweene the Cart-wheels, and held it ſo long in that place, that the wheele in turning it ſelfe brake his necke. He auoyded the puniſhment in the ſame Chariot, on which he was carried forth to be puniſhed. There is nothing that may hinder a man that hath a will to die, and to be deliuered. Nature keepeth vs in an open place. He to whom his laſt neceſſitie is ſo fauourable, as to aduiſe on the iſſue and end which he ſhall eſteeme moſt conuenient: he that hath diuers meanes in his power to ſet himſelfe at libertie may chuſe; he ſhall do well to thinke how he may moſt eaſily be deliuered. But he that hath ſo hard hap, as not to finde any occaſion, let him take hold on the firſt that ſhall preſent it ſelfe, as if it were the beſt, although it be ſtrange and vnheard of: he that wanteth no courage, wanteth no inuention how to die. Thou ſeeſt how thoſe ſlaues which are moſt miſerable, when as their miſerie toucheth them to the quicke, awaken themſelues, and how they deceiue their keepers, though neuer ſo diligent: he is a man of the greateſt courage that hath not onely commanded but alſo found out the means of his death. I haue promiſed thee diuers examples of men of this condition I haue ſpoken of. In the ſecond combate which was made vpon the water, one of the Barbarians thruſt all that Iauelin into his throate, which was giuen him to combate his enemies. Why haue I not long ſince, ſaid he, fled all theſe torments and all theſe ſhames? Why ſhould I attend death, hauing the armes in my hands? This ſpectacle was ſo much the more magnificent, as much as it is more honeſt for men to learne to die well, as to kill. What then? That which the moſt abiect and contemptible ſpirits may haue; why ſhould not they partake, whom long ſtudie and reaſon (the Ladie Miſtreſſe of all things) hath inſtructed? It is the ſame reaſon that warneth vs, that there are diuers manners of death, but that there is but one and the ſame end, and that it auaileth nothing to know whence that beginneth, that muſt one day come. The ſame reaſon warneth thee, if it lie in thy power to die without griefe: but if it cannot be, doe the beſt that thou canſt, and lay hold on all that which preſenteth it ſelfe to lay violence on thy life. It is an iniurious thing to liue by rapine, but it is a moſt worthy thing to die violently.

Epist. LXXI.

That the chiefeſt good ſhould be continually in our eyes, and that to it all our counſels and actions ſhould be referred. What therefore is that? Onely honeſt. They adulterate the ſame that mixe internall things, becauſe it is onely freed in the minde. Againe, that goods are equall, and that contempt differeth not from honour, if both proceed from honeſtie. He giueth Cato *for example, and dilateth the ſame very worthily. Likewiſe that an honeſt death differeth not from ſuch a life. Againſt the Academikes, which make degrees of happineſſe. That neither it, nor honeſtie are intended. And therefore the moſt bleſſed may be in torment. Is it ſo? Will he not wax pale, tremble, or grieue? Yes, (for theſe are naturall) but all theſe ſhall be ouercome by the ſtrength of his minde, yet not preſently all. There are differences betweene wiſe men and ſtudious. Reade diligently, marke and admire.*

THou askeſt my counſell in all thy affaires, from time to time, not remembring thy ſelfe that we are ſeparated by a large ſea. But ſince the greater part of counſaile dependeth on the opportunitie of time, it muſt fall out of neceſſitie, that ſometimes in certaine things my counſaile is then brought vnto thee, when as at that time the contrarie were more allowable. For counſailes are fitted to affaires, and our affaires paſſe away ſwiftly, or to ſpeake truth, roule away impetuouſly. Counſell therefore ought to be giuen daily, yet is it ſometime ouer old by a day; it muſt be bred ſwiftly, as they ſay, and vnder hand. But how it is found I will ſhew thee. As oft as thou wilt know what either is to be fled, or what ought to be affected, haue regard vnto the chiefeſt good and ſcope of thy whole life. For thereto muſt all that conſent whatſoeuer we doe. He ſhall not diſpoſe euery thing, except he purpoſe to himſelfe alreadie a certaine ſtraine of his whole life. No man, although his colours be ground to his hand, can repreſent the ſimilitude of any thing, except alreadie he be reſolued, what he intendeth to paint. Therefore erre wee, becauſe wee all of vs deliberate on the parts of our life, and no man debateth of the whole. Hee muſt know whereat he aimeth, that will ſhoote his arrow; and then muſt he aime and guide his arrow by his hand. Our Counſailes therefore erre, becauſe they haue not whereunto they ſhould be directed. He that knoweth not what harbor he ſhall make for, hath no winde fitting for him. It muſt need fall out that caſualtie muſt effect much in our life, becauſe all of vs liue caſually. And to ſome it happeneth, that they wot not that they know certaine things, euen as oftentimes we ſeeke for thoſe, with whom we are conuerſant and preſent. So for the moſt part we know not the end of the ſouraigne good, though it be before our eyes, neither by many words nor long circumſtance, ſhalt thou gather what the chiefeſt good is. You muſt ſhow it, as the prouerb ſaith, by the finger, without extending it to ſo many things. For to what purpoſe is it to diuide the ſame into parts, when as thou mayeſt ſay, *That is the chiefeſt good which is honeſt*; and that which thou ſhouldeſt moſt wonder at, *There is but onely one good, which is honeſt*; the reſt are falſe & adulterated goods. If thou perſwade thy ſelfe this, & perfectly loueſt vertue (for to loue it, is but a ſmall matter) whatſoeuer ſhe ſhal touch, that to thee (howſoeuer it ſeeme to others) ſhall be both happie and ſucceſſefull, both to be tormented, if thou lie more ſecure then he that tortureth thee; and to be ſicke, if ſo be thou curſe not Fortune, and giue not way to thy ſickeneſſe.

neſſe. To conclude all thoſe things, which to other men ſeeme euill, both ſhall be ſweete vnto thee, and returne thee profit, if ſo be thou canſt ouercome them. Reſolue on this, that nothing is good, but that which is honeſt, and that all incommodities may iuſtly be called goods, which are once made honeſt by vertue. To many we ſeeme to promiſe greater things then humane nature is capable of, and not without reaſon. For they reſpect the bodie, let them returne to the minde, and then ſhall they meaſure man with God. Take courage, my *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, and diſmiſſe this ſtudie of letters, which the Philoſophers affect, who reduce the moſt magnificent thing of the world to ſyllables, that teach but baſe and trifling matters, and diminiſh and waſte the vnderſtanding. Thou ſhalt become like vnto thoſe that haue inuented theſe things; not they that teach them, and endeuour thus much, that Philoſophie might rather ſeeme difficult then great. Follow them; if I haue any authoritie ouer thee. *Socrates*, who reduced all Philoſophie vnto manners, and ſaid that the chiefeſt wiſdome was to diſtinguiſh good from euill: *To the end that thou mayeſt be happie* (ſaith he) *permit thy ſelfe ſometimes to be eſteemed a foole.* Let whoſoeuer will outrage thee in words, and offend thee in deeds, yet ſhalt thou ſuffer nothing, if ſo be vertue be with thee. If thou wilt, ſaith he, be bleſſed: if thou wilt be an entire honeſt man, ſuffer thy ſelfe to be contemned. This will no man performe, but he that hath equalled and proportioned all goods, becauſe that neither is good without honeſtie, and honeſtie is equall in all. What then? Is there no difference betwixt *Catoes* Pretorſhip, and his repulſe? It skilleth not whether *Cato* be ouercome in the Pharſalian field, or whether he ouercome. This good of his, wherein he cannot be ouercome, though his confederates were conquered: was it equall with that good, wherewith he returned a conquerour vnto his countrie, and compoſed the peace? Why ſhould it not be equall? For by the ſelfe-ſame vertue euill fortune is ouercome, and the good is confirmed; yet vertue cannot be made greater or leſſer. She is alwaies in the ſame meaſure. Yea but *Cneius Pompey* ſhall loſe his armie: but this faire luſtre and pretext of the Common-weale, the principall citizens, and the chiefeſt bands of *Pompeyes* confederates, which being compoſed of the Senate that bare armes, ſhall be defaced in one only battell, and the wreckes and ruines of ſo great an Empire, ſhall be noiſed and ſcattered through the whole world: one part thereof ſhall fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and ſome in Spaine. And that which is worſe, this miſerable Common-weale cannot haue this good to be ruinated all at once. Let all happen whatſoeuer may. Although *Iuba* can be no further ſuccoured in his owne Kingdome by the knowledge of the paſſages, and the conſtant vertues of his people. Although the fidelitie of the inhabitants of Vtica being broken with ſo many miſhaps, be deficient, and the fortune of *Scipioes* name abandoneth him in Africa it ſelfe. It hath long ſince beene prouided, that *Cato* ſhall neither feele loſſe nor detriment; yet was hee conquered. Account thou this amongſt *Catoes* repulſes, he wil ſuffer with as equall conſtancie, as well that which hath beene contrarie to his vertue, as to his eſtate of Pretor. The day that he refuſed the ſame, he ſported; and that night he would kill himſelfe, he read. He cared as little to loſe his life, as his Pretorſhip, he had perſwaded himſelfe, and reſolued to endure all that might happen. But why ſhould not he with a ſtout and confident minde, endure the changes of the Common-weale? For what may a man ſee that is exempt from change? The earth, the heauens, and the ſtructure of all this great world, although it bee gouerned by God, is ſubiect thereunto. It ſhall not alwayes retaine that faire order it now obſerueth. Some

day ſhall come, that ſhall caſt it out of this accuſtomed courſe. All things alter by certaine ſtations, they muſt be borne, encreaſe, and be extinguiſhed, whatſoeuer thou ſeeſt wheele and winde about vs, and al that wheron we are ſuſtained and ſtayed, as a thing moſt firme and ſolide, ſhall come to nothing, and bee defectiue. There is nothing but hath his age and declination. Nature cauſeth all thoſe things to deſcend into one place, by ſpaces of vnequall time. All that which is, ſhall be no more, yet ſhall it not periſh but be diſſolued. To vs diſſolution is to die: for we reſpect nothing but that which is before our eyes. The dull minde, and ſuch as hath addicted it ſelfe to the body, foreſeeth no further, for otherwiſe ſhee would more conſtantly and couragiouſly ſuffer, both her owne and her friends diſſolutions and deathes, if ſhe hoped that all thoſe things ſhould goe by turnes from death to life, and that thoſe things which are compounded, ſhall be diſſolued, and ſuch as are diſſolued ſhall be reaſſembled, and that God, which gouerneth the whole world, employeth his eternall Arte on this worke. Therefore, when as *Cato* hath repreſented before his minde, all the eternitie of time, he will ſay: All mankind whatſoeuer is or ſhall be, is condemned to die. All the Cities, in what place ſoeuer they be, that haue had dominion ouer their neighbours, and haue beene greatned and honoured by forren Empires, the time ſhall come when it ſhall he enquired where they were builded, and by ſundrie ſorts of diſſolution ſhall they be extinguiſhed. Warre ſhall deſtroy ſome: Idleneſſe, and a long peace conuerted into ſlothfulneſſe, and fooliſh expences, a fatall adiunct of great riches ſhall conſume the others. A ſudden inundation of the ſea, ſhall hide all theſe fertile fields, or an earthquake ſhall ſwallow them vp in his bottomleſſe boſome. What cauſe haue I therefore to grudge at, or grieue for, if in a ſmall moment I outſtrip publike fate. A conſtant ſoule muſt obey God, and whatſoeuer the law of the great Vniuers commandeth, let him ſuffer without cunctation or delay. For either ſhe ſhall be tranſlated into a better life, to remaine with more brightnes and tranquillitie amongſt diuine things, or certainly ſhe ſhall remix her ſelfe with her nature, and returne into her whole, neuermore to ſuffer any incommoditie or paine. The ſoueraigne good then of *Marcus Cato*, ſhall not conſiſt any more in an honeſt life, but in an honeſt death; for vertue is not intended. *Socrates* ſaid, that veritie and vertue were the ſame. For as ſhe encreaſeth not, no more doth vertue alſo, ſhee hath her perfection, ſhe is full. Thou muſt not wonder then to heare that goods are equal, as well they which we are to take by a certaine reſolution, as thoſe which a ſudden current of Fortune bringeth to vs. For if thou admitteſt any inequalitie, that thou wilt reckon it amongſt the leſſer goods, to be conſtant in torments, thou ſhalt reckon it alſo amongſt the euils. Thou ſhalt terme *Socrates* vnhappie in his priſon, and *Cato* infortunate, renting open his wounds more couragiouſly then he inflicted them. Thou ſhalt iudge *Regulus* the vnhappieſt man in the world, for paying the penaltie of his obſerued faith vnto his mortall enemies. and yet there is not one, how delicate ſoeuer, and effeminate he bee, that hath dared to ſay thus, for they deny him to be bleſſed, and yet they deny him to be miſerable. The ancient Academickes confeſſe, that amiddeſt theſe torments and paines he was happie, but not perfectly and fully, which can in no manner be allowed of. For if he be happie, he hath attained the ſoueraigne good, and the ſoueraigne good cannot haue any degree aboue the ſame, if ſo be it be accompanied with any vertue, prouided that aduerſities ouercome it not, prouided that it remaine entire and ſafe, although the bodie be cruſhed in ſunder; but certaine it is that ſhe remaineth entire. For I ſpeake of a vertue moſt

excellent

excellent and couragious, which is animated and incited againſt all that which offendeth it. That minde which oftentimes yong men of generous hope and diſpoſitions put vpon them, whom the beautie of ſome honeſt thing hath prouoked, ſo that they contemne all caſualties, vndoubtedly wiſdome will infuſe and teach, and perſwade vs that the onely good is that which is honeſt. And that this can neither be remitted or intended, no more then a rule by which a man meaſureth that which he would make ſtraight, which if thou beare whatſoeuer thou changeſt from it, it is the iniurie of the right. The ſame therfore wil we ſay by Vertue, that ſhe alſo is ſtraight, and admitteth no crookednesſe, it can be no more intended. She it is that iudgeth of all things, and nothing iudgeth of her, if ſhee cannot bee made ſtraighter, no more are thoſe things which are done by her ſtraighter, the one then the other, for they muſt needs be anſwerable to the ſame; ſo are they equall. What then ſayeſt thou? Are theſe things alike to ſit at a table banquetting, and to be tortured? Doth this ſeeme ſtrange vnto thee? Thou haſt more occaſion to wonder at this. It is an euill thing to ſit at a banquet; it is a good thing to be tortured: if that be done lewdly, this honeſtly. The matter is not the cauſe that this is either good or euill; it is the vertue. This whereſoeuer it appeareth, all things are of the ſame meaſure and price. He that iudgeth another mans vnderſtanding by his owne, preſently lifteth vp his nailes to ſcratch out mine eyes, when I ſay that his good that ſuffereth aduerſities conſtantly, and his that maketh an honeſt iudgement of proſperitie are equall: when I ſay that the goods of him that triumpheth, and of him that with an inuincible courage is led before the triumphant Chariot are alike. For they thinke that nothing is done which they cannot do, and by their owne infirmitie, they cenſure vertue. Why wondereſt thou, why ſome reioyce when they ſee themſelues burned, wounded, harmed, ſlaine and fettered? Sometimes they ſuffer it for their pleaſure. Sobrietie ſufficeth for a penaltie, to a prodigall and diſſolute man. Trauell is no leſſe then torture to an idle man. The effeminate taketh pitie of him that is induſtrious, and ſtudie is a hell to him that is ſlothfull. In like ſort, thoſe things (for which our forces ſeeme ouer feeble) are in our opinion hard and intollerable, whereas in our forgetfulneſſe, we finde many that thinke it a torment to want wine, and trouble to riſe earely. Theſe by nature are not difficult, but we are recreants, we are effeminate. We ought to iudge of great things with a great courage; otherwiſe it will ſeeme to be their error, which is ours. So certaine things that are moſt ſtraight, when as they are let downe into the water, ſeeme crooked and bowed to them, that behold them. It skilleth not what thou ſeeſt, but how. Our minde is dimmed in beholding thoſe things, and examining them which are true. Giue me a yong man well borne and of good ſpirit: he will ſay that he ſuppoſeth him more fortunate, that hath borne all the burthens of aduerſe fortune, with a conſtant minde, on his ſhoulders, then him that hath wholly trodden Fortune vnder foote. It is no wonder to be temperate in tranquillitie, admire him that is high minded, where all men are deiected, that ſtandeth there where all men are ſuppreſſed. What euill is there in torments, or what in thoſe things which we call aduerſe? The euill is, as I thinke, when the ſoule is aſtoniſhed, when it is weakened, when it is ſmothered vnder the burthen. But none of theſe may befall a wiſe man. He remaineth alwayes vpright, how ouer-charged ſoeuer hee bee. There is nothing that leſſeneth his courage, nothing that is tedious vnto him, which he muſt ſuffer. For he neuer complaineth that ſuch a fortune hath befallen him, which in any ſort may befall any man whatſoeuer, ſhee knoweth her

owne forces, and her abilitie in ſuffering ſo great a burthen. I will not put a wiſe man out of the rancke of men, I will not exempt him from dolours, no more then I would doe a rocke which hath no ſenſe. I remember my ſelfe that he is compounded of two parts: The one is irrationall, and that it is which may feele bitings, burnings, and paines. The other is reaſonable, that is it which is neuer ſhaken in opinion, that is exempt from all feare, and that is inuincible. In this part it is that a mans chiefeſt good lodgeth; before the accompliſhment whereof, the minde wandereth as vncertaine and doubtfull, but after ſhe hath attained to her perfection, it is in aſſurance and in immutable firmitie. So he that hath but begun, and that neuertheleſſe will aſcend vnto the higheſt, and follow vertue, although he approcheth the good which is wholly perfect, yet vnable as yet to accompliſh the ſame: he will ſometimes ſtay himſelfe in the way, and temperate, in ſome ſort, the vehemencie and ſtrength of his mind, for as yet hath he not ouerpaſſed thoſe things which are incertaine, and remaineth as yet in danger of diſaſter. But he that is bleſſed, and in whom vertues are accompliſhed, then loueth himſelfe moſt, when he hath made proofe of his conſtancie, and if there be any thing which other men feare, prouided that hee may receiue ſome honeſt reward of his deuoyre and ſeruice, hee endureth not onely, but he embraceth the ſame, and had rather heare it ſpoken, hee is more honeſt; then to heare it ſaid, he is more happie. I haue now retired my ſelfe thither, whither thy expectation draweth me: leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſuppoſe, that the vertue whereof I ſpeake, ſhould ſeeme to extend it ſelfe aboue all naturall things. A wiſe-man ſhall tremble, he ſhall feele paines, he ſhall be pale, for all theſe ſenſes appertaine vnto the bodie. Where is then the originall of his calamities? Where then appeareth his euill moſt approued? Then it is when his paſſions aſtoniſh his ſoule. Then it is, when they make her confeſſe that ſhee is a ſlaue, and that they engender ſome repentance in her. The wiſe-man vndoubtedly ſurmounteth Fortune by his vertue. But there are diuers men who haue made profeſſion of wiſdome, and notwithſtanding haue beene terrified by very light threatnings. In this place it is our error, who exact that from a proficient, which is ſpoken of a wiſe-man. I ſtriue as much as in me lieth, to beleeue all this which I praiſe, yet perſwade I not them as yet, and although I had perſwaded my ſelfe I ſhould not haue them ſo ready at hand, or ſo exerciſed, that they ſhould be addreſſed againſt all caſualtie. Euen as wooll taketh ſome ſtaine of colours at the firſt, and drinketh not vp other ſome, without often maceration and boyling: ſo ſome wits, when as they haue conceited certaine diſciplines, forthwith make vſe of them. But this Science, except it be deepely imprinted in the ſoule, and hath taken deepe roote and long reſidence therein, hath not deepe died, but ſuperficially coloured the ſoule, and performeth nothing of that ſhe hath promiſed. This may be quickly learned, and in few words; namely, that there is but one onely good, which is vertue, and that vndoubtedly there is not any without vertue. And that vertue is lodged in our better part, which is that, which is reaſonable. What ſhall this vertue be? A true and immoueable iudgement from whence ſhall proceed the heat of the ſoule, whereby the appearance of things which may moue this heate, ſhall become cleare and certaine. It behoueth that this iudgement eſteeme all thoſe things good and equall in themſelues, which ſhall be atchieued by the counſaile of vertue. In regard of corporall goods, they are goods for the bodie, yet are they not entirely perfect goods. Well may they be eſteemed at ſome rate, but it ſhall be without any ſupereminencie. There is a great difference betwixt them: the one ſhall be

greater,

greater, the other leſſer. In like ſort ought men to confeſſe that there is a great difference betweene thoſe that follow Philoſophie. Some one hath ſo farre profited therein, that he dare lift vp his eies againſt fortune: yet not perſeuerantly; for they are oftentimes obſcured by the beames of her too cleere light. Some other hath profited ſo much, that he dare encounter her face to face, if he haue attained to perfection, and be full of aſſurance. But it muſt needes ſo fall out that things which are imperfect grow to ruine, and now fruſtrate themſelues, and anon after come to decay or diſſolution, and they ſhall come vnto decay if they perſeuer not to grow forward, and inforce themſelues, and if they remit anie thing of their ſtudie, and faithfull intention, they ſhall grow backward. No man findeth aduancement and profit there where he left it: let vs therefore be diligent and perſeuer; there remaineth yet more then we haue ouercome: but the greateſt part of profit, is to deſire to profite. Herein my conſcience ſhall beare me witneſſe: I will, and with my whole minde I will: I ſee well alſo that thou haſt this inſpiration, and that thou proſecuteſt with great feruencie thoſe things that are more faire. Let vs then make haſt, and ſo doing, our life ſhall be the cauſe of our great good, otherwiſe it is but a delay, and truely a very loathſome one, if we conuerſe in baſe matters: let vs endeuour, ſo that all the time may be ours, but it will not be, except we begin to be our owne. When ſhall it come to paſſe that we will contemne both fortunes? When ſhall it come to paſſe, that ſuppreſſing all our affections, and bringing them vnder our obedience we may ſay thus: I haue ouercome. Askeſt thou me whom I haue ouercome? Not the *Perſians*, not the farre diſtant *Medes*, or that warlike nation of the *Daca*; but auarice, but ambition, but feare of death, which haue vanquiſhed the Conquerours and Vanquiſhers of the whole world.

EPIST. LXXII.

He delayeth to anſwer LVCILIVS *petition, and that vpon iuſt occaſion. He ſheweth that the ſtudie of goodneſſe is deferred by vs, but badly. That we ought to intend to this onely, pretermitting all other things. That nothing happeneth that may hinder him, eſpecially that is wiſe, and proficient in ſome ſort. The difference betwixt them both. That externall things neyther adde nor detract from a wiſe-man, that is alwayes contented with himſelfe.*

I Know well what thou demaundeſt at my hands, if I had recollected and meditated thereupon, but it is long time ſince I made tryall of my memory. And therefore it is that it followeth me not ſo eaſily. I know well, and feele it in my ſelfe, that the like hath befalne me which happeneth in bookes that are mouldie, and whoſe leaues cleaue together. I muſt dilate my mind, & whatſoeuer things haue beene heard therein, they ought to be refreſhed and brought in vſe, that they may alwayes be in a readineſſe as often as we haue neede to vſe them. But let vs deferre this for the preſent; for it requireth much labour and much diligence. Aſſoone as I may make more longer reſidence in a place, I will take this taske in hand; for there are ſome things which thou mayeſt compoſe in thy Coach, and ſome other that deſerue the bed, the repoſe, and ſolitarie places. Yet thoſe very dayes wherein a man is occupied, we muſt doe ſomwhat, yea, all the whole dayes: for now occaſions and occupations will be neuer ſcantie; we ſee this

this our ſelues,and from one ſprings manie; and that which is worſt, wee giue our ſelues delayes. But as ſoone as I haue made an end of this (ſay wee) I will wholly dedicate my ſelfe,and if I can end this troubleſom matter, I will addict my ſelfe vnto ſtudie. Thou muſt not expect till thou haue leaſure to follow Philoſophie. Thou muſt contemne all other things,to be alwayes with her. A man cannot finde time that may be ſufficiently long for her, although it continue with vs from the yeares of our infancie, vntill the moſt longeſt life of man. It skilleth not much whether thou omitteſt Philoſophie,or intermitteſt it. For it remaineth not there where it was interrupted; but euen as thoſe things that are bent, as ſoone as they are let ſlip doe forcibly retire themſelues, ſo that which departeth from his continuation, retireth it ſelfe,and returneth wholly vnto his beginnings. We muſt reiect all affaires and occupations, we muſt not ſtudie how to diſpoſe them, we muſt wholly diſpoſſeſſe and driue them from vs. There is no time vnfitting for a wholſome ſtudie. But there are many that ſtudie not thoſe things which they ought to ſtudie. Shall there be any occaſion that may let them? Truely not him whoſe minde in all affaires is watchfull and ioyfull. To theſe perſons onely true ioy is interrupted, which haue not as yet attained perfection. But in regard of the wiſe,their ioy is continuall, it keepeth the ſame tract, there is not any fortune or occaſion that can countermand the ſame. It is alwayes peaceable and repoſed; for it hath no dependance of another: ſhe expecteth no fauour at fortunes hands,nor mens applauſe: it is a felicitie that is bred in her owne houſe: ſhe would leaue the ſoule if ſhe entred: ſhe is engendred therein. There might ſome occaſion fall out to make him remember that he is mortall,but it very ſlight, and ſurpaſſed not the vpper skin. Hee feeleth I ſay,ſome incommoditie,but that good which is the greateſt he hath,is neuer ſhaken: well wot I that outwardly there are ſome incommodities, euen as vpon a ſtrong and able bodie there appeareth ſom itch, and pimples,& vlcers, but inwardly there is no euill. The difference, I ſay, that is betweene a man that hath alreadie acquired a perfect wiſedome,and him that is as yet to attaine the ſame,is ſuch as there is betwixt a man that is healthfull,and him that beginneth to recouer himſelfe from a long and tedious ſickneſſe,who thinketh himſelfe to be then in good health,when the fit of his feuer is the ſhorteſt. This man, except he be very carefull of his health, he feeleth by times certaine ſhakings,and eaſily falleth relapſe into his former infirmitie. But a wiſe-man cannot fall againe,nay more,he neuer more can be attainted therewith: for as touching the body,it hath health but for a time, and that Phyſitian that hath recured him, cannot promiſe him perpetuitie: hee is oftentimes recalled by him, whom almoſt before time he had reſuſitated: But the ſoule is healed for euer at one time. I will teach thee how to know when a man is in health, if he be content with himſelfe,if he may truſt himſelfe,if he knoweth that all mortal mens vowes,that all the benefites which are giuen and demaunded haue no moment in a bleſſed life. For that thing whereunto a man may annex ſomewhat, is not perfect. But that from whence nothing may be taken continueth eternally. He whoſe ioy is perpetuall may reioyce of that which is his owne. But all theſe goods whereunto the common ſort aſpire inconſtantly flowe hither and thither: fortune giueth nothing with warrantize; and yet the benefits of fortune are pleaſing vnto vs when they are tempered by reaſon,and ſhe directeth them. She it is that maketh vs allow of exterior things. The vſe whereof diſpleaſeth if they be deſired ouer-ardently. *Attalus* was wont to vſe this compariſon: Haſt thou ſeene a dogge ſnatching at a peece of bread with open throat, or a morſell

morsell of flesh which his master casteth him? He deuoureth incontinently all that which is giuen him, and still openeth his mouth, in hope that some one will cast him more. So falleth it out with vs, whatsoeuer fortune casteth vpon vs during our expectation, that swallow we without any pleasure, still expecting and affecting some second pray. So fareth not a wise-man; he is full, and if any thing befall him, he securely receiueth and layeth it vp; his ioy is great, continuall, and his owne. Is there any one that hath a good will, and that profiteth somewhat, but hath not as yet attained to perfection? Such a one shall be sometimes dejected, sometimes incouraged, sometime is he raised as high as heauen, otherwise rauished as lowe as earth. The ignorant, and such as haue little experience, neuer make an end of their precipitation, but fall into confusion, and into *Epicurus* his *Chaos*, voyde and infinite. There is another third kind of those that wanton it about wisedome, which as yet they cannot attaine, yet are they in sight thereof; and if I might say so, they may clap her on the hand. These are neyther shaken, neyther doe they fall, they are not as yet on the continent, but they are alreadie in the harbor. Since then there is so great a distance betwixt those that are on high, & those that are most low, since that they which are in the middest, feele as yet some storme, and that they are followed with more danger to returne vnto a more wicked life, we must not addict our selues to any occupations, we must reiect them. If they were once entred, they would set some other in their places. Let vs hinder their beginnings, and the lesse labour will there be to keepe them from beginning, then to see them take end.

Epist. LXXIII.

That Philosophers are not disobedient but more obedient, and faithfull to Princes, then these ambitions and Palatines: for these affect enuie, and are alwayes vnquiet, often displeased, but they loue them, because they liue quietly vnder them, and are such that is full of good merchandize. They impute this benefite also, although it happen vnto manie. At length he counselleth him to aspire vnto vertue, that is, to God; for that (such is the Stoicks pride) they make a wise-man equall with him.

THey deceiue themselues, in my iudgment, that suppose that they who haue wholly addicted themselues to Philosophie, are disobedient and rebellous to their Magistrates and Kings, or that they contemne those by whose authoritie publique affaires are administred: for contrariwise there is not any one that reuerenceth and respecteth them more then they. And not without cause; for that Kings cannot doe greater good vnto any man in this world, then to those that may enioy a peaceable repose. It must then necessarily fall out, that they to whom publique assurance openeth the way to the intention they haue to liue well, should reuerence the author of the same good as their Lord and Father. And truely farre more then those light witted and irresolute men, who being infinitely bound vnto their Princes, will notwithstanding haue men thinke that they owe them more, on whom a man cannot imploy any liberalitie, how great soeuer it be, that may satisfie their ambitious desires, which increase alwayes the more, the more they are glutted. But he that thinketh to receiue new benefits, hath alreadie forgotten the olde, and couetousnesse hath not any vice more great then ingratitude. Adde hereunto now, that there are none of those that

that are imployed,and conuerſant in publique affaires, that reſpecteth thoſe at any time,whom he hath ouer-ſtripped,but lookes into thoſe that out-ſtrip him, and it is not ſo pleaſant a matter vnto them,to ſee many men come after them: as it is grieuous vnto them,that any one ſhould ouer-paſſe them in dignitie. All ſort of ambition hath this vice,that it neuer reſpecteth that which is paſt. And ambition is not onely inconſtant and wandring, but all couetouſneſſe likewiſe; becauſe it beginneth alwayes from the end. But that ſincere and poore man, who hath forſaken the Court and the Palace, and all preheminencie in common-weale to retire himſelfe for more noble intents and ends, loueth thoſe by whoſe authoritie it is lawfull for him to doe theſe things with ſecuritie; he alone payeth them with gratuitall teſtimonie of acknowledgement, and confeſſeth himſelfe to be indebted vnto them for a great good, although they knowe not his good will. Euen as he honoureth and reuerenceth his Maſters,by whoſe inſtructions he is deſpoyled of thoſe vices,in like ſort reſpecteth he thoſe,vnder whoſe protection and gouernement he may exerciſe honeſt diſciplines. But the King protecteth others alſo by his power. Who denieth it? But euen as amongſt others that haue trauelled by Sea,and haue beene partakers of one and the ſame calme, hee thinketh himſelfe more bound vnto *Neptune*, that hath brought home more great quantitie of precious merchandize; and as the Merchant payeth his vow with greater courage then a Paſſenger doth: And as he alſo amongſt the Merchants that bringeth perfunes,purples,and other pretious things which are ſolde for their waight in gold, reknowledgeth this fauor more liberally, then doth he that hath but laide downe poore Merchandize, and other things which ſhould ſerue but to balliſt and loade the ſhip: So the beneſite of this peace,appertayning to all,doth more deepely content them that vſe the ſame well: For there are many of theſe Magiſtrates and mightie men, to whom peace is more troubleſome then warre. Art thou of that opinion, that they which make no other vſe of peace,but to imploy it in drunkenneſſe,in ryot and other ſorts of vices; for the extermination of which,it were neceſſarie to enterpriſe a warre,ſhall be ſo much obliged for the ſame? Except happily thou wert of that opinion,that a wiſe-man were ſo iniuſt, that hee thought that hee were no wayes obliged to his gouernour,for publique and common benefits. I owe much vnto the Sunne and Moone,and yet they ſhine not for me alone. I am particularly bound vnto the yeare, and to God that tempereth and gouerneth the ſame,although they haue not been ordained for my particular honor. It is the fooliſh auarice of mortall men, that maketh a diuiſion of theſe goods, and aſſigneth the propertie vnto them, and that beleeueth nothing to be his that is for publique profit. But this wiſe-man iudgeth nothing to be more aptly his, then that which is common betweene him and all other men. For goods cannot be common,if the portions of them appertained not to particulars. A man is made partaker how little part ſoeuer he enioy in a common thing. Adde hereunto alſo this other reaſon,that the greateſt and trueſt goods are not ſo diuided,that a little ſhould light vpon euerie priuate man. They come wholly into euerie mans poſſeſſion. Of thoſe preſents which Princes make vnto the people,the particulars take as much by powle, as hath beene promiſed to euery one. At a common banquet,and at the common dole of fleſh, and in all that which is receiued by hand,the almes is diſtributed in priſes. But theſe indiuiſible goods,ſuch as peace and libertie are,theſe alſo are intire to all, as they are particular vnto euery one: and therefore a wiſe-man conſidereth what he is, by whoſe means the publique neceſſitie conſtraineth him no more to beare armes,

nor

nor to intend the Watch, nor to ſtand Sentinell on the walls, and not to pay an infinitie of taxes any more which warre bringeth with it, and giueth thanks vnto his Prince. This doth Philoſophie teach vs, eſpecially to be dutifully thankfull for benefites, and faithfully to requite them; and the onely acknowledgement ſometimes ſerueth for payment. He will therefore confeſſe that he is very much bound vnto him, by whoſe wiſe gouernement and prouidence this great and happie repoſe is befalne him, to be able to paſſe the terme of his life in ſuch tranquilitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publique occupations.

'Tis God O MELIBE *that gaue this peace,*
Him as my God Ile honour without ceaſe.

If then theſe calmes and contentments are ſo principally to be aſcribed to him that hath procured them for vs, the greateſt good whereof is

He (as thou ſeeſt) my yoaked teame permits
To plow the earth, by him in pleaſant fits,
Mine Oaten pipe I tune as beſt befits.

How much ought we to eſteeme that repoſe which we partake with the gods, that maketh vs become gods. Thus ſay I *Lucilius*, thus call I thee to heauen by a ſhort way. *Sextius* was wont to ſay, *That* IVPITER *could not doe more then a good man.* IVPITER hath more meanes to be liberall towards men. But among two good men, he is not the better that is the richer, no more then betweene two that haue equall knowledge in gouerning a ſhip, thou wilt not call him better that gouerneth a Carricke or great veſſell, and full of rich lading. What aduantage hath *Iupiter* ouer a good man? It is but onely this, that he is more long time good. A wiſe-man reckoneth himſelfe nothing the leſſe, becauſe his vertues are determined in a ſhorter time. Euen as of two wiſe-men, he which is dead in fulneſſe of his age, is not more happie then he, whoſe vertue hath taken end in leſſer years. So God likewiſe ſurmounteth not a wiſeman in felicity, although he exceed him in age. That vertue is not greater which is longer. *Iupiter* hath all theſe things, but he hath giuen the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof vnto others: This onely vſe appertaineth vnto him, that he is the cauſe that others may vſe the ſame. The wiſe-man likewiſe is glad to ſee the poſſeſſion of all goods in an other mans hands, and maketh as ſmall account alſo of that as *Iupiter* doth, and further ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue this aduantage aboue him, that *Iupiter* cannot haue vſe of them, and a wiſe-man will not. Let vs therefore beleeue *Sextius*, who ſheweth vs a faire way, and crieth out, This is the way to heauen, by ſobrietie, by temperance, and by patience in aduerſitie. The Gods diſdaine no man, enuie no man, they entertain and ſtretch forth their hand to thoſe that aſcend. Wondereſt thou to heare that men goe vnto the Gods? God commeth vnto men, nay (which is more neere) he commeth into men. There is not any ſoule that is good without God. There are certaine diuine ſeeds diſperſed in the bodies of men, which growe anſwerable to their originall, and growe alike vnto that graine from whence they tooke their beginning, if they be entertained in the boſome of a good huſbandman. But if he be euill, he choaketh them as a barren and faggie ground; and finally, in ſtead of corne beareth chaffe & ſtraw.

Epist. LXXIIII.

O faire, O honeſt Epiſtle, and of honeſtie it ſelfe, and that indeed it is the onely good, the reſt but in opinion. He that will ſafely and ſecurely liue, let him ſo thinke. What likeneſſe? Let him haue a readie buckler againſt all caſualties, which is to follow God. At length he anſwereth certaine obiections. Laſtly he ſheweth that a bleſſed life is as a circle, perfect both in ſmall and great. That nothing is added, nothing taken therefrom by externall things. It muſt be reiterated. O faire, O honeſt, enioy thou this, who haſt ſuch a minde.

THy letter hath delighted me, and awakened me when I was wearied, and quickened my memorie alſo, which is now ſlow and heauie. Why ſhouldeſt thou not, my *Lucilius*, thinke this perſwation to be the greateſt inſtrument of bleſſed life, that there is onely one good, that is to ſay, that which is honeſt? Hee that hath circumſcribed all ſorts of good vnder honeſtie, is happie in himſelfe. For he that iudgeth that other things are goods, ſubiecteth himſelf to the power of Fortune, and dependeth on another mans will. This man is ſorrowfull for the loſſe of his children, another carefull of them that are ſicke, and that other, if they be diſhoneſt and noted of infamie. Thou ſhalt ſee one man tormented with the loue of another mans wife, and another tranſported with the loue hee beareth his owne. There wanteth not ſome one likewiſe, that is diſtracted with the repulſe he receiueth in his affected dignitie, and another that is diſguſted with the honor which he poſſeſſeth. But the greateſt number of all thoſe men which are thus miſerable, is of them whom the aſſault and touch of impendent death, which they feare on euery ſide, preſſeth and tormenteth inceſſantly, for there is nothing from whence they thinke not, that ſhe ſhould not aſſaile them. Therefore as if they liued in an enemies country, they ought to looke about them on euery ſide, and on euery voice they heare, to turne their neckes thitherward: for except this feare be driuen out of their breaſts, they liue in continuall heart-breake and ſuſpition. Some will be found out that haue beene ſent into exile, and depriued of their goods, and ſome alſo will occur (which kinde of pouertie is the moſt irkeſome) poore in their riches. Thou ſhalt meete with ſome that are ſhipwracked, or ſuch as haue ſuffered ſome ſuch like thing vnto ſhipwracke, whom either the wrath or enuy of the common ſort (which is a dangerous weapon to wound the better ſort) hath ouerthrowne vnawares, and when they were moſt ſecure, after the manner of a guſt, which is wont to breake forth in the moſt ſeeming ſecurite of a calme, or a ſudden lightning, at whoſe cracke the neighbouring countries haue trembled. For euen as he that is neereſt to this fire, remaineth as much amazed, as if he had beene ſtriken: in like ſort, in theſe accidents that come by violence, the calamitie oppreſſeth one, but feareth the reſt, & maketh the abilitie to ſuffer equall with the heauines of thoſe that doe ſuffer. Other mens misfortunes, which ſurpriſe them at vnawares, aſtoniſh the mindes of all thoſe that ſee them. And euen as the onely noiſe of a ſling, although it be not charged, frighteth the birds. In like manner, wee not onely tremble at the ſtroake, but at the leaſt cracke we heare. No man therefore can be bleſſed, that hath credited himſelfe to this opinion. For nothing is bleſſed, but that which is without feare: the life is miſerable that is incombered with ſuſpition. Whoſoeuer hath addicted himſelfe very much vnto caſualties, hath

hath made himſelfe a great and inexplicable matter of perturbation. There is but one way for him to tract, that will ſearch out a life full of aſſurance, which is to contemne the goods of Fortune, and to content himſelfe with that which is honeſt. For if any man thinketh that there is any other thing better then vertue, or that there is any other good beſides the ſame: he openeth his boſome to that which Fortune ſpreadeth, and with extreame care expecteth thoſe goods whereof ſhe maketh larges. Suppoſe, and imagine in thy minde, that Fortune maketh publike plaies, and that ſhe caſteth amiddeſt this great aſſembly of men, honors, riches, and fauours, whereof the one part is broken and torne in peeces, betweene the hands of thoſe that rauiſh them; another part is vnequally diuided by a diſloyall ſocietie; and another hath wrought their inestimable damage, that haue engroſſed them; and finally alſo ſome others, haue fallen into the hands of ſome they thought not any wiſe of, and others haue beene loſt by running after the ſame ouer-greedily, and they haue bin torne out of our hands by reaſon of the ouer-greedy deſire which we had to attain them. To conclude, there is not any, how happie ſoeuer his rauiſhment be, whoſe ioy, in reſpect of that he hath rauiſhed, can endure long time. For which cauſe, the wiſer ſort, as ſoone as they ſee the preſents brought in, flie out of the theater, as knowing well, that a little thing would coſt them deare. No man fighteth with him that retireth, no man ſtriketh him that flieth, it is vpon the prey the contention groweth. The ſame ſucceſſe is there in thoſe things that Fortune caſteth down from on high. We burne in miſerable deſire after theſe goods, we are in great trauell, we deſire to haue many hands; now regard we this man, preſently that man, we thinke that they are too ſlowly ſent vnto vs which ſtir vp our deſires, and that it can fall but into few mens hands, although it be expected and deſired by all men. We deſire to encounter thoſe that fall; we laugh if we may ſurpriſe any thing, and ſome other enuie, whom vaine hope hath deceiued. Wee redeeme a lamentable damage with a little prey, or thereby were deceaued. Let vs therefore depart from theſe playes, and let vs giue place to theſe rauiſhers. Let theſe men fixe their intention as much as they will on thoſe goods which hang in the aire, and let themſelues likewiſe be more in ſuſpence. xWhoſoeuer is reſolued to be bleſſed, let him reſolue there is but one good, which is honeſty. For if he ſuppoſeth that there is any other good; firſt of all he iudgeth euill of Gods prouidence, becauſe many miſhaps befall good men: and becauſe all that which ſhe hath giuen vs, is but of a very ſmall continuance, if thou compare it with the age of the whole world. From this complaint it groweth, that we are vngratefull interpreters of diuine things. We complaine, becauſe goods befall vs not euery day, that they are little, that they are incertaine, and that they muſt ſuddenly depart from vs. Hence commeth it to paſſe, that wee will not liue, neither haue deſire to die; we hate life, and we feare death. All our counſailes are vncertaine, and there is no felicitie that can ſatisfie vs. The cauſe hereof is nothing elſe, but that we haue not as yet attained that ſoueraigne good, which cannot be ſurmounted by any other thing, and on which we ought to ſtay our deſires, for aboue the place that is moſt higheſt, there is no other place. Askeſt thou me why vertue hath need of nothing? Becauſe ſhe is pleaſed with things preſent, and deſireth not the abſent. There is nothing but ſeemeth great vnto her, becauſe that euery thing ſufficeth her. And if thou ſhouldeſt ſeparate thy ſelfe from this opinion, neither pietie nor faith ſhould haue any place. He that would follow both the one and the other, ſhall bee conſtrained to ſuffer verie much of that which we call euill, and to ſpend much of that which we eſteeme

and reckon of for good. Furthermore, conſtancie that muſt make triall of her ſelfe is loſt, magnanimitie is loſt alſo, becauſe ſhe cannot approue her ſelfe, except ſhe contemne al things as ouer baſe, which the common ſort deſireth as the moſt greateſt. In briefe, the grace and requitall of all good turnes is loſt, it is but paine and trauell, if we thinke that there is any other thing more precious then faith, and if wee fixe not our eyes on that which is the beſt. But to let theſe things paſſe, either thoſe that are called goods, or none at all; or a man is happier then God. For God maketh no vſe of thoſe goods which are prepared for vs, diſordinate pleaſures, fooliſh expences in banquets, riches, nor any of that which may allure a man, or draw him to loathſome pleaſures, appertaine not to him. We muſt then ſay (that which is incredible) either that God hath want of theſe goods: or wee muſt conclude vpon this argument, that whatſoeuer God wanteth is not good. Furthermore, there are many things that would be thought to bee goods, which are more amplie employed on beaſts then on men. They eate with more greater appetite, they are not ſo ſoone wearied in the act of generation, their forces are more great and laſting, whereby it followeth that they are more happy then man: for they liue without wickedneſſe or deceit, they enioy their pleaſures, which they enioy more fully, and more eaſily, without any feare of ſhame or repentance. Conſider thou therefore, whether that is to be called good, wherein God is ouercome by man. Let vs lodge the ſoueraigne good in our mindes. He loſeth all his grace and dignitie, if from the better part, which is in vs, it ſhould be tranſlated to the worſe, and ſhould be transferred to the ſenſes, which are more actiue in brute beaſts. Our chiefeſt felicitie is not to be planted in the fleſh. Thoſe are true goods which reaſon giueth, they are ſolide and euerlaſting; which cannot fall, neither be decreaſed nor diminiſhed. The reſt are goods in opinion, they haue onely a common name with the true, but they haue no propertie or effects of vertue in them. Let them then be called commodities, or according to our phraſe, profits and reuenues. But let vs know that they are but as our ſlaues, and not any part of vs, let them be in ſuch ſort with vs; that we remember our ſelues that they are without vs, and if they be with vs, wee muſt put them in the number of thoſe things which are moſt baſe and abiect, and for which no man ought to waxe proud. For what is more fooliſh, then for a man to pleaſe himſelfe, in that which himſelfe hath not done? Let all theſe things approach vs, but not cleaue vnto vs, and if they muſt bee drawne from vs, let them be ſo ſeuered, that we be not diſtracted and torne therby. Let vs vſe them, and not glory in them, and let vs vſe them ſparingly, as ſuch things as are lent vs, and are not to remaine with vs. Whoſoeuer vſeth them contrary to reaſon, he hath not long time enioyed them. For felicitie it ſelfe hurteth vs, except it be well tempered and gouerned: is ouer-preſſed, if ſhe truſt her ſelfe to tranſitorie goods, ſhe is quickly forſaken, and leſt ſhe ſhould be forſaken, ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe infinitly. There are few men who haue had the fortune to lay by their felicitie contentedly. The reſt of men, with thoſe goods that made them eſteemed aboue others, are deiected, and that which for a time exalted them, finally humbleth them. Much wiſdome therefore muſt be made vſe of, which may diſpoſe them with meaſure and parſimony. For a diſordinate libertie ouerbeareth and deſtroyeth his proper riches in ſuch ſort, that immeaſurable expence hath neuer continued long, if reaſon by her moderation had not reſtrained the ſame. The miſerable end of diuers cities will make thee know this, whoſe luxurious empires in their firſt flower and pride haue decayed, and will

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teach thee, that all that which hath bin gotten by vertue, is ruinated by ſuperfluitie and lauiſh expence. Againſt theſe caſualties are we to arme our ſelues. There is not any wall that can reſiſt the batteries of Fortune: and it is within vs, that we ought to arme our ſelues. If that noble fortreſſe be aſſured, a man may be aſſailed, but he cannot be ſurpriſed. Wilt thou know what fortification it is? That he trouble not himſelfe with any thing that may happen, that he beleeue that whatſoeuer, yea euen that which ſeemeth to offend him, dependeth on the conſeruation of the whole world, and that it is a part of that which finiſheth the courſe and office of the heauens. A man ought to take pleaſure in all that which God taketh pleaſure in, hee ought to admire himſelfe, and all that which is in him, for this onely conſideration, that he cannot be vanquiſhed, that he holdeth his euill vnder his feete, and that with reaſon, then which nothing is more powerfull, he ſurmounteth Fortune, griefe and iniurie. Loue reaſon then, for the loue thereof will arme thee againſt all the greateſt misfortunes that may be. The loue of their yong ones cauſeth wilde beaſtes, to fall into ſnares, who otherwiſe by their fierceneſſe and violence were vntameable. Sometimes the deſire of glorie hath drawne ſome yong and generous mindes into contempt, both of ſword and fire: the opinion and ſhadow of vertue hath egged ſome on to ſeeke out a voluntarie death. But the ſtronger and conſtanter reaſon is againſt all this, the more vehement and violent becommeth thee againſt all feare and danger. You doe nothing, will ſome man ſay, becauſe you deny that there is any other good but honeſtie. This defence of yours ſhall not make you ſtrong and impregnable againſt Fortune. For you ſay that amongſt theſe goods, a man ought to include obedient children, cities well gouerned, and parents that are honeſt. And yet if theſe be in any danger, you cannot ſee it without aſtoniſhment. For a ſiege of thy citie, the death of thy children, and the bondage of thy parents will trouble thee. But I will ſet thee downe what it is, that is accuſtomably anſwered for vs in this caſe, and then againe will I adde what beſides that may be anſwered in my iudgement. There is another condition in thoſe things which being taken from vs, ſubſtitute ſome other incommoditie in their place, as health being impaired, changeth it ſelfe into ſicknes, the ſight of the eye extinguiſhed, affecteth vs with blindneſſe, and when the hammes are cutte, not onely ſinewes periſh, but debilitie followeth in ſtead thereof. And yet the danger is not in thoſe things, which wee haue ſpoken of a little before: Why? Becauſe that if I haue loſt a good friend, I muſt not therefore be perfidious for him, neither if I haue buried good children; there is no reaſon that impietie ſhould ſupply their place, to endanger and hurt me. Moreouer, by this death, friends and children are not loſt, it is but the bodie. But good cannot be loſt, but by one only mean, that is, if it ſhould change it ſelfe into euill, which Nature permitteth not, for all vertues and all their actions remaine incorruptible. Againe, although that friends, although that well approued children, and haue in nothing contradicted their fathers commands, bee dead, yet notwithſtanding, there is ſomething that may ſupply their place. Aſkeſt thou me what it may be? It is that vertue that hath made them good men. She ſuffereth not at any time, that there ſhould be any place voide. She entirely taketh ſeiſure of our ſoules, ſhe exterminateth the ſorrow of all things, and contenteth her ſelfe to be alone. For the power & original of all goods is in her. What skilleth it if the water that floweth bee ſtolne, or fleete away, if the fountaine from whence it iſſueth be liuing and repleniſhed. Thou wilt not ſay, that a man is more iuſt, becauſe his children are yet aliue, or for that they are dead,

no more moderate, more honeſt, more wiſe, more better, conſequently a great number of friends make not a man more wiſe, neither the diminution, or want of them, maketh him not more fooliſh, and conſequently alſo, neither more happy, nor more miſerable. As long as thy vertue ſhall remaine entire, thou ſhalt neuer feele any loſſe that thou haſt made. What then? Is not he who is enuironed with a goodly troupe of friends and children more happie? Why ſhould he not be? Becauſe the ſoueraigne good cannot bee diminiſhed or augmented. He alwayes remaineth after the ſame faſhion. Howſoeuer Fortune carrie her ſelfe, although the yeares be old, or that he die before he be aged, it is one and the ſame meaſure of the ſoueraigne good, although it be different in age. Whether thou make a circle greater or leſſer; it is but in reſpect of the ſpace, but not of the figure: and although the one hath remained a long time painted, and that thou haſt incontinently defaced the other, and couered it with duſt in the place where thou haſt caſt it; yet both the one and the other were the ſame figure. That which is right and iuſt is not eſteemed by the greatnes, nor by the number, nor by the time; it can neither be lengthened nor ſtrengthened. Take as much as thou wilt, an honeſt life that endured an hundred yeares, and reduce and determine it in one only day, the one is as honeſt as the other. Vertue extendeth it ſelfe more at large: ſhee gouerneth Kingdomes, Cities, and whole Prouinces; ſhe maketh lawes, ſhe priſeth and honoreth friendſhips, ſhe diſtributeth offices and duties betweene the neereſt parents and their children; and preſently ſhe circumſcribeth her ſelf in a ſtraiter ſcope of pouertie, baniſhmēt, and loſſe of children. Yet is ſhe not leſſened, although that from a great and high eſtate ſhe is fallen, into a priuate and particular, and from a royall throne, to an abiect and baſe place. And if from a publike and ample power, ſhe reſtraine her ſelfe in a homely cottage, or in ſome corner ſhe is alwayes as great, if after ſhee hath beene driuen from all places, ſhe ſolely retire her ſelfe into her ſelfe. For this notwithſtanding, ſhe hath a courage great and inuincible, a prudence that is perfect, a iuſtice immutable, and conſequently ſhe is alwayes happy. For this bleſſednes and this good is lodged in one only place, that is to ſay, in the minde. It is euerlaſting, & full of tranquillitie, which cannot be without the knowledge of diuine and humane things. It followeth now, that which I ſaid I would anſwere. A wiſe-man tormenteth not himſelfe for the loſſe of his children, nor his friends, for he endureth their death with as equall conſtancie and courage, as he expecteth his owne. He feareth the one as little as he grieueth for the other, becauſe vertue conſiſteth in conueniencie, all her workes are agreeable with her ſelfe, and anſwer one another. This concord would be laſt, if the minde which ſhould be aſſured and conſtant, ſhould ſuffer it ſelfe to be ouercom with ſorrow and ſadneſſe. All ſorts of aſtoniſhment, all feare, all idleneſſe and ſlackeneſſe in any act whatſoeuer, is diſhoneſt. For all that which is honeſt is full of aſſurance, and diligence; it is neuer aſtoniſhed, but alwayes prepared. What then, ſhall he not feele ſome paſſion like vnto trouble? Shall he not change his colour? Shall not his countenance diſcouer ſome perturbation, ſhall not his members wax chill? and all other things which a man doth not by the command of the minde, but by a ſudden and inconſiderate heate of nature? I confeſſe he ſhall. But he ſhall alwayes be thus perſwaded, that none of all this is euill, nor worthy that a good vnderſtanding ſhould be aſtoniſhed at. All that which he ought to doe, he will doe boldly and readily: for who is he that will not ſay that it is the proper nature of follie, to performe that cowardly and againſt his heart which he doth, and to driue the bodie into one place, and the minde into another;

ther; and to ſuffer himſelfe to be drawne by ſo many contrarie motions. That euery thing for which ſhe eſteemeth her ſelfe ſo much, and for which ſhe entereth into admiration of her ſelfe, maketh her contemptible, and beſides, that which is worſe, ſhe performeth not that with a good will, from whence ſhe taketh her glorie. But if ſhe feareth that any euill ſhould befall her, ſhe perplexeth her ſelfe in exſpectation thereof: ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe as if the euill had alreadie attainted her; and all that which ſhe feareth ſhe may ſuffer hereafter, ſhe preſently ſuffereth by the meanes of her feare. Euen as there are certaine ſignes that appeare in the bodie before the feuer commeth (for a man feeleth a dulneſſe in the ſinewes, a laſſitude, a gaping or yawning, and a horrour which paſſeth thorow all the members) In like ſort a ſicke minde feeleth ſome ſhakings and aſſaults, which enfeeble him before the euill touch him: he enters into ſorrows, and loſeth his heart before the time. But what more greater follie may a man ſee, then for a man to diſmay his mind for ſuch things as are yet to com? and not to be able to reſerue himſelfe to ſuffer the torment when it ſhall come, but to ſummon miſeries from a farre off, and to approach them, before they preſſe him; which he were better to delay if he might not auoyde. Wilt thou know that no man ought to be tormented for that which is to come? Whoſoeuer ſhall heare it ſaid, that ſome fiftie yeares hence he muſt be led to execution, he will not torment himſelfe, becauſe he hath paſt the halfe of this time, and that he is not plunged in this diſquiet of mind, which ſhould not com but in an age after. The like befalleth thoſe ſpirits that are voluntarily ſicke, and do nothing but ſeeke occaſion of ſorrow, who are ſad for things long ſince forepaſſed and forgotten. All that which is paſt, and which is to come, is abſent. We neyther perceiue the one nor the other. But there is no griefe but of that which thou feeleſt.

Epist. LXXV.

That Philoſophie affecteth not wordes, and yet neyther renounceth wit nor good diſcourſe. The chiefeſt matter is, that the life be correſpondent to the wordes. Furthermore let vs endeuour to proceede, becauſe we are to aſcend by degrees, and they are three. The degrees of thoſe that are proficient.

THou complaineſt that the Letters which I ſend thee, are not written ouer-curiouſly; but who is he that writeth in ſo an affected ſtile, but he that would write to inſinuate? Such as my ſpeech ſhould be if we were ſitting together, or if men walked out together, eaſie and without Art: ſuch will I that my Epiſtles be, that they neyther be extrauagant nor affected. If it were poſſible that a man might vnderſtand that which I thinke, I had rather expreſſed it by ſignes, then by words. And if I ſhould diſpute likewiſe, I would not ſtampe vpon the ground, nor caſt my hands abroad, nor lift vp my voyce: I would leaue that to Orators, and content my ſelfe to haue made thee vnderſtand my conceit, without inriching my ſpeech, or neglecting it alſo. I would plainely perſwade thee this one point, that I firmely beleeue that which I ſay, and that I not onely beleeue the ſame, but loue it alſo. Men kiſſe their Miſtreſſe in one ſort, and their children in another; & notwithſtanding in this embracement, ſo holy and ſo chaſte affection ſufficiently diſcouereth it ſelfe. Truly I would not that my diſcourſes which

men holde of ſo great matters, ſhould be dull and drie: for Philoſophie renounceth not a happie and gentle ſpirit, yet will ſhe not likewiſe that we employ ouer-much affectation in our diſcourſe. In briefe, ſee here what is the ſumme of our intention. Let vs ſpeake what we thinke, and think what we ſpeake; let our ſpeech be anſwerable to our life: he hath fulfilled his promiſe who is the ſame when thou ſeeſt him, and when thou heareſt him: we ſhall ſee what he is, and how great he is; but he muſt alwayes be one. It is not neceſſarie that our words be pleaſing, but that they profit. But if eloquence may befall any man, without much labour and affectation, if it be alreadie acquired, or hath coſt him little, let him bouldly make vſe thereof, and employ it in worthie ſubiects. Let it be ſuch that it rather expreſſe the matter, then it ſelfe. All other Arts appertain only to the wit, but nothing is intreated of here but the affairs of the mind. The ſicke-man ſeeketh not out an eloquent Phiſitian, but ſuch a one as knoweth how to cure well: yet if ſo be it ſo fall out, that he who knoweth how to heale well, diſcourſeth eloquently of that which he ought to performe, he ought not to be diſpleaſed thereat. Neyther alſo ought he to reioyce, becauſe he is falne into the handes of a Phyſitian that can ſpeake well: for it is as much as if a skilfull Maſter of a Ship were a goodly man alſo. Why ſcratcheſt thou mine eares? Why delighteſt thou me? Thou muſt; there is another thing now in hand, thou muſt miniſter me an actuall cauterie, I muſt be lanced, I muſt haue a Dyet preſcribed me: for this cauſe art thou called. Thy duety is to heale an old ſickneſſe that is dangerous and publique. Thou haſt as much to doe as the Phyſitian in the plague time. Wilt thou ſpend the time about wordes? If thou finiſh the cure then mayeſt thou reioyce. When ſhall it be that thou wilt lodge that which thou haſt learned ſo inwardly in thy ſelfe, that it may neuer more depart from thee? When wilt thou make triall thereof? for it ſufficeth not to commit them to memorie, as thou doeſt other ſciences: Thou muſt aſſay to put them in execution. He that knoweth all this is not happie, but he that doth it. What then, are there no degrees vnder him? May a man vpon the ſudden attaine vnto wiſedome? I cannot beleeue it: for he that profiteth is counted amongſt the number of fools, yet is he eſtranged from them by a great diſtance, and amongſt thoſe that are proficient alſo there are great differences: they are diuided, as ſome ſay into three rankes; The firſt are they that haue not as yet attained wiſedome, but are alreadie ſetled neere vnto it, although that which is neere is as yet without. Thou wilt aske me who theſe are? They are thoſe who haue alreadie laide aſide all their affections and vices, & that haue learned that which they ought to embrace, but their aſſurance is not as yet experimented. They haue not as yet the vſe of their good; yet can they not fall againe any more on that which they haue alreadie fled. They are ſo farre forward that they cannot retire backe, but they know it not as yet. And as I remember I haue written in a certaine Epiſtle, they know not that they doe know it. They can alreadie make vſe of their good but their confidence is yet vnaſſured. Som there are that ſpeake thus of this ſort of men, who profite and whom I ſpeake heretofore and ſay that they haue alreadie eſcaped the ſickneſſes of the minde, but not the paſſions; and that they are as yet affraide to fall, becauſe no man is out of the danger of vice, but he that hath wholly driuen it from him; but no one drieueth it away but he that hath aſſumed wiſedome in his place. I haue oftentimes tolde what differences there are betwixt the ſickneſſes of the ſoule, and the paſſions of the minde. Yet will I refreſh the memorie therof vnto thee. The ſickneſſes are inueterate and obdurate vices, ſuch as are auarice, and ouer great ambition,

bition, at ſuch time as they haue intangled the minde, and haue begun to be a perpetuall ſickeneſſe. And to be ſhort, the ſickeneſſe is an obſtinate iudgement in wicked things, as if a man ſhould greatly deſire that which he ought not to deſire but ſlightly; or if thou like it better, we may define it thus. To deſire that ouer-vehemently which we ought to wiſh for ſlightly, or which a man ſhould not any wayes wiſh or deſire; or elſe to priſe that ouer-much which a man ſhould priſe verie little or nothing at all. Affections are improbable, ſudden and violent motions of the minde, which being frequent and neglected, haue cauſed a ſickeneſſe, as a deſcent and diſtillation of rhume doth; which being as yet vnformed, engendreth a cough: but if it continue and waxeth olde, it becommeth *Phthiſis*. Euen ſo they who haue alreadie profited much, are out of ſickeneſſe, yet feele they as yet ſome paſſions, yet are they neere vnto perfection. The ſecond ſort is of thoſe who haue eſcaped the greateſt paſſions and ſickeneſſes of the ſoule, but it is in ſuch a ſort that they are not certaine in the poſſeſſion of their ſecuritie; for they may fall againe into their infirmities. This other third ſort is exempt from a number of the greater vices, but not out of all: he hath fled from auarice, but is as yet ſenſible of wrath: he is no more ſubiect to pleaſures and voluptuouſneſſe, but he is full of ambition: he is not couetous, but he is as yet fearefull and timorous; but in this feare he is ſufficiently aſſured in ſome things, and ſheweth himſelfe remiſſe in ſome other things: he contemneth death, but he feareth dolour. Let vs thinke a little vpon this third place: it will be well with vs, if we be admitted vnto this third number. It is with a great felicitie of nature, and with a ſtudie accompanied with a great and induſtrious diligence, that a man entreth into the ſecond ranke: yet muſt we not deſpiſe thoſe of the third order. Thinke with thy ſelfe how many euils thou ſeeeſt about thee; beholde how there is not any offence how deteſtable ſoeuer it be, of which we cannot ſhew ſome examples. See how wickedneſſe encreaſeth daily, and what faults are committed both in publique and priuate; and thou ſhalt vnderſtand that we haue profited enough, if we be not ranked amongſt the worſt. But I hope, ſayeſt thou, that I may be made one of the honourable order. I ſhould rather wiſh vs this good fortune, then promiſe it. We are alreadie ſeaſed and arreſted: we runne after vertue, but we are intangled and ſnared in vices. I am aſhamed to ſpeake it; we follow not honeſt things, but then when we can doe nothing elſe. But how great a reward attendeth vs, if wee would wholly breake off our occupations, and ſhake off thoſe euils which holde vs captiue. Neither deſire, neither feare ſhould compell vs, but being freed from all terrors, intire and incorrupted againſt all pleaſures, we ſhould no more be affraide of death, or of the Gods: We ſhould vnderſtand that neyther death is euill, and that the Gods are good: as infirme and feeble is that which may hurt, as that to whom it hurteth. The beſt things, and ſuch as neuer hurt, doe expect vs when we ſhall depart one day out of this order, to mount thoſe high and ſublime places with a placabilitie of minde, and after the errours ſhall be driuen away, with an intire and perfect libertie. Askeſt thou what it is? Not to feare men or Gods, neither to will that which is diſhoneſt, nor deſire ouer-much, and to haue the greateſt power ouer himſelfe. It is an ineſtimable good for a man to be able to become his owne.

Epist. LXXVI.

That he heareth Philoſophie, and goeth to the Schooles. Hee complaineth of the negligence and ſloath of men, which learne other things, and neglect Philoſophie. Doe not thou ſo, my Lvcilivs, *make haſt and learne goodneſſe. What good? That which is onely honeſt. And againe he approueth by arguments that it is ſo, and that other things are not. A laudable and wiſe Epiſtle.*

THou threatneſt me that thou wilt be mine enemie, if ſo be I conceale ought from thee of thoſe things which I daily doe. Beholde how freely and ſimply I liue with thee: for this alſo will I impart vnto thee, I hear a Philoſopher, and for theſe fiue daies paſt already haue I haunted the ſchoole, and haue heard him diſpute from eight of the clocke. I am olde enough, wilt thou ſay, to goe thither: and why ſhould not this age be good? What greater follie may there be, then becauſe of long time thou haſt not learned, not to learne at all? What then, ſhall I doe nothing elſe but that which thoſe yongfull and refreſhed wantons do, I ſhould thinke my ſelfe happie, if there were nothing ill beſeeming mine age but that. This Schoole admitteth men of all ages. Let vs waxe olde in this Schoole, we muſt follow it, as if as yet we were young. Shall I goe vnto the Theater as olde as I am? ſhall I cauſe my ſelfe to be carried to the ſports and publique ſpectacles? ſhall not one couple of combatants be ſingled out to fight, except I be a looker on? and ſhall I be aſhamed to goe and ſee a Philoſopher? So long art thou to learne as long as thou art ignorant; and if wee giue credite to the Prouerbe, ſo long as thou liueſt: neither can this more fitly be applied to any thing then to this, ſo long art thou to learne in what manner thou ſhouldeſt liue, as long as thou liueſt. Yet teach I alſo ſomething in this Schoole. Askeſt thou me what I teach? Forſooth this, that how olde ſoeuer a man be, he ought alwayes to learne. Vndoubtedly I am aſhamed to ſee how men liue. As often as I enter into the Schoole, I muſt of neceſſitie, as thou well knoweſt, paſſe by the Neapolitane Theatre: it is their way that goe to *Metronactes* houſe. This Theatre before I come is repleniſhed with people, although the greateſt ſtudie that they vſe, is but to iudge who it is that playeth beſt vpon the Flute. A great number of men flocke thither to heare the Fifes and the Grecians Trumpets ſound; but in that place where a man learneth to be a good man, few men ſtay there. And theſe alſo in diuers mens iudgement ſeeme to haue no good buſineſſe in hand, they call them men of little ſpirit and loyterers. I ſhould be glad to ſee my ſelfe mocked in this kinde. A man ought to endure patiently the injuries of the ignorant. It becommeth him that followeth honeſt things to contemne this contempt. Courage, my *Lucilius*, goe forward, and make haſt, leſt that befall thee which is falne vpon me, that is to learne in thine olde age: but haſte thy ſelfe, ſince for the preſent thou haſt vndertaken that which thou canſt hardly compleately learne, although thou ſhouldeſt attaine the fulneſſe of thine age: how much, ſayeſt thou, ſhall I profite? As much as thou wouldeſt aſſay. What expecteſt thou then? No man hath euer beene wiſe by caſualtie. Riches will come of it ſelfe, honor ſhall be offered, grace and dignitie happily ſhall be thruſt vpon thee: but vertue will not befall thee, when thou little thinkeſt of it, neither alſo with ſlight trauell, and little paine. He muſt not be wearie of the trauell which he taketh, who ſhould at one time gaine all the goods

goods of this world. For there is but one only good; that is to ſay, that which is honeſt. In thoſe things that are plauſible to fame, thou ſhalt finde nothing true, nothing certaine. I will tell thee why that is onely good which is honeſt, becauſe thou ſuppoſeſt, that in my former Epiſtle I haue not ſufficiently expreſſed vnto thee the reaſon, and for that thou thinkeſt then, I haue better praiſed, then proued this propoſition, and I will ſuccinctly, and in few words, ſignifie and abridge all that which I haue ſpoken. All things haue their proper good. The Vine is commended for his fruitfulnes, the wine for his taſte, and the Hart for his ſwift footing. Why askeſt thou, wherefore horſes haue ſtrong backes? becauſe he onely ſerueth to beare burthens. The firſt thing that is required in a dog, that is, to be employed in ſearching out and hunting wilde beaſts, is his quicke ſent; if to ouertake them, is his ſwiftneſſe; if to bite and inuade them, his herceneſſe. In all things that whereunto a man is borne, and for which hee is prized and eſteemed, is alwayes the beſt. What is the beſt thing in a man? It is his reaſon. By it he ſurpaſſeth beaſts, and followeth the gods very neere. So then perfect reaſon is a mans proper good, all other things are ſuch, as brute beaſts pertake them in common as well as he. If he be mightie, ſo are Lions; if he be faire, ſo is the Peacocke; if he be ſwift, ſo is the horſe: I will not ſay that hee is ouercome and ſurpaſſed in all theſe things. I diſpute not what that is, which is moſt excellent in him, but what it is that is moſt proper vnto him. He hath a bodie, ſo haue the trees; hee hath vehemencie and voluntary motion, both beaſts and wormes haue no leſſe. He hath a voice; but how farre more clearer haue dogges? More ſhriller haue Eagles, more ſtrong haue Bulls, more ſweete and delicate haue Nightingales? What then is it which is proper and beſt in a man? Reaſon. This it is that being compleat and perfect, accompliſheth a mans felicitie. If therefore euery thing that hath perfected his owne good is praiſe-worthie, and hath attained the end of his nature; and mans particular good is reaſon; if he hath perfected the ſame, he is worthy of praiſe, and hath attained the end whereunto his nature directed him. This perfect reaſon is called Vertue, and is no other thing then that which is honeſt. That therefore is the onely good in a man, which is the onely marke of a man. For now we enquire not what God is, but what mans good is; but man hath no other good but reaſon: this therefore is his onely good, which is the moſt precious and priſeable of all others. If any man be a wicked man, he in my opinion will be miſliked of. If a good man, he will as I ſuppoſe, be allowed of. That therefore is proper and particularly a mans, whereby he is praiſed or improued. Thou doubteſt not whether this be good, but whether it be his onely good. If any man ſhould enioy all other things; health, riches, many images of his predeceſſors, adorning his fore-court, a multitude of attendants at his Pallace-doore, and yet in all the worlds iudgement hee were wicked, thou wouldeſt diſallow him. If likewiſe there were a man that hath none of all theſe things, which I haue related, neither money, nor attendants of courtiers, neither nobilitie, nor any images of his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers are arranged by order: but that were an honeſt man, in all mens opinion, thou wouldeſt praiſe him. There is then one only good in a man, whereof if any man findeth himſelfe poſſeſſed, although he be deſtitue of all others, yet is he to be praiſed; and if he hath it not, although he haue all other things in abundance, yet is he deſpiſed and reiected. Such as the condition of all things is, ſuch is the condition of men. That ſhip is called good, not that which is painted with precious colours, or that hath a ſiluer or golden beake, nor whoſe tutelar ſigne is enriched with Iuorie, or that is laden with goods

goods and royall riches, but that which is ſtrong and firme, that is ſo well timbered and calked on euery ſide, that it admitteth no leake, that can ſuſtaine the breaking of the ſea, that is light of ſteerage, and is good of ſaile, howſoeuer the winde driue it. Thou wilt ſay, a ſword is good, not for that it hath a golden belt, or a ſheath couered with precious ſtones, but that which hath an excellent edge, and a ſtrong point, able to pierce an armour of ſteele. Wee enquire not how faire the rule be, but how ſtraight. Euery thing ought to be praiſed, when it is ſorted and purueyed of that which is proper vnto it. Therefore in a man alſo it is nothing to the purpoſe, how many acres of land hee plow vp, how much money he lend to vſe, by how many he be ſaluted; how rich and precious the bed bee whereon hee reſteth, how goodly a cup hee drinke in, but how good a man he is, and a good man is he, if his reaſon be perfect and vpright, and accommodated to the will of Nature. This is called Vertue, this is honeſt, and the onely good of a man. For ſince that only reaſon maketh a man perfect, only perfect reaſon maketh him likewiſe happy. But that only good of a man, is that which may only make him happy. Wee ſay likewiſe, that thoſe things which proceed and are engendered by vertue, that is to ſay, all her actions, are goods; but vertue is the ſole and onely good, becauſe there is not any good without her. If all good remaine in the ſoule, all that which maketh the ſame firme and conſtant, all that which raiſeth and enobleth it is good. But it is vertue that maketh the ſoule more ſtrong, more excellent, and more couragious. for all other paſſions that animate and incite our pleaſures, doe deiect and ruinate the ſoule likewiſe, and when they ſeeme to raiſe the ſame, they doe but puffe her vp with pride, and deceiue her with their vanities. There is then but one only good, whereby the minde is bettered. All the actions of the whole life are meaſured, either in that they are honeſt, or in that they are villanous. Thereby it is that reaſon is gouerned, either to doe, or not to doe any thing: I will tell thee what this meaneth. A good man will doe that which in his thought may be honeſtly done, although it be accompanied with much trauell, and attended with loſſe and danger. Contrariwiſe he will do nothing that is diſhoneſt, although thereby he reaped riches, pleaſures, and authorities. Nothing ſhall withdraw him from doing a good thing, nothing ſhall inuite him to doe that which is villanous. Vndoubtedly then, if he muſt follow that which is vertuous, he will likewiſe flie all that which is villanous; and in all the actions of his life he will regard theſe two things, that there is no other good, but that which is honeſt, nor any other euill, but that which is villanous. Now if there be but one onely vertue that remaineth vncorrupted, if ſhee onely remaine alwayes in her entire vertue, it is the only good, to which nothing may happen that may hinder her from being good. For wiſdome is out of the danger of all change, wiſedome cannot bee raviſhed, ſhee cannot fall into folly. I haue told thee, if happily thou remember the ſame, that diuers haue contemned and troden vnder feete that which is vulgar, by an inconſiderate heate, either deſired or feared. Some haue there beene, that haue thruſt their hands into the flame, whoſe ſmiles the tormentour could not interrupt, that in the buriall of their children haue not ſhed one teare, and that haue preſented themſelues to death without any feare. Loue, wrath, couetouſneſſe, hath oftentimes made them ſeeke out perrills. If therefore a ſhort reſolution of the ſoule pricked forward by ſome pregnant occaſion, may doe this, with what more greater reſolution ſhall vertue doe it, that gathereth her forces, not from raſhneſſe or any ſudden motion, but a conſtancie and perpetuall power? It followeth then, that thoſe things

things which are often contemned by the inconſiderate, and by wiſe men alwayes, that they are neither good nor euill. Vertue then is the onely good, that marcheth proudly betweene both the one and the other Fortune, and deſpiſeth them both. And if thou enter into this opinion, that there is any other good, but that which is honeſt, all vertues ſhall be in trouble. For no man might attaine any of them, if ſhe deſired any thing that were out of her ſelfe; and if this were, it ſhould be contrarie to reaſon, from whence vertues proceed; and to truth, which is alwayes accompanied with reaſon. But all opinion which is contrary to truth, is falſe. Thou muſt needes confeſſe, that a good man carrieth great pietie and reuerence towards the gods, and for this cauſe he will patiently endure all that which may befall him. For he well knoweth that all this is befalne him by the will of the gods, by which all things are conducted. And if it be thus, he will thinke that to be the onely good, which is honeſt. For in honeſtie conſiſteth the obedience to the gods, the patient ſufferance of thoſe accidents, which may follow the conſtant entertainment of fortunes, and the willing acceptance of that the gods will, and the performance of their commandements. If there were any other good, but that which is honeſt, we ſhould bee attended with an inſatiable deſire of life, and an affection to all that which entertaineth life: a thing intollerable, infinite, and that which extendeth it ſelfe ouer farre. The onely good then is that which is honeſt, that hath a certaine meaſure. We haue ſaid that the life of man ſhould be more happy then that of the gods, if that whereof the gods make no vſe were goods, of which kinde are riches & eſtates. Furthermore, if the ſoules ſuruiue the bodies after they are departed from them, a more happie eſtate attendeth them, then that which they then poſſeſſed, when they were impriſoned in the body. And yet if thoſe things which we vſe by the meanes of the bodie were goods, they ſhould be more vnfortunate after they were departed from the ſame, but no man can any wayes beleeue, that being incloſed and impriſoned, they ſhould be more happie, then when they are releaſed and ſet at libertie through the whole world. I haue moreouer ſaid this, that if it be a good that equally befalleth both man and brute beaſts, that beaſts likewiſe ſhould enioy a happy life, which cannot bee true in any manner. Wee muſt ſuffer all things for honeſtie ſake, which wee ſhould not doe, if there were any other good but that which is honeſt. All this, although I haue more amply debated vpon in my former Epiſtle, I haue thought good to abbreuiate in theſe few words. Yet neuer will this opinion ſeeme true vnto thee, except thou rowſe thy minde, and queſtion with thy ſelfe, whether, if need required, thou wouldeſt die for thy country, and to ſaue the life of all other thy fellow citizens, thou wouldeſt loſe thine owne, and yeeld thy necke, not only with patience, but with a free will? If thou canſt doe this, there is no other good. Thou leaueſt all things, that thou mayeſt haue this. See how great the force of honeſtie is. And although thou ſhouldeſt not doe it preſently, yet ſhould it be at leaſt, as ſoone as thou oughteſt to doe it. Sometimes in a very ſhort ſpace of time a man receiueth a great ioy of a very faire thing. And although ſome fruite of a worke alreadie performed, can doe little profit to the dead, when he ſhall be out of this world, yet the only thought of that which he would doe, reioyceth and comforteth him; and a iuſt and conſtant man, when he ſetteth before his eyes the price of his death, which is the liberty of his country, and the life of all thoſe, for whom he employeth his life, he feeleth a great pleaſure, and alreadie pertaketh the fruit of his perill. But he alſo who is depriued of this pleaſure, which the execution of this work would yeeld him,

him, as the greateſt and laſt pleaſure of his life, without any more delay will encounter his death, and content himſelfe that he hath done iuſtly and piouſly. Contrariwiſe, ſet thou now before his eyes diuers reaſons that may diſſwade him. Tell him, that this worthy act which thou haſt done, ſhall be ſuddenly forgotten, the Citizens will not be ſo thankfull as thou deſerueſt; he will anſwere thee. All this is out of the action I haue done, I contemplate and conſider it in it ſelfe, I know it is honeſt. Therefore it is that, into what place ſoeuer I am led, into what place ſoeuer I am called, I am there. It is then the only good which a perfect ſoule, not only feeleth, but a generous man, and ſuch a one as is of a good nature. All other things are of little eſteeme, and ſubiect to change. And therefore it is that a man cannot poſſeſſe them without much care and trouble of minde, although the fauour of Fortune had aſſembled them all together into one mans poſſeſſion, yet are they for no other vſe, but a burthen to their maſter; they preſſe him alwayes, and ſometimes ouerwhelme him. There is not any one of thoſe, whom thou haſt clothed in purple, that is happie, no more then are they that beare a royall Scepter in their hands, and a Mantle on their backes vpon a ſtage in acting a play. For after they haue marched in their proud array and buskins before the people, as ſoone as they depart from them they are diſapparelled, and returne to their former eſtate. There is not one of thoſe, whom riches and honors haue raiſed to the higheſt places, that is great. Why then ſeemeth he to be great? Thou meaſureſt him by his ſhow. A dwarfe will be alwayes little, although hee be ſet vpon a mountaine; and huge ſtatue will retaine his greatneſſe, though it ſtand in a ditch. We are blinded with this error, and thus are we deceiued, becauſe we eſteeme no man by that which is in him, but we adde vnto him his ornaments. But when thou wilt haue a true eſtimate of a man, and know what a one he is, behold him naked: let him lay aſide his patrimony, his honours, and thoſe other flattering and falſe goods of Fortune. Let him diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of his bodie, behold his minde, what and how great it is, whether of his owne good, or by anothers: if he dare looke on a drawne ſword with a manly eie, if he know that there is no great matter whither his ſoule depart, by his mouth, or by his throat; call him happy. That at ſuch time when he ſhal heare that he muſt endure bodily torments, or ſuch euils as happen by caſualtie, or by the plot of great men, that if he muſt ſuffer bonds and exile, and the vaine feares of humane mindes, ſecurely heareth them, and ſaith.

Not any new ſuſpition of miſhap,
O Virgin, ſhall my ſetled minde intrap:
All theſe haue I forethought long time agoe,
My dangers are forecaſt in weale and woe.

Thou telleſt mee all this to day, I haue alwayes denounced it to my ſelfe. I haue diſpoſed man vnto all humane things. The ſtroake of miſchiefe which a man foreſeeth, is leſſe troubleſome and more light. But to fooles, and ſuch as credit Fortune, the face and appearance of things ſeemeth new and vnexpected, and noueltie for the moſt part is the greateſt cauſe of euil to the ignorant. That thou mayeſt know this, they ſuffer patiently thoſe things that they thought difficult, when they are accuſtomed thereunto. Therefore it is, that a wiſe-man inureth himſelfe to euils that may befall him, and that which others by a long patience make light and eaſie, the wiſe-man doth it after hee hath long time thought:

thought: we heare oft-times the diſcourſes of theſe ignorants, which ſay, I had not thought that this would as yet befall me; but the wiſe-man knoweth that all things are incident to him, and confeſſeth, that hee knoweth very well all that which may happen.

EPIST. LXXVII.

And this by the way, is to be numbred amongſt thoſe that are good and profitable. He intreateth by the way of the Alexandrian Fleete, how whilst other ranne out to ſee them, he neglected them. For what auayle theſe? or how long? I am olde, I am going hence, and at length I muſt willingly depart as MARCELLINVS *did. Then againſt the feare of death, and that the reaſons thereof are to be contemned.*

THis day vpon the ſudden that *Alexandrian* Ships appeared vnto vs, which are vſually ſent before the Fleete, to giue tidings of the fortunate approach of the Nauie, which men call Friggats or Ships of meſſage. The view of theſe was gratefull and welcome to all *Campania*. All the people of *Pozzolo* climed vp vpon the Piles to behold them, and by the manner of their ſayles knew them from the reſt, notwithſtanding that they were intermingled with a great bulke of other ſhipping: for they onely haue libertie to ſpread their top-ſaile, which in their top all ſhips haue. For there is nothing that helpeth their courſe ſo much as that vpper part of the ſaile: for by it the Ships courſe is moſt of all furthered; and therefore as often as the winde encreaſeth, and is more violent then it ought to be, the top-yard is ſtriken for the winde, hath leſſe force ouer the bodie of the ſhip. But when they haue entered *Capreas* and the Promontorie, from whence,

PALLAS *from high of ſtormie Mountaine ſpies.*

All other ſhips are commanded to content themſelues with their maine ſayle; the top-ſayle is the marke to know the *Alexandrian* ſhips. Amidſt the courſe of all theſe people that ran thus haſtily to the Sea ſhoare, I felt a very great pleaſure in my ſloath, becauſe that thinking to receiue Letters from mine agents, I made no haſt to know in what eſtate my affaires ſtood, or what they had brought me. For long agoe nothing hath beene gotten or loſt by me. This opinion ſhould I maintaine, although I were not olde: but now the rather, becauſe how little ſoeuer I had, I haue more to make vſe of them, I haue time to liue, eſpecially ſince we are entred into that way, which we neede not to accompliſh. The iourney will be imperfect, if thou ſtay either in the mid-way, or ſtand on this ſide the prefixed place: the life is not imperfect, if it be honeſt. Whereſoeuer thou endeſt, if the end be good it is intire: we ought likewiſe often and courageouſly to end, and not for great cauſes, for theſe are not the mightieſt that holde vs. *Tullius Marcellinus* (whom thou knoweſt very familiarly) who was temperate in his youth, and quickly an olde man, being ſurpriſed by a ſickneſſe which was not incurable yet long and tedious, and ſuch as commanded him to ſuffer much, began to deliberate and conclude vpon his death. To this intent he called together diuers of his friends. Euery one of theſe being naturally timerous, gaue him that counſaile they would haue entertained themſelues, or if there were a flatterer, or any one that ſtudied to pleaſe him, he gaue him that

aduice, that he thought would be beſt pleaſing to him that demanded the queſtion. Our friend *Aſticho*, a worthy man, & that I may dignifie him with thoſe titles, wherein he worthily deſerueth praiſe, a man couragious and valiant, counſailed him in my opinion very nobly: for he began thus; *Torment not thy ſelfe, friend* MARCELLINE, *as if thou deliberatedſt on any important affaire. It is no great matter to liue all thy ſlaues liue, and all other beaſts alſo. It is a great matter to die honeſtly, prudently and valiantly. Bethinke thy ſelfe for how long time together thou haſt done the ſame thing. Meate, ſleepe, luſt, by this circle all the world commeth. Not onely a valiant man, a ſtrong man, a miſerable man can haue a will to die, but he alſo that diſdaineth life.* He needed no man to counſaile him hereunto, but ſome aſſiſtant; for his ſlaues would not obey him. Firſt of all he tooke from them all feare, and taught them that ſlaues were in great danger, when as it was incertaine whether the death of the Lord were voluntarie or no. For otherwiſe it ſhould be as dangerous an example to hinder a Maſter to die, as to kill him. Afterwards he admoniſhed *Marcellinus* himſelfe, that euen as when ſupper is ended, the remainder is deuided on thoſe that attend; ſo when life is ended, ſomewhat is bequeathed to thoſe who had beene attendants during the whole life time. *Marcellinus* was a man of a gentle and facile diſpoſition, and liberall euen in thoſe things which were his proper goods: he therefore diſtributed ſome ſmall ſummes amongſt his weeping ſeruants, and comforted them himſelfe: he needed not eyther ſword or ſhedding of bloud, for three daies he abſtained, and in his very chamber he cauſed his Pauillion to be raiſed; afterwards his bath was brought thither, in which he lay long time, and cauſed water to be oftentimes caſt vpon him, ſo by little and little fainted and failed he, not without a certaine pleaſure, as he ſaid (which a ſlight fainting is wont to bring) not vnapproued vnto vs, who are ſometimes ſubiect to ſoundings. I haue made relation of this ſtorie vnto thee, which I know will not be diſtaſtefull to thee, becauſe thereby thou ſhalt vnderſtand the manner of thy friends death, which was neyther difficult nor miſerable: for although he procured his owne death, yet departed he and eſcaped moſt ſweetly out of life. Neyther will this ſtorie be vnprofitable to thee; for neceſſitie oftentimes exacteth ſuch examples. Wee oft-times muſt die, yet we will not: we die, and yet we will not. There is no man ſo ignorant, but that he knoweth that one day he muſt die, but when the time approacheth neere he playes the coward, trembleth & weepeth. Wouldeſt thou not eſteeme him the fooliſheſt of all men, that ſhould weepe becauſe hee liued not a thouſand years agoe? As fooliſh is he that weepeth becauſe he ſhall not liue a thouſand yeare after. Thoſe are equall thou ſhalt not be, neither waſt thou: both theſe two times are not our owne. Thou art caſt vpon this point, which although thou mighteſt prolong, how long wouldeſt thou prolong it? Why weepeſt thou? What wiſheſt thou? Thou loſeſt thy labour;

Ceaſe thou to hope that prayers ſo powerfull be,
That they can change the deſtinies decree.

They are firme and fixed they are led by an eternall and powerfull neceſſitie. Thou ſhalt goe thither whither all things goe. Why thinkeſt thou this a new matter? Thou art borne vnder this condition, thy father hath had the like hap, this hath thy mother met withall, this haue thy predeceſſors knowne, this ſhall befall all men after thee. It is an inuincible ſucceſſe and order that no force can change, and that tyeth and traineth all things with it. O how great number of

people

people ſhall follow thee when thou art dead? How many are that ſhall accompanie thee? Thou wouldeſt in my opinion be more conſtant, if diuers thouſands of men ſhould die with thee. And yet many thouſands of men and beaſts ſhall loſe their liues by diuers ſorts of death, at that verie inſtant when thou makeſt it a difficultie to die. But diddeſt thou not thinke that one day thou ſhouldeſt attaine thither whither thy iourney was alwaies intended? There is no iourney without end. Thinkeſt thou that I will recount vnto thee at this preſent examples of diuers great perſonages? No, I will but tell thee ſome of young lads: The memorie of that young *Lacedemonian* will neuer be loſt, who hauing ſcarcely a haire vpon his chin, and being taken priſoner, cried out in that his Doraque tongue, I will not ſerue, and confirmed his wordes by effect; for as ſoone as he was commanded to doe ſome ſeruile and baſe office (for ſome commanded him to emptie the cloſe ſtoole) he did beate out his brains againſt the wall. Our libertie being ſo neere, is there any man will ſerue? Haddeſt thou not rather thy ſonne ſhould die thus, then waxe olde in idlenes? What is there therefore why thou ſhouldeſt be perplexed, if to die couragiouſly be but a childes play? Thinkeſt thou that thou wilt not follow, thou ſhalt be enforced. Make that to be in thy power which is in another mans. Wilt thou not take vpon thee this young mans courage, and ſay, I will not ſerue? O miſerable wretch! thou art ſlaue vnto men, thou art ſlaue vnto things, thou art ſlaue to thy life: for life if it want the courage to die, is a true ſeruitude. Haſt thou any thing for which thou ſhouldeſt expect? Thou haſt ſpent thoſe pleaſures that attended and retained thee. There is not any that is new vnto thee, not any but is nõw odious vnto thee, becauſe thou haſt ſurfeited therewith. Thou knoweſt what the taſte of wine is, and what is the taſte of Methegling: it skils not whether a hundreth or a thouſand veſſels of wine paſſe by thy bladder: thou art a ſacke: thou haſt often learned what the Oyſter is, what the Mullet ſauoreth thou knoweſt well, thy foolish expence hath reſerued nothing for time to com, which thou haſt not alreadie deuoured. Now theſe are they from which thou art drawne ſo vnwillingly. What other thing beſides this is there which ſhould yeeld thee diſcontent, if it were taken from thee? Are they thy friends and thy country? Haſt thou ſo much euer honored the ſunne, that for her thou wouldſt haue deferred thy ſupper? Thou wouldeſt ſooner choake vp the brightneſſe of the ſunne if thou couldeſt. For what hath beene euer done by thee that is worthie the light? Confeſſe, I pray thee, that there is not any amitie that thou beareſt to the Senate or Palace, or to the nature of things which withdraweth thee from dying. It is in ſpite of thy teeth that thou leaueſt the ſhambles, in which thou haſt left nothing. Thou feareſt death: but how wouldeſt thou contemne it in the middeſt of thy pleaſures? Thou deſireſt but to liue; for thou knoweſt well what it is, and haſt feare of death: but what is this life, is it not death? *Caligula* paſſing thorow the Latine way, when as one of thoſe that were ledde priſoners, that had a long beard and hoarie haires, beſought him to giue him leaue to die. What ſaid he, liueſt thou yet? The ſame anſwer muſt be made vnto thoſe to whom death might bring any comfort. Haſt thou feare to die, and why liueſt thou yet? But I, ſaith he, will liue; for I employ my ſelfe in manie honeſt affaires. I leaue thoſe offices and functions of life vnwillingly, which I diſcharge both faithfully and induſtriouſly. What, knoweſt thou not that it is one of the offices of life to die? Thou leaueſt no office, for the number of the dueties which thou art to accompliſh being vncertaine, it is determined. There is no life is not ſhort: for if thou haſt reſpect to the nature of things. Both *Ne-*

ſtors and *Statilias* life is ſhort, who ordeined that this ſhould be ingrauen on her tombe, that ſhe had liued ninetie nine yeares. Seeſt thou how this poore woman vaunteth her ſelfe of her long life? but who could haue ſupported her glorie, if it had beene her fortune to haue liued out full one hundred yeares? It fareth with our life as with a Stage-play, it skilleth not how long, but how well it hath beene acted. It importeth nothing in what place thou makeſt an end of life: die where thou wilt, thinke onely to make a good concluſion.

Epist. LXXVIII.

Of his ſickeneſſes, yea, euen in his young yeares, and what reliefe he found for them. Honeſt ſtudies (ſaith he) and friends alſo, but the remedy of remedies contempt of death. Thither calleth he Lvcilivs, *and diſputed many things deepe, manly, and true againſt griefe.*

THe more impatiently ſuffered I to ſee thee vexed often with rhumes and feuers, which follow long defluxions, and ſuch as are alreadie brought into cuſtome, becauſe I my ſelfe haue had experience of this ſickeneſſe, wherof at the beginning I made little reckoning. My youth could as yet ſupport this violence, and defend it ſelfe confidently againſt infirmities, but at length I ſunke vnder the burthen, and was brought to that eſtate, that I my ſelfe fell into a mortall diſtillation. Afterwards I became by little and little ſo extenuate and leane, that a ſudden deſire ſurpriſed me to procure mine owne death; yet my fathers olde years which I decrely tendered, reſtrained me therein. For I imagined not how conſtantly I might die, but how patiently he might endure my loſſe; for which cauſe I commanded my ſelfe to liue as yet: for ſometimes to liue is a manly deſigne. I will tel thee what recomforted me moſt at that time, but ſo as thou be before hand aduertiſed, that thoſe things wherein I tooke moſt repoſe, ſerued me for a medicine. Honeſt pleaſures are to vs in ſtead of remedie, and all that which may reioyce the ſpirit, profiteth the bodie in like ſort. My ſtudies gaue me my health. I muſt confeſſe that I am indebted to Philoſophie for my recouerie and health, to her I owe my life, and leſſe then that I cannot owe her. I haue beene furthered in recouerie of my health by the meanes of my friends, by their exhortations and watchings, and by thoſe diſcourſes they entertained me with, I was verie much comforted. There is nothing (my *Lucilius* the beſt of men) that more recreateth and comforteth a ſicke man, then the affection of his friends. There is nothing that ſo much ſtealeth away the thought & feare of death: I thought not on death when I ſaw them ſuruiue me: me thought, I ſay, that I ſhould liue yet, not with them but by their meanes: me ſeemed that I loſt not my ſpirit, but that I rendred it into their handes. All theſe encouraged me to aſſiſt my ſelfe, and to ſuffer all ſorts of torments: otherwiſe it is a miſerable matter, when as thou haſt loſt thy deſire to die, not to haue an affection to liue. Retire thy ſelfe therefore vnto theſe remedies. The Phyſitian will ſhew thee how long thou ſhouldeſt walk, and how much thou ſhouldeſt exerciſe: he will teach thee not to follow a repoſe whereunto an idle health is addicted, to reade aloude, to exerciſe and ſtrengthen thy breath, when the paſſages of the ſame, and the paſſages of the lungs are ſtopped, to ſaile, and make thy ſtomacke to deſiſt by gentle motion and exerciſe, what meats thou ſhouldeſt vſe when thou ſhalt call for wine

wine to ſtrengthen and comfort thee, and when thou ſhouldeſt intermit the ſame, leſt it ſhould prouoke and exaſperate thy cough. But I teach thee that which is not only a remedy for this infirmity, but of the whole life: Contemne death. There is nothing diſtaſtefull when we flie the feare hereof. Theſe three things in euery ſicknes are very tedious; the feare of death, the paine of the bodie, and the intermiſſion of pleaſures. Of death there is enough ſpoken, I will only ſay this, that this feare proceedeth not from infirmities, but from nature. Sickneſſes haue delayed the death of many men, and to them it hath proued ſecuritie to ſeeme to periſh. Thou ſhalt die; not becauſe thou art ſicke, but becauſe thou liueſt. This death will attend thee when thou art recouered: when thou art freed from ſicknes thou ſhalt eſcape, not thy death, but thy infirmitie. Let vs now returne to that incommodity that is proper to ſicknes: it is accompanied with great and intollerable torments, but the intermiſſions make them tollerable; for when the griefe is moſt intended, it ſuddenly groweth to an end. No man can ſuffer an exceſſiue paine a long time; for Nature that loueth vs as much as is poſſible, hath ſo prouidently prouided, that ſhee maketh our paines either tollerable or very ſhort. The greateſt paines are felt moſt in thoſe parts that are moſt leane; the nerues, the ioynts, and all other parts that are thinneſt are cruelly tormented, when as corrupted humors are encloſed in theſe narrow paſſages, but theſe parts are quickly nummed, & loſe the ſenſe of paine, by reaſon of the pain it ſelf, either becauſe the ſpirits being hindred, to performe their naturall courſe, and changed to the worſt, loſe the force which maketh them vigorous, and inciteth vs; or becauſe the corrupt humor, when it wanteth force to flow thither, whither it ſhould paſſe, choaketh them, and depriueth thoſe parts of ſenſe which are ouer much choaked. So the gout in feete and hands, and the paines that are felt in our ioynts, and nerues, are appeaſed when they haue ſtopped and ſtupified the parts they haue tormented. It is the firſt aſſault, ſharpnes and pricking that tormenteth, but this violence is extinguiſhed in time, and the end of the paine is to bee wholly ſtupified. The paine of the teeth, eyes, and eares, is the moſt violent, becauſe it is bred in the narroweſt and ſtraiteſt parts of the bodie, and no leſſe, vndoubtedly, is that of the head. But the more violent that is, the ſooner is it changed into madneſſe or ſtupiditie. This therefore is the comfort in intended griefe, that thou muſt of neceſſitie ceaſe to feele the ſame, if thou feele it ouer much. But that which moſt of all afflicteth ignorant men, during the torment which they feele in their bodies, proceedeth hence, becauſe they are not accuſtomed to content themſelues with the goods of the minde, and for that they entertaine too much friendſhip with their bodies. And therefore a great and prudent man retireth his minde from his bodie, and is for the moſt part conuerſant with the better and diuiner part, and but onely for neceſſitie ſake with the other, which is fraile and ſtill plaining. But thou wilt ſay it is a tedious thing for a man to want his accuſtomed pleaſures, to abſtaine from meates, to ſuffer thirſt and hunger. I confeſſe that vpon the firſt abſtinence it is a tedious thing, but by little and little this deſire is diminiſhed, when as the things which wee deſire are gouerned, and reſtraine themſelues of themſelues. Thence commeth it to paſſe, that the ſtomack is more tempered, and they that fed with moſt rauenous appetite growne in hatred thereof. Deſires and appetites die of themſelues. It is no grieuous thing to want that, that thou haſt deſiſted to long after. Moreouer, there is not any griefe, but hath ſome intermiſſion and remiſſion. Furthermore, a man can warrantize himſelfe from euills that are to come, and preuent thoſe by reme-

dies, which threaten and menace him. For there is not any ſickneſſe, but hath ſome precedent ſigne, yea euen that which returneth by cuſtome. Thou mayeſt beare an infirmitie patiently, if thou contemneſt the extremitie wherewith it threatneth thee. Make not thine euils greater then they be, and charge not thy ſelfe with complaints, the paine is light, if opinion aggrauateth it not; contrawiſe, if thou begin to exhort thy ſelfe, and to ſay, *It is nothing, or in effect verie little, let vs endure the ſame, and it will ſuddenly haue an end.* Thou ſhalt make it light whileſt thou thinkeſt it ſo. All things depend vpon opinion; not only ambition, but expence and auarice are meaſured by it; our paine is but opinion. A man is no more miſerable, thē he ſuppoſeth himſelf to be. I think that the complaints of forepaſſed pains ought to be forgotten, and ſuch words as theſe: *There was neuer any man more miſerable. What torments, what euils haue I ſuffered? No man thought that I ſhould euer riſe again. How often haue my friends bewailed me? How often haue I beene giuen ouer by my Phyſitians? Such as haue beene tortured on the racke, are not ſo much ſtretched.* Although all this be true, yet is it alreadie paſſed. What pleaſure takeſt thou in the remembrance of fore-paſſed paines, and to refreſh thy miſerie that is already paſt: conſidering likewiſe, that there is not any one that will adde to his euill, and that lieth not to himſelfe? Againe, it is a thing very agreeable to recount the euill that is paſt. It is alſo a thing naturall to reioyce vpon the end of his miſerie. We muſt therefore driue out of vs two things, the one is the feare of future euill, and the other the remembrance of that which is paſt: this for the preſent appertaineth not vnto mee, that not as yet, when he ſhall finde himſelfe in theſe difficulties, he may ſay,

And theſe perhaps heareafter call'd to minde
Will moue vs to reioyce.——

Let him fight againſt the ſame with all his forces, if he yeeld, he ſhall be ouercome, if he enforce himſelfe againſt his griefe, hee ſhall ouercome. There are many in theſe dayes that doe this, they draw vpon themſelues the ruine which they ſhould reſiſt. If thou retireſt thy helfe from vnder that which preſſeth and oppreſſeth thee, that hangeth ouer thy head and menaceth thee, it followeth thee, and falleth vpon thee with a great waight; but if thou makeſt head againſt it, if thou wilt reſiſt it, thou ſhalt repulſe it. How many ſtroaks and wounds do the wreſtlers receiue vpon their faces, and their whole bodies? yet ſuffer they all theſe torments for the ambition of glory; and endure the ſame, not only becauſe they fight, but to the end they may know how to fight well; the exerciſe it ſelfe is a very torment. Let vs then likewiſe endeuour to ſurmount all trauels, the price and reward whereof, is not a ſimple crowne, a palme, or a trumpet, which commandeth ſilence, to the end that the praiſe of our name might bee publiſhed, but the vertue and conſtancie of the minde, and a tranquillity of the ſpirit which wee obtaine for euer, if in any combare wee could ſurmount Fortune. I feele a cruell paine, but how ſhouldeſt thou otherwiſe doe but feele it, if thou endure it in no other ſort, then women doe. Euen as the enemie chargeth thoſe moſt ſtrongly, who flie moſt ſpeedily: in like ſort, all the euils that Fortune ſendeth vs, charge him moſt violently that loſeth his courage and playeth the coward. But this griefe is euer violent. And why? Are wee not conſtant but to ſuffer light things? Whether haddeſt thou rather, either that thy ſickneſs ſhould be long, or that it ſhould be violent and ſhort? If it be long, it hath intermiſſions, and giueth place to refection, it giueth much time, it muſt in the end

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forſake thee and depart. A ſhort and violent ſickneſſe will either doe the one or the other, it will either ſuddenly end, or ſuddenly mend thee. But what skilleth it, whether it be not, or I be not? Since both in the one and the other, the paine hath an end? It may alſo profit thee much, to diuert thy thoughts to ſome other thing, and not to dreame at all of thy paine. Set before thine eyes that which thou haſt ſometimes vertuouſly and honorably done: diſcourſe with thy ſelf on the nobleſt ſtratagems: caſt thy remembrance vpon that which thou haſt greatly admired, and what at that time the moſt conſtant, and they that haue ouercome griefe, preſent themſelues vnto thy thought, how he that ſtretched out his legge to ſuffer his *Varices* to be cut, perſeuered in reading his booke. He likewiſe that neuer ceaſed to laugh, whileſt his wrathfull torturers wondering thereat, wrought vpon him with all the tooles and inſtruments of crueltie. Shall not that paine be ouercome by reaſon, which hath beene ouercome by laughter? Tell me now whatſoeuer thou wilt, both of the diſcent of Rhumes, and of the vertue of a continuall cough, that maketh a man yeeld vp a part of his bowels, and of a feuor that ſcorcheth the intrailes, and of thirſt, and of the ioynts of feete and hands, which griefe and paine hath contracted, and diſlocated. The flame, the racke, the burning and glowing plates, and that which is laid vpon the ſwollen wounds, to renue their paine, and to make it pierce more deepe, is yet more cruell. And yet there haue beene ſome, that haue ſuffered all this without complaining. It is a ſmall matter. And hath not once beſought them to giue ouer. It is a toy. And that hath neuer anſwered. It is a trifle. That hath laughed out-right with all his heart. After all this, wilt thou laugh at paine? But ſicknes, thou wilt ſay, ſuffereth me to doe nothing. It hinders mee in all my functions. Sickneſſe attainteth the bodie, but not the minde. Therefore it is that ſhe ſtayeth the feete of him that runneth, and tieth the ſhoomakers hands, and hindereth the ſmithes hammer. But thou haſt well learned to make vſe of thy ſoule, thou ſhalt admoniſh, thou ſhalt teach, thou ſhalt heare, thou ſhalt learne, thou ſhalt demaund, thou ſhalt remember thy ſelfe. What then? beleeueſt thou that thou doeſt nothing, if thou be temperate in thy ſickneſſe? Thou ſhalt ſhew that the ſickneſſe may be ouercome, at leaſtwiſe that it may be endured. Truſt me, vertue findeth place euen in the bed it ſelfe. Armes, and following the warre, doe not onely teſtifie a valiant heart, and ſuch a one as may not be daunted with feare. A man may approue his valour and courage euen in his couerlets and ſleeping cloathes. Thou haſt enough to employ thy ſelfe in. Fight valiantly againſt thy ſickeneſſe, if it conſtraine thee to doe nothing; if it get no maſtery ouer thee, thou ſhalt ſerue for a worthie example. O how great were the matter of our glory, if a man ſhould come and ſee vs when we were ſicke? But caſt thou thine eyes vpon thy ſelfe, and praiſe thy ſelfe. Beſide, there are two ſorts of pleaſures, ſicknes hindereth the corporall, yet taketh them not away wholly; but rather if thou wilt iudge according to the truth, it inciteth them. There is more pleaſure in drinking when a man hath thirſt, and the meate is moſt taſtefull to him that is moſt an hungered. All that which a man findeth after a long abſtinence, he eateth with a greater appetite. But as touching thoſe other pleaſures of the minde, which are both greater and more aſſured: there is not any Phyſitian forbiddeth them his patients; thoſe whoſoeuer followeth and vnderſtandeth them well, contemneth all the blandiſhments of the ſenſes. O vnfortunate ſicke man. And why? Becauſe hee mixeth not his wine with ſnow, becauſe he renueth not the cold that he drinketh mixed in a great cup, by theſe morſels of ice which hee breaketh

keth there into, becauſe thoſe Oyſters which are fiſhed in the lake Lucern, are not opened for him at his table, becauſe he heareth not round about his hall the rumor of his Cookes, that bring and ſerue in his meate, together with the fire to keepe them warme. For prodigality and fooliſh expence hath already found out this inuention, to the intent that no meat ſhould be cooled, and that leſt the pallet of the mouth, already hardened, ſhould finde nothing that were not very hot; the Cooke attendeth the ſupper. O vnhappie ſicke man? he ſhall eat but what he can diſgeſt: hee ſhall not haue a whole boare meſſed into his ſeruice, to be ſent away as courſe commons. He ſhal not be ſerued with the pulpes of fowles (for men now adayes diſdaine to ſee them intire) aſſembled in diſhes apart. What wrong haſt thou receiued hereby? Thou ſhalt ſup like a ſick man; yea hereafter like a whole man. But all thoſe things ſhall we eaſily ſuffer, both brothes, warme water, and other things whatſoeuer ſeemeth intollerable to delicate and voluptuous men, and ſuch as are more ſicke in minde then in body. Let vs onely forget the horror and feare of death. But that ſhall we not forget, if we cannot diſtinguiſh the ends of euill and good. And by this meanes finally we ſhall not feele any diſguſt of our life, nor any feare of death: for a man can neuer be wearie, or diſliking of life, when it is occupied after things ſo diuers, ſo high, and ſo diuine. There is nothing but idle and laſie repoſe that cauſeth vs to hate the ſame. Truth will neuer be tedious vnto him that trauelleth in the ſecrets of Nature; there is nothing but fallhood that glutteth vs. Againe, if death come and call vs, although it be before our time, although it abridge vs of the moitie of our liues, yet long before that time the fruit hath beene gathered. All nature for the moſt part is knowne vnto him, hee knoweth that honeſt things encreaſe not by their durance or continuance. They of neceſſitie muſt ſuppoſe their liues ſhort, who meaſure the ſame by vaine, and therefore infinite pleaſures. Recreate thy ſelfe with theſe thoughts, and in the interim caſting thine eyes vpon our Epiſtles, a time will come that ſhall reunite vs, and reaſſemble vs, how little ſoeuer it be, the knowledge how to vſe it wel, wil make it long enough. For, as *Poſſidonius* ſaith, *One day amongſt learned men dureth longer, then the longeſt age of an ignorant and vnlearned man.* In the meane time hold this opinion conſtantly, that thou muſt not ſuffer thy ſelfe to be ouercome by aduerſities; nor truſt too much in proſperitie, to haue the power of Fortune alwayes before our eyes, as if ſhe ſhould do all whatſoeuer ſhe can doe. Whatſoeuer is long looked for, is leſſe tedious when it happeneth.

Epist. LXXIX.

Somewhat of Charibdis, Scilla, and Ætna. Then that wiſe-men are equall amongſt themſelues: and he exhorteth vnto wiſdome, although glory accompany it not. But it will accompany the ſame, though after death. Good.

I Expect thy letters, by which thou ſhouldeſt certifie me what noueltie hath encountered thee in all that voyage thou haſt made about Sicely, and what thou haſt learned of certaintie, as touching *Charibdis*. For I know that *Scilla* is a rocke which is not dreadfull to thoſe that ſaile by it. But I haue a great deſire to vnderſtand, if all thoſe fables which haue beene reported by *Charibdis* be true, and if happily thou haſt obſerued any thing, for it is a thing worthy to be marked.

Reſolue

Reſolue me whether it be one winde that cauſeth ſo manie Whirle-pooles, or whether euery tempeſt alike doth exaſperate that Sea, and whether it be true likewiſe, that all that which is deuoured in this tempeſt and ſtorme of Sea by the waues, is carried away ſecretly vnder the waues of the Sea for many miles, and afterwards caſt on ſhore on the bankes of the gulfe of *Tauromenitan*. When thou haſt wholly ſatisfied me herein, then dare I command thee alſo to doe me that honor, to aſcend the mount *Ætna*, which ſome men ſuppoſe and conclude to be conſumed and decayed by little and little, becauſe in times paſt men were wont to ſhewe it more farther off to Paſſengers. This may happen, not for that the height of the mountaine is diminiſhed, but becauſe the fire is weakened, and blaſeth out with leſſe vehemencie and abundantly; and by the ſame reaſon that the ſmoake by day time is more little. But neither the one or the other is incredible: neither that the mountaine which the fire deuoureth continually, is not diminiſhed; neither that the fire continueth alwaies in one and the ſame greatneſſe. For it is not of it ſelfe, but ingendred in ſome gulfe vnder earth: it is ſtirred, and is kindled and nouriſhed by a forraigne meanes, hauing but one only paſſage & iſſue by this mountain, and not his nouriſhment thereby. There is in *Licia* a Territorie of land, very well known vnto all men, the inhabitants thereabouts call it *Epheſtion*, or the land which is piereed in diuers places. This countrey is inuironed with a fire, that no waies hurteth whatſoeuer plant it is that groweth thereupon: the Region therefore is fruitfull and full of graſſe, which the flames doe neuer burne, but make ſhine with a faint and forceleſſe brightneſſe. But let vs reſerue theſe to queſtion vpon, then when thou haſt written me how farre diſtance the ſnowes are from the mouth of the mountaine, which the ſummer thaweth not, ſo ſecure are they from the fire. Thou muſt not ſay that I am the cauſe to make thee vndertake this labour: for thou wouldeſt ſatisfie this Poeticall fancie of thine, though no man vrged thee thereunto, vntill thou deſcribeſt *Ætna* in thy verſe, and deſcribed this place, ſo renowned by all the Poets: for although *Virgil* had fully deſcribed it, yet was not *Ouid* deterred from handling the ſame ſubiect, and that which theſe two had plentifully written did not deterre *Cornelius Seuerus*. Beſides, this place hath proued to all, and they which wrote before, ſeeme not in my iudgement to haue preuented thoſe things which might be ſpoken, but to haue explained them. But there is a great difference, whether thou addreſſe thy ſelfe to a matter throughly wrought vpon, or ſuch a one as is well prepared. This groweth daily, and thoſe things that are already found and inuented, cannot hurt thoſe that ſhould inuent hereafter. Moreouer, the condition of the laſt commer is the beſt: hee findeth wordes alreadie prepared, which addreſſed after another manner, haue a new appeareance; neither layeth he hold on them, although appertayning to others, for they are publique. The lawyers denie that any thing which is publique may be held by preſcription: either I know thee not, or thy teeth water at *Ætna*. Thou haſt a minde to write vpon ſom great ſubiect, like to thoſe of the auncients; for more thy modeſtie permitteth thee not to hope, which is ſo great in thee, that I ſuppoſe thou wouldeſt reſtraine the forces of thy ſpirit, if there were any likelihood thou ſhouldeſt conquer: ſo greatly reuerenceſt thou antiquitie. Amongſt the reſt wiſedome hath this goodneſſe in it, no man can be ouercome by another, if it be not in mounting when they ſhall come to the height, all is equall, there is no place for increaſe, ſhe is ſetled. Doth the Sunne adde any thing to his greatneſſe, doth the Moone become more great then ſhee was wont? The Seas increaſe not, the world obſerueth the ſame habite and manner.

manner. Thoſe things which haue attained to their iuſt greatneſſe, cannot augment themſelues more: whoſoeuer ſhall be wiſe, they ſhall be euen and equall. But each of them ſhall be endowed with his proper vertue, the one ſhall be more milde and affable, the other more readie; the one more prompt in declayming, the other more eloquent; that whereof we ſpeake, which maketh a man bleſſed ſhall be equall to all. I know not whether thine *Ætna* may ſinke and be ruinated in it ſelfe, whether the continuall force of fire impaire and conſume this high and conſpicuous topped hill, which is ſeene ſo farre at Sea. Neither fire nor raine can bring vertue vnder. This maieſtie only cannot be depreſſed, it cannot be extended further, nor withdrawne backward, her greatneſſe is ſetled as that of the celeſtiall bodies. Let vs endeuour to preſent our ſelues vnto her, alreadie haue we performed much, and yet not very much if I ſhould ſpeake the truth: for it is not goodneſſe to be better then the baddeſt. Who would glorifie himſelfe, or boaſt that he had eyes that could beholde the day, when as the Sunne ſhineth on them thorow miſtie cloudes, although he be contented in the meane ſpace to haue fled the darkeneſſe, yet as yet he enioyeth not the good of the light? Then ſhall our minde haue wherewithall to gratulate himſelfe, when as diſcharged of this darkeneſſe in which he is plunged, he ſhall ſee thoſe cleere things, not with a feeble ſight, but after he hath ſeene the light of the cleere day, and reſtored to his heauen, he recouer againe the place which he enioyed by the condition of his birth. His firſt originall ſummoneth him vpward. And in that place ſhall he be, yea, euen before he be deliuered out of this priſon, where he hath ſhaken of his vices, and become pure and light he ſhall be raiſed into contemplation of diuine things. This muſt we doe, my deere *Lucilius*, hither muſt we bend all our forces, although few men know it, although no man ſee it. Glorie is the ſhadow of vertue, and will accompanie vs againſt our wils: but euen as the ſhadow ſometime goes before, and ſometimes followeth; ſo glorie is ſometimes before vs, and offereth her ſelfe to be ſeene, ſometimes ſhe is behinde vs, and becommeth more great, becauſe ſhe commeth ſomewhat later, when as enuie is wholly retired. How long time ſeemed *Democritus* to be mad? *Socrates* had ſcarcely any reputation? How long was it ere *Rome* knew what *Cato* was? How long contemned ſhe him, and neuer thorowly knew him, till ſhe had wholly loſt him? *Rutilius* innocencie and vertue had lien hid, except he had receiued iniurie, whilſt he is wronged his worthineſſe appeared. Did he not thanke his fortune, and embrace his exile? I ſpeake of thoſe whom fortune made glorious, when ſhe grieued them; how manie mens deſerts and worth grew to light after them? How many hath fame neglected in life, and eternized in the graue? Thou ſeeſt how much *Epicurus* is not onely admired amongſt the learned, but alſo among the ignorant; and this man was vnknowne to the *Athenians* themſelues, where he liued alwayes obſcured. Outliuing therefore *Metrodorus* by manie yeares, when in a certaine Epiſtle of his with gratefull commemoration he had notified the friendſhip betwixt *Metrodorus* and him, in the concluſion he added this; *That amidſt ſo many goods which* METRODORVS *and he had partaken in their life, it little harmed them, that ſo renowned Greece was not onely ignorant of them, but ſcarcely had heard of them.* Was he not therefore found when as he ceaſed to be? Did not his opinion grow famous? The like alſo doth *Metrodorus* confeſſe in a certaine Epiſtle, *That he and* EPICVRVS *were not in ſufficient reputation, but that afterwards both he and* EPICVRVS *ſhould haue a great and addreſſed fame at their handes who would follow the way that they had held.* No vertue is obſcured, neither is it anie indignitie or damage

mage to it, to haue beene hidden: the day will come which will bring it to light, though hidden and reſtrained through the worlds wickednesse. Hee is borne for the profite of few men, that thinketh onely on the people of his age. Manie thouſands of yeares and nations ſhall ſucceede vs; looke thou on them, although enuie hath enioyned ſilence to all thoſe that liue with thee, there ſhall others ſucceede, who ſhall iudge without hatred or fauour: and if vertue ought to receiue any recompence by glorie, ſhe ſhall not loſe it. We ſhall not vnderſtand what wordes poſteritie ſpeaketh of vs; yet ſhall they honour vs, and frequent vs, though we perceiue it not. There is not any whom vertue hath not dignified both in life and after death: if ſo be he hath followed his wholly, and with a good faith, if he haue not decked and diſguiſed himſelfe, if he continued on, whether it ſeemed vpon warning, or vnprepared and ſuddenly. Diſſembling profiteth nothing; a fained countenance, and ſlightly forged externally, deceiueth but very few; vertue which way ſoeuer you turne her is all one. Things deceiueable are of no ſtabilitie. A lie is thin, thou ſhalt eaſily ſee thorow it, if thou diligently looke vpon it.

Epist. LXXX.

That the common ſort went to the ſhowes and games, he to his ſtudie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie, and how eaſie a thing it is if you deſire good things. That we are to ſearch out libertie, which is performed by deſpiſing and ſpurning at deſires. That true felicitie is therein, and not in externall ſplendor. Good.

THis day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the foote-ball play hath withdrawne all thoſe that were troubleſome vnto me, and came to importunate me. There is not one that thruſteth in vpon me, no man diſtracteth my thoughts, my doore creaked not ſo often as it was accuſtomed, my hanging was not lifted vp, I haue freedome to be ſolitarie, which is moſt neceſſarie for him that walketh alone, and followeth his owne way. Doe I not therfore follow the auncient? I do. Yet ſuffer I my ſelfe to inuent ſomewhat, and to leaue. I ſeruilely tye me not to their opinions, but aſſent vnto them; yet haue I ſpoken a great word, who promiſed my ſelfe ſilence and ſecrecie if I were not interrupted. Beholde a huge crie is raiſed in the Theatre, where men exerciſe their running, which cannot draw my ſelfe from my ſelfe, but rather tranſporteth me to contemplate on the combats that are in hand. I thinke with my ſelfe, how many exerciſe their bodies, how few their mindes; how many men throng to a vaine and trifling ſpectacle, and what deſolation there is about good arts, how weakely minded they are, whoſe armes and ſhoulders we wonder at? But aboue all I meditate vpon this. If a man may by exerciſe bring his bodie to this patience, whereby he may ſuſtaine not only the ſtroakes and ſpurns of manie men, whereby ſoiled with his owne bloud, hee may endure the ſcorching Sunne, and hotteſt ſand all the day long: how much more eaſily may the mind be ſtrengthned, inuincibly to entertaine the ſhocke of fortune, to the end that being caſt to ground, and trode vnder foote, he may yet raiſe himſelfe? For the bodie hath neede of manie things to ſtrengthen the ſame, but the minde increaſeth by it ſelfe, is nouriſhed by it ſelfe, exerciſeth it ſelfe. The bodie hath neede of

of much meat, of much drinke, and much oyle, and much exercise; but vertue will come vnto thee without any furnishing, without any expence. Whatsoeuer may make thee good is with thee; what needest thou to make thee good? thy will. But what better mayest thou will, then to deliuer thy selfe out of this seruitude, which tyrannizeth ouer the world, and from which the slaues themselues, of how seruile condition whatsoeuer, & borne euen in the ordures thereof, striue by all meanes to cast off? That stocke of cattell they haue bought by pinching their owne bellies, they pay for their liberty; wilt not thou endeuour at what charge soeuer, to obtain this libertie, who thinkest thy selfe a free borne man? Why castest thou thine eye vpon thy coffers? I cannot be bought. It is a vaine thing therfore to cast the name of libertie into the Tables of Manumission, which neyther they that bought, nor those that sell the same may haue. It is thou that must giue thy selfe this good, thou must demand it of thy selfe: first of all discharge thy selfe of the feare of death; for that is it which first of all bringeth vs in subiection, and afterwards from the feare of pouertie. If thou wilt know how little euill there is therein, make a comparison betwixt the looks of such as are poore, & those that are rich: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily: no pensiuenes deeply groundeth it selfe in his breast, although some trifling affliction befall him, it passeth away like a light cloude. The ioy of those who are called rich is fained, or their sorrow is grieuous and rotten; and so much the more grieuous, because they dare not discouer their miseries, but amidst the sorrowes that gnaw their very hearts, they are enforced to set a face of felicitie vpon their discontent. I must oftentimes make vse of this example, for by no other may this minick of mans life (which assigneth vs these parts which we act very aukwardly) be expressed. He that in the Scene stalketh proudely vp and downe, and looking vpward, vttereth these words;

Beholde I gouerne Greece, PELOPS *my sire*
Hath left me Kingdomes, and the lands which lie
From Helispont vnto the Seas that tire
Th' Ionian shores ——

Is but a slaue, he gaineth fiue bushels of corne and fiue pence. That proude fellow, who full of ostentation and puffed vp with confidence of his owne strength sayeth,

Except proude MENELAVS *thou be still,*
And shun debate, this right hand shall thee kill.

Hath but his daies allowances, and sleeps in a poore ordinarie chamber. Thou mayest say as much of all these wanton minions, who are hanged in the ayre, in a Litter, carried more high then the heads of men, and aboue the troop of common people. The felicitie of all these is but masked. Thou wilt contemne them if thou despoile them. When thou wouldest buy a horse, thou causest his saddle to be taken off of his backe. Thou causest the slaue thou wouldest buy, to be turned naked for feare least any infirmities of his bodie should be hidden. Wilt thou estimate a man when he is wrapped vp? These Regrators shadow and couer by some slight that which might hinder the Merchandize of their slaues. And therefore it is that a faire garment and ornament maketh them oftentimes suspicious that intend to buy. If thou shouldest see an arme or a

knee

knee bound vp, thou wouldeſt command to haue it vnſwathed and laid open, and all the bodie to be diſcouered. Seeſt thou that King of Scithia or Sarmatia adorned with a rich attire vpon his head: if thou wilt eſtimate him, and know him wholly what he is, take from him his royall ornament; much miſchiefe lies hidden thereunder. Why ſpeake I of others? If thou wilt eſtimate thy ſelfe, lay apart thy money, thy houſe, and thy dignitie, and conſider well with thy ſelfe what thou art inwardly. For now thou truſteſt other men to ſhew thee what thou art.

Epist. LXXXI.

The beginning concerneth an vngratefull man: and then followeth a queſtion, whether we ought to bee thankefull vnto him who formerly helped vs, and afterwards hurt vs. He diſputeth this matter, both ſubtilly, and diffuſedly, and diſtinguiſheth diuerſly.

THou complaineſt that thou art fallen into an vngratefull mans hands: if this be the firſt time, either thanke thy fortune, or thy diligence. Although diligence in this place can make thee nothing, except it make thee wicked. For if thou wouldeſt auoid this perill, thou ſhalt neuer doe any man a courteſie: thus left thy benefits ſhould periſh in another mans hands, they ſhall periſh in thine owne. It were better they were neuer recompenced, then neuer giuen: yea euen after a bad harueſt we returne to tillage. Oftentimes whatſoeuer hath beene loſt by the vſuall ſterilitie of a barren ground, hath beene redeemed by the plentie of one good yeare. It is ſo great a matter to finde one gratefull man, to make triall of many vngratefull: no man hath ſo certaine a hand in giuing benefits, but that he is oftentimes deceiued, let them faile ſometimes once to be aſſured. The ſeas are ſailed on when the ſhipwracke is paſt. The Vſurer forbeareth not to lend becauſe he hath met with a banckrupt. Our minde will quickly be benummed with fruitleſſe idlenes, if it ſhould incontinently forſake whatſoeuer is diſtaſtefull vnto it. But let this very thing make thee more bountifull. For if thou wilt that a thing (whoſe euent is vncertaine) ſhould haue a happie iſſue, it behoueth thee to aſſay it oftentimes. But hereof haue we ſufficiently ſpoken in our Books which we haue written of Benefits. Better it were to diſpute of another point, (which, in my iudgement, is not ſufficiently expreſſed and decided) whether he that befriendeth vs, and afterwards hurteth vs, hath equally his benefit, and whether we are acquit from him. Adde if thou wilt hereunto this alſo, that afterwards he had hurt vs more, then before-time he profited vs. If thou expect a ſeuere ſentence of a Iudge, that would follow the rigor of law, he will releaſe them reſpectiuely, and will ſay. Although the iniury bee more great, yet let that which remaineth of the iniury bee giuen to the benefits. He hath hurt more. But firſt of all he hath profited, and therefore we muſt haue ſome regard of time. Now thoſe things are more manifeſt, then that they need an admonition, that it is neceſſarie to know how willingly hee hath profited, how vnwillingly harmed. Becauſe both benefits and iniuries are meaſured by the minde. I would not giue a benefit, but I was ouercome with ſhame, or by the pertinacie of his inſtant ſuite, or by hope. Whatſoeuer is owing, is examined by the ſame minde wherewith it is giuen, neither is it weighed by the greatnes thereof,

but by the wil frō whence it proceedeth. Let all coniecture be now taken away. Both that was a benefit, & this that exceeded the measure of the former benefit, is an iniury. A good man will in such sort make his account, that he himselfe will deceiue himselfe. He will adde vnto the benefit, & take from the iniury. But another that would iudge more gratiously, as I would doe, will forget the offence, and remember the fauour. Assuredly it is the act of iustice (saith he) to giue each man that which appertaineth thereunto, to the benefit acknowledgement, to the iniury reuenge, or at least-wise an euill acceptance. This shall bee true, when as one doth an iniury, another giueth a benefit. For if it be the same, the force of the iniury is extinguished by the benefit. For to him whom wee ought to pardon, although no deserts of his were precedent, to him is more then pardon due, if he hurt vs after he hath done vs kindnesse; yet take I not them both alike, more prise I the benefit then the iniury. Euery one knoweth not how to owe a benefit gratefully. An imprudent, rude, and base conditioned fellow may restore a benefit, and recompence the same anon after he hath receiued it, but he knoweth not how much he is obliged. The wise-man onely knoweth at what rate each thing is to be taxed. For that foole, of whom I spake of late, although he haue a good will, either restoreth lesse then he oweth, or doth it not in time and conuenient place, and lauisheth and casteth that away, which he should recompence and satisfie. There is a wonderfull proprietie of words in some things, and the custome of ancient language designeth some things vnto vs in effectuall meats, and ductie teaching lessons. Thus truely are we wont to say. This man hath referred or requited that mans fauour: to requite, is willingly to returne that which thou owest. We say not, hee hath returned thankes; for both they who are demanded, and are vnwilling, and that in euery place, and those that returne by another mans hand giue satisfaction. We say not, he hath remitted the benefit, or he hath paid it, for those words which are proper to acquit a man of money lent, are no wayes pleasing to me in this subiect. Referre, is as much to say, as to goe and acknowledge, that is, beare backe, vnto him whom thou hast receiued. This word signifieth voluntarie relation or reknowledgement. Hee that hath referred, that is to say, reknowledged, hath appealed and sommoned himselfe. The wise-man will examine all things with himselfe, how much he hath receiued, from whom, when, where, and how. Therefore is it, that we deny that any man knoweth how to reknowledge a benefit, but a wise-man, no more then any other man, knoweth how to giue a benefit, except he be a wise-man, and such a one, who is more glad to giue, then another to receiue. This some man numbreth amongst those things which wee seeme to name extrauagant and strange vnto all men, the Greekes call them Paradoxes, and saith: Is there no man therefore that knoweth how to requite a good turne but a wise-man? Therefore no other man but he knoweth how to pay his creditor that which hee oweth him, nor when hee buyeth any thing, to pay the price thereof to him that selleth the same? But lest this blame should fall vpon me, know this, that *Epicurus* saith as much. *Metrodorus* assuredly saith, *That the wise-man onely knoweth how to reknowledge a fauour.* Againe, the same man admireth, when we say, *The wise-man only knoweth how to loue, the wise-man onely is a friend*: but to requite a fauour, is both the part of loue and friendship; nay rather this is more vulgar and more casuall amongst many then true friendship. Againe, the same man wondereth, because we say, that there is no faith, but in a wise-man, as if he himselfe had not said the same. Suppose st thou this, that he hath any faith, that knoweth not how to acknowledge

ledge a benefit? Let them therefore ceaſe to defame vs, as if we preferred or maintained vncredible things, & let them know that true honeſty is lodged only in a wiſe-mans breaſt, and the only images and appearance of honeſt things with the common ſort. No man knoweth how to requite a courteſie, but a wiſe-man. A foole in ſome ſort alſo acknowledgeth as he conceiueth the meanes, and how he may, and let his knowledge rather faile him then his will. The will is not learned. A wiſe-man will compare all things to their worth: his worke although it be the ſame, is made eyther greater or leſſer, by time, place, and cauſe. Oft-times riches powred into a houſe, could not do that that a thouſand pence could, being giuen in ſeaſon. For there is a great difference whether thou gaueſt, or ſuccoureſt. Whether thy liberalitie hath ſaued him, or engreatned him. Oft-times that which is giuen is ſmall, that which followeth thereby is great: but what difference is there, whether any man hath taken backe againe that which he had giuen, or receiued a benefit, to the end he might giue? But leaſt we ſhould returne into the examination of thoſe things which he hath ſufficiently debated of; in this compariſon of benefite and iniurie, a good man will iudge that which is moſt rightfull, yet will he fauour the benefite, and be moſt addicted to that ſide. But the conſideration of the perſon is of greateſt moment in theſe affaires. Thou haſt giuen me a benefite in the perſon of my ſlaue, but thou haſt done me iniurie in my father. Thou haſt ſaued me my ſonne, but taken my father from me; conſequently he will purſue and examine all the circumſtances by which all compariſon hath his proceeding: and if it be but a ſmal matter that cauſeth the difference, he will diſſemble that. But if it be great, and that he hath the power to pardon it, without iniurying pietie or faith, he will remit it, that is, if the whole iniurie appertaine vnto himſelfe. The ſumme of the matter is this, he ſhall be facile and gratious in this compenſation, he ſhall ſuffer himſelfe to be more charged in the account, and will neuer pay a benefit with an iniurie, except it be by great conſtraint, he will incline alwayes to this ſide, he will maintaine this part in deſiring to acknowledge a benefite, and affecting to requite it. For he is deceiued whatſoeuer he be, that more willingly receiueth a benefite then hee reſtoreth it. By how much the more ioyfull hee is that payeth then hee that borroweth, by ſo much ought he to be more content that diſchargeth himſelfe of a great debt by reſtoring the benefite which he hath receiued, then the other which obligeth himſelfe by receiuing. For in this alſo vngratefull men are deceiued, in that they ſatisfie their creditor with an ouer-plus beſides the principall, and ſuppoſe that the vſe of benefits is gratuitall: yet theſe increaſe by delay, and ſo much more is to be ſatisfied, by how much it is ſlackly ſatisfied. Ingratefull is he that reſtoreth a benefite without vſurie; and therefore we ought to haue a reſpect to this length, when we compare the receits and layings out. We muſt labour as much as in vs lieth, to be moſt gratefull; for this good is truely ours, euen as it is not iuſtice as it is commonly beleeued that appertaineth to others, the greateſt part thereof returneth into it ſelfe. There is no man that hath profited another, that hath not profited himſelfe. I ſpeake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath been ſuccoured would ſuccour, and he that hath beene defended would defend, becauſe a good example returneth to him that giueth it as alſo euill examples doe finally fall vpon their author; neyther finde they any pittie who ſuffer iniuries, and by acting the ſame haue taught others that they may be done, but becauſe the reward of all vertue lieth in them: for they are not put in execution, vnder hope of reward. The reward of a good action is to haue acted the ſame. I am grate-

full,not that another ſhould more willingly lend me,being egged thereunto by the former example, but that I might performe a thing both moſt pleaſing and agreeable. I am gratefull,not becauſe that ſhall yeelde me profit,but becauſe it contenteth my minde. And to the end thou mayeſt know that which I ſpeake is ſo truely: if I haue not the meanes to expreſſe my gratuitie,except in ſhewing my ſelfe to be vngratefull,if I cannot yeeld ſatisfaction,except it be vnder a pretext of doing iniurie,I ought moſt willingly to follow this counſaile, although I be in danger to be noted of infamie. There is no man in my iudgement that eſtimates vertue more,no man more deuoted therunto then he that loſt the reputation of a good man,becauſe he would not make ſhipwrack of his cõſcience. Therefore, as I ſaid, thou art gratefull more for thine owne good then another mans: for to him there happeneth but an ordinarie and common thing to recouer that which he had giuen,but to thee a great contentment, and ſuch as proceedeth from the eſtate of a happie ſoule,to haue acknowledged a benefit. For if wickedneſſe maketh men miſerable,and vertue maketh them bleſſed, and to be gratefull is a vertue,thou haſt reſtored but an vſuall thing,but attained an ineſtimable matter,that is to ſay,the conſcience to haue been gratefull, which ſeizeth not on a minde but ſuch as is diuine and fortunate. But the contrarie of this affection is vrged with great infelicitie. There is no man that is not miſerable if he be ingratefull. I dally not with him,he is preſently miſerable. Let vs therefore flie ingratitude; if for no other cauſe,yet for our owns. The leaſt part of wickedneſſe,and that which is leaſt to be feared, redoundeth vnto others; but that which is the worſt,and (if I may ſo ſpeake it) that which is the thickeſt remaineth with him,and tormenteth his poſſeſſor. As our *Attalus* was accuſtomed to ſay, *Malice and miſchiefe drinketh the greateſt part of his owne poyſon.* That venom which the Serpents caſt out of them to deſtroy others, and keepe within themſelues without their owne preiudice, is not like vnto this. For this poiſon is pernicious to thoſe that nouriſh the ſame. The vngratefull man tormenteth himſelfe,he becommeth leane,he hateth that which hath beene giuen him,becauſe he muſt reſtore the ſame,and extenuateth it: contrariwiſe,he dilateth the iniuries and augmenteth them. But what man is there that is more miſerable, then he that forgetteth the benefits he hath receiued, and remembreth him of the iniuries? Contrariwiſe, wiſdome ſpeaketh honourably of all ſorts of benefits,and commendeth them to her ſelfe, and delighteth her ſelfe with the continuall remembrance thereof. The euill ſort haue but one pleaſure,and that very ſhort,and that is whilſt they receiue benefites, whereof the wiſe-man feeleth a long & perdurable ioy: for he delighteth not in receyuing, but in this,that he hath receiued, whereof he feeleth a continuall and immortall pleaſure. He contemneth thoſe thing whereby he is harmed, neyther forgetteth he negligently but willingly. He turneth not all things to the worſt, neyther ſeeketh he to whom he may impart the fault, and rather layeth the blame of mens errors on fortune then on themſelues. He taketh exceptions neyther to mens words nor lookes; whatſoeuer falleth out,he excuſeth it with a gratious interpretation,and remembreth not an iniurie rather then a benefit: He ſetleth his remembrance on that which was both the firſt, and the beſt: he changeth not his minde towards thoſe that haue well deſerued, except their iniuries ſurpaſſe very much, & the difference be manifeſt, euen though he ſhould ſhut his eyes,and then alſo in this onely,that he continueth the ſame man after the greateſt iniurie,as he was before the benefite. For whereas the benefit is equal with the iniurie,there remaineth ſome ſparke of beneuolence in the mind.

Euen

Euen as a guiltie man is acquit when the opinions of the Iudges are equally diuided, and alwayes in whatsoeuer thing is doubtfull, humanitie inclineth to the better: so a wise-mans minde, whereas the merits equall the misdeedes, will forbeare to owe, but will not desist to be willing to be beholding, and doth this which they are wont to doe, who after a generall acquittance of all debts, will notwithstanding satisfie. But no man can be gratefull, except he contemne these things, that maddeth and besotteth the common sort. If thou wilt be thankefull for a benefite, thou must make account to suffer banishment, to shedde thy bloud, to fall into pouertie, and see thine owne innocence oft-times stained, and subiect to base and scandlous rumours. It costeth a man no small matter to approue himselfe gratefull. We esteeme nothing more deerer then a benefite as long as we aske it, nothing more basely when we haue receiued it. Askest thou me what is that maketh vs forget the courtesies receiued? It is the desire and couetousnesse of those things we would receiue hereafter. We thinke not of that which we haue alreadie obtained, but on that onely which we would obtaine hereafter. Riches, honour, power, and all such other things which in our opinion we repute of great esteeme, but base and abiect in their owne value, retire vs from vertue. We know not how to estimate things, whereof we ought to make our election; not according to the common report, but by the counsaile of nature, the mother of all things. These haue no magnificence in them, wherby they should draw our mindes vnto them, except this, that we are accustomed to admire them. For therefore are they praised, not because they are to be coueted, but therefore are they to be coueted, for because they are praised; and when as euerie particular mans error hath made them publique, the publique shall make it to be the errour of euerie one. But euen as we haue beleeued those things, let vs also beleeue the common sort in this, that there is nothing more honest then a gratefull minde. All Cities, all Nations, yea, those of the barbarous and sauage Regions will subscribe hereunto, the good and euill will agree in this point. There will be some that will praise pleasures, there will be some that had rather labour. There will be som that will say that paine is the greatest euill that may be, some that will scarcely call it euill: Some one shall repute riches for the chiefest good, another shall say that they were found out for the ruine and mishap of humane life, and that there is no one man more rich, then he to whom fortune hath not found out any thing to giue him. In this so great diuersitie of opinions, all the world will maintaine (as it is said) with one voyce that we ought to be thankfull vnto those who haue deserued well at our hands. All Nations, though different in manie other things, consent and agree herein, and yet notwithstanding, in the interim we repay benefites with iniuries: and the chiefest cause that euery one hath to become vngratefull, is this, because he could not be sufficiently gratefull. The furie is growne to that head, that it is a very dangerous thing to giue great benefits to any one: for in that he thinketh it a dishonest part not to requite, he desireth he should not liue, to whom he should make restitution. Reserue that to thy selfe which thou hast receiued, I redemand, I exact it not, it contenteth me that I haue pleasured thee. There is no hatred more pernicious then his, who is aihamed because he hath violated a benefite.

Epist. LXXXII.

Against delicacie and effeminate life, and sluggish idlenesse also, and that we ought to dedicate the same to studie, and in especiall to Philosophie, which should defence vs against feare and all externall euills, yea against death it selfe. That we are armed all in vaine, with subtilties and sophimes against the same, and by the way, against such as vse it, that death in it selfe is indifferent, but such or such honest or dishonest. Againe, against Cauillers. Good.

NOw haue I giuen ouer the care I haue had of thee. What one saiest thou of the gods, hast thou accepted for my suretie: truely euen him that deceueth no man, a minde that is a louer of right and honestie. The better part of thee is in safetie. Fortune may doe thee an iniurie, but that which is most pertinent to the matter, I feare not that thou shouldest iniurie thy selfe. Keepe on the course thou hast begun, and compose thy selfe in this habit of life temperately, not effeminately. I had rather thou shouldest liue ill, then effeminatly. Now so interpret thou ill as it is vsually spoken amongst the common sort, hardly, sharply, and laboriously. So are we wont to heare the liues of diuers men praised, who are enuied. *He liueth effeminately.* This they say, he is euill. For by little and little the minde is made effeminate, and groweth remisse and negligent, and vndertaketh the similitude of that idlenesse and sloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more befitting a man to bee more sterne and rigid. Againe, such as are delicate feare death, whereunto they haue made their life alike. There is a great difference betwixt idlenesse and the graue. What therefore sayest thou, were it not better for a man to repose himselfe thus, then to tosse and tumble himselfe in these gulfes of affaires? Both these two things are mortall, the conuulsion of the nerues and debilitation of the minde. I thinke him as much dead that lieth buried in his perfumes, as him that is drawne with the hooke. Retirement without studie is a death, and the sepulchre of a liuing man. Finally, what profiteth it vs to be retired, as if the causes of cares and troubles followed vs not beyond the seas? What hidden place is there, whereinto the feare of death entereth not? What so defenced and high raised repose of life, which sorrow terrifieth not? Whersoeuer thou shalt hide thy selfe, humane miseries will make a noise about thee. There are diuers externall things, which wheele about vs, whereby they either may deceiue or vrge vs. Many things internall which incense and enflame vs also, euen in the middest of solitude. We must arme our selues with Philosophie, which will serue vs as an impregnable wall, which Fortune with all her engins cannot pierce. The minde that hath disclaimed externall things, is resident in an impregnable place, and defendeth himselfe in his fortresse, each weapon aimed at him, falleth vnder him. Fortune hath not long hands, as we imagine, she is Mistresse ouer none, but such a one as cleaueth vnto her. Let vs therefore, as much as in vs lieth, retire our selues from her, which the onely knowledge of her selfe and of Nature will effect. Let him know whither he is to goe, whence he came, what is his good, what is his euill, what he should desire, and what he should eschew, what that reason is, which discerneth, what things are to be desired and esteemed, whereby the fury of desires is meekened, and the cruelties of feares abated. Some there are that thinke that they haue ouercome all this without the assistance of Philoso-

phie

phie, but when as any misfortune lighteth vpon any of theſe, that pretend ſecuritie; too late are they enforced to confeſſe the truth. Theſe great words are forgotten, when the hang-man commandeth them to giue him their hand, when death approacheth more nigh them. Thou mayeſt iuſtly ſay vnto him: Thou prouokeſt abſent euils: now ſee heere griefe, which thou ſaidſt was eaſie to ſupport: ſee heere death, againſt which thou ſpakeſt ſo much, and ſo audaciouſly: the whips yerke, the ſword ſhineth;

Now haſt thou need, Æneas, *of a minde*
Arm'd with conſtancie.———

But that will continuall meditation make ſtrong in thee, if thou exerciſe not thy words, but thy minde: if thou prepareſt thy ſelfe againſt death, againſt which he cannot exhort thee, nor encourage thee, who ſhall attempt by ſome cauils to perſwade thee that death is not euill. For I will, my *Lucilius*, (the beſt of men) laugh at the follies of the Greekes, which as yet I haue not well examined, though I wonder at them. Our *Zeno* vſeth this collection. There is no euill which is glorious, but death is glorious, *Ergo*, death is no euill. Thou haſt profited mee much, thou haſt put me out of feare, hereafter I will not doubt to ſtretch out and offer my head. Wilt thou not ſpeake more ſeuerely, nor make a man laugh that is readie to die? Vndoubtedly, I can hardly tell thee whether he were more fooliſh, who ſuppoſed by this queſtion to extinguiſh the feare of death, or he that endeauoured to anſwere the ſame, as if it were a thing pertinent to the matter. For he himſelfe oppoſed a contrary argument, taken from that, becauſe we place death amongſt things Indifferent, which the Grecians cal *Adiaphora*. Nothing, ſaith he, that is indifferent, is glorious; but death is glorious death therfore is not indifferent. Thou ſeeſt plainly wherto this argument tendeth. Death is not glorious; but to die cõſtantly is glorious. And when, he ſaith, nothing Indifferent is glorious, I grant it thee; yet ſay I this, that there is nothing glorious, but in things Indifferent. Theſe things terme I indifferent, which are neither good nor euill, as ſickneſſe, paine, pouertie, exile, death; none of theſe in it ſelfe is glorious, yet nothing without theſe. For pouertie is not praiſed. But he that is neither humbled, nor deiected by her. Baniſhment is not praiſed, but he that ſorrowed not for it: griefe is not praiſed, but hee whom griefe hath enforced nothing. No man praiſeth death, but him whom death ſooner ſeparated from life, then aſtoniſhed. All theſe things are not honeſt nor glorious in themſelues, but if Vertue intermixeth her ſelfe amongſt them, if ſhee manage them, ſhee maketh them honorable and full of glorie. For of themſelues they are placed betweene both, and are indifferent, it only concerneth vs to know whether malice or vertue hath paſt the ſame thorow their hands. For that death which is glorious in *Cato*, is preſently baſe & ſhamefull in *Brutus*, and to be bluſhed at. For this is that *Brutus*, who when he ſhould be ſlaine, ſought to delay death, who went aſide to doe his eaſement, and being called vpon to die, and commanded to lay downe his necke; I will lay it downe, ſaith hee, ſo that I may liue. What madneſſe is it to flie away, ſith that thou art vnable to goe backe? I will lay it downe, ſo that I may liue: almoſt he added thereunto, euen vnder *Antonius*. O worthy man, to bee yeelded vnto life! But as I began to ſay, Thou ſeeſt that death it ſelfe is neither a bad, nor a good thing; *Cato* moſt honeſtly vſed it; *Brutus* moſt diſhoneſtly. Euery thing that hath not honor, vertue being added thereunto, it aſſumeth it. We ſay that a chamber is full

full of light: yet this same is most darke by night. The day infuseth light into it, the night taketh it away. So to these things which be by vs called indifferent and middle things, namely, to riches, strength, beautie, honours, rule; and contrarily to death, banishment, bad health, sorrowes, and what other things wee haue feared, eyther lesse or more; eyther naughtinesse or vertue giueth the name of good or bad. Paste of it selfe is neyther hote nor colde, but being put into the Ouen, it waxeth hote; againe, it being put into the water waxeth colde. Death is honest, through that which is an honest thing: that is vertue and a minde contemning outward things. There is also, O *Lucilius*, a great difference of these that we call honest things. For death is not so indifferent, as that whether thou doe weare thine haire euen or not. Death is amongst those things that be not bad indeed, but yet haue a shew of that which is bad. There is a loue of owne selfe, and an engrafted wil of abiding & of preseruing owne selfe, & a shunning of dissolution, because it seemeth to take away many good things, and to leade vs out of the abundance of this, whereunto we haue accustomed our selues. That thing also alienateth vs from death, because we haue alreadie knowne these things: those things whereunto we are about to goe; we know not of what sort they may be, and we feare things that be vnknowne. Furthermore, there is a naturall feare of darkenesse, into which it is supposed that death will conduct vs. Therefore, although death be an indifferent thing, yet for all that it is not amongst those things, which easily may be neglected. With great exercise the minde is to be hardned, that it may endure the sight and the comming thereof. Death ought to be contemned, more then it is accustomed to be; for we beleeue many things concerning it. It hath beene the strife of manie wits to encrease the infamie of it. An infernall prison is described, and a region oppressed with continuall night, wherein is the great porter of hell.

Lying vpon bare bones halfe eaten vp
In bloudy den, where he doth dine and sup,
Eternally with barking doth affright
Each pale and bloudlesse ghost and shade-like spright.

But also when thou shalt perswade thy selfe that these things be fables, neither that any other thing remaineth to the dead, which any one ought to feare, another feare commeth in the place of it. For they are alike afraid of being in hell, as of being no where. These things contradicting which long perswasion hath infused vnto vs, the valiant enduring of death, what else may it be but a glorious thing, and amongst the greatest workes of a manly mind? which will neuer rise vp vnto vertue, if it beleeue death to be an euill thing; it will rise vp vnto it, if it suppose it to be a thing indifferent. The nature of things is vncapable of this, that one may come vnto that which he supposeth to be an indifferent thing, slowly and lingringly will he come. And that is not glorious, which is done by an vnwilling and backward man. Vertue doth nothing because it is needfull to be done. Adde now that nothing is honestly done, except the whole minde hath endeuoured and hath beene present therat, and with no part of it selfe hath resisted it. But when approach is made vnto that which is bad, it eyther commeth to passe by feare of worser things; or by hope of those things that be good, to come vnto the which it is of so great worth, that the enduring of one euill is swallowed vp. The iudgements of the doer doe disagree. Hence it is, that he commandeth to accomplish things purposed: thence that he draweth

backe

back and flyeth from a ſuſpected and perillous thing. Therefore is he diſtracted into diuers parts. If this be, glorie periſheth. For vertue accompliſheth decrees with an agreeing minde: it feareth not that which it doeth.

See this, that thou to euils giue no place,
But againſt them goe with a bolder face
Though thy fortune will permit thee.

Thou ſhalt not the more boldly goe, if thou ſhalt ſuppoſe that they be euill things. This is to be taken out of the breaſt: otherwiſe ſuſpicion being about to ſtay the force, will ſticke hereat. It ſhall be thruſt vpon that, which it was to ſet vpon. Some would haue the interrogation of our *Zeno* to be ſuppoſed to be true, but that other to be deceitfull and falſe, which is oppoſed vnto it. I reduce not theſe things to a Logicall lawe, and to thoſe knots of moſt ſluggiſh workemanſhip: I iudge that all that kinde is to be thruſt away, wherby he who is asked, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be circumuented, and wherby he being brought to confeſſe, anſwereth one thing, but thinketh another. Wee muſt deale more plainely for the truth, and more ſtrongly againſt feare. Theſe things which are toſſed vp and down by them, I had rather to looſen, and to ponder vpon, to the end that I may perſwade, and not deceiue. He that will leade an armie into the field readie to die for their wiues and children, how will he exhort? I ſhew to thee the Fabij, tranſlating the whole warre of the Common-wealth into one houſe. I demonſtrate the Lacedæmonians placed in the very ſtraites of Thermopylæ, hoping neyther for victorie, nor for returne. That place was to be a graue vnto them. How exhorteſt thou them to receiue the ruine of a whole nation with offering their bodies vnto it? and rather to depart from their life, then from their place? Thou wilt ſay, that which is euill, is not glorious: death is glorious, therfore death is not an euill thing. O effectuall ſpeech! who after this doubteth to offer himſelfe to the deadly weapons points, & ſtanding for to die? But that *Leonidas* how valiantly did he ſpeak vnto them? *So dine O fellow ſouldiers* ſaith he, *as if ye ſhould ſup amongſt the dead.* The meate encreaſed not in their mouthes, it did not ſticke in their chaps, it did not fall out of their handes. They went cherefully to dinner and to ſupper both. What that Romane Captaine, who ſpake thus vnto ſouldiers, which were ſent to take a place, and were to goe through a great armie of the enemies: *It is needfull, O fellow-ſouldiers, to goe thither, but it is not needfull to returne backe.* Thou ſeeſt how plaine, and how imperious vertue is. What man can our beguilings make more valiant? Whom can they make more couragious? They breake the minde, which is neuer leſſe to be contracted, and to be compelled with pettie and thornie things, then when ſome great matter is framed. The feare of death ought not to be taken from three hundred alone, but from all mortal men. How wilt thou teach them, that it is not an euill thing? How wilt thou ouercome the opinions of all ages, wherwith preſently infancy is ſeaſoned? What helpe wilt thou finde? What wilt thou ſay to the weakeneſſe of man? What wilt thou ſay wherewith they being inflamed may ruſh into the middeſt of danger? With what ſpeech wilt thou turne away this conſent of fearing; with what ſpeech wilt thou auert the obnoxious perſwaſion of mankinde, which is againſt thee? Thou compoſeſt captious words, and knitteſt pettie queſtions for me. Great monſters are ſtricken with great weapons. In vaine with arrowes and ſlings did they ſhoote at that great cruell Serpent in Affrica, and more terrible to the Legions of Rome then

vvarre

warre it ſelfe. Not *Python* indeed was to be wounded, ſith huge greatneſſe according to the ſolide vaſtneſſe of his body, caſt backe againe weapons, and whatſoeuer the hands of men had darted againſt him; at length was he broken with milſtones; and againſt death doſt thou dart ſo pettie things? With a bodkin encountreſt thou a Lion? Theſe things are ſharpe which thou ſpeakeſt of. Nothing is more ſharpe then the beard of the eare of Corne. Smaleneſſe it ſelfe maketh ſomethings vnprofitable and without effect.

EPIST. LXXXIII.

We muſt liue as before God our beholder and Iudge. Then he adioyneth concerning his owne life, temperance and watchfulneſſe. Againe (as in the former Epiſtle) againſt baſe talkers, who abaſe wiſdome with their meane ſpeech and cauils. He teacheth againſt ZENO *himſelfe, diſcourſing againſt drunkenneſſe. But we muſt doe more valiantly and famouſly: and giuing an example thereof, hee condemneth that vice.*

THou commandeſt my ſeuerall dayes, and all of them indeed to be ſhewed vnto thee. Well iudgeſt thou of me, if thou ſuppoſeſt nothing to be in them which I will hide. If certainly wee muſt liue, let vs liue as being in ſight: ſo let vs thinke, as if one were able, and could looke into our innermoſt breſt. For what profitteth it, that any thing ſhould be ſecret from man? Nothing is cloſed from God. He is within our ſoules, and he commeth into the middeſt of our thoughts. So, I ſay, he commeth amongſt them, as one to depart at length. Therefore I will doe that which thou commandeſt, and what I doe, and in what order, I will willingly write vnto thee. I will forthwith obſerue my ſelfe: and that which is a moſt profitable thing, with my ſelfe will I recall the day to minde. This maketh vs to be very bad, becauſe no man looketh backe vpon his life. What things we are about to doe, we thinke vpon, and but ſeldome that: what wee haue done, we doe not thinke vpon. But from that which is paſt, commeth counſell for that which is to come. This day is ſolide. No man hath taken any of it from me: it is all of it diuided betwixt the booke and the bed. The leaſt part is giuen vnto exerciſe of the bodie; and for this cauſe I giue thankes to old age. It coſteth me not much. When I haue ſtirred, I am wearied. But this is the end of exerciſe, euen to thoſe that are moſt ſtrong. Seekeſt thou with whom I exerciſe my ſelfe? One ſufficeth me, *Harinus* (as thou knoweſt) a louely boy: but he ſhall be changed. Now I ſeeke for one that is more tender. He indeed ſaith, that we haue the ſame eſtate of bodie becauſe that the teeth of vs both fall out: but now I ſcarce ouertake him when he doth runne, and within a very few dayes I ſhall be vnable to doe it. See what continuall exerciſe can profit. Speedily there is made a great diſtance betwixt two that goe in a contrary iourney: at the ſame time he aſcendeth, I deſcend: and thou knoweſt, how much the one of theſe is the more ſpeedily done. I lied: for now our age deſcendeth not, but falleth. Notwithſtanding doſt thou ſeeke how this dayes ſtrife ſucceeded vnto vs? As ſeldome it falleth forth to runners: neither of vs both did ouercome. From this wearineſſe, rather then exerciſe, I deſcended into cold water. This is called by me water ſcarce warme. I that ſo great wather in cold water, who in the Calends of Ianuarie leaped into a pond, who in the

the new yeare, as I began to reade, to write, to ſpeake ſomewhat, ſo began I to leape downe into cleare water, firſt tranſlating my tent to Tyber, then to this bathing tub, which becauſe I am moſt ſtrong, and all things are done in good earneſt, the Sunne moderateth for mee. Not much time after doe I tarrie at the Bath. Then I eate drie bread, and a dinner without a board: after which I am not to waſh mine hands. I ſleepe very little. Thou haſt knowne my cuſtome: and I vſe a moſt ſhort ſleepe, and as it were by ſeuerall naps. It is ſufficient that I haue ceaſed to watch. Sometimes I know, ſometimes I ſuſpect that I haue ſlept. Behold the crie of the *Circenſians* maketh a noiſe in mine eares: mine eares are ſtricken with ſome ſudden and vniuerſall voice. Neither do they put forth, neither indeed doe they interrupt my thought: moſt patiently I beare their clamorous hoyſes, many voices and confuſed in one, are to mee in ſtead of a waue, or of a winde beating vpon a wood, & of other things ſounding without ſenſe. O what therefore is it? I will tell thee, whereon now I haue ſet my minde. A thought abideth with me ſtill ſince yeſterday, namely, what moſt wiſe men haue meant, who haue made moſt light and perplexed proofes for greateſt things, which although they be true, are notwithſtanding like to a lie. *Zeno* would deter vs from drunkennes, an exceeding great man, the founder of this moſt valiãt & moſt holy ſect. Heare now how he gathereth, that a good man will not be drunke. None committeth ſecret ſpeech to a drunken man: but he committeth it to a good man; therfore a good man will not be drunk. Marke howhe may be derided with the like oppoſite interrogatiõ. It ſufficeth of many to ſet downe one. No man committeth ſecret ſpeech to one that is a ſleepe, but he committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man doth not ſleepe. By what one way he can, *Poſidonius* pleadeth the cauſe of our *Zeno*: but ſo can it not be pleaded indeed, as I ſuppoſe. For he ſaith that a drunken man is ſo ſaid to be two manner of wayes: the one, when one is loaden with wine, and not maſter of himſelfe; the other, if he be accuſtomed to be made drunke, and be ſubiect vnto this vice. He is ſpoken of by *Zeno*, who is accuſtomed to be made drunke, not hee that may bee drunke. But no man will commit ſecrets to him, which through wine he may publiſh abroad; which is falſe. For that firſt interrogation comprehendeth him that is drunke, not him who will ſo be. For thou wilt grant that there is great difference betwixt him that is drunke, and a drunkard. He that is drunke, may ſo then be at the firſt time, and not haue this vice: and he that is giuen to drinke, is oftentimes without drunkenneſſe. Therefore I vnderſtand that, which is wont to be ſignified in this word: eſpecially ſith it is put by a man profeſſing diligence, and examining words. Adde now, that if *Zeno* vnderſtood, and would haue vs to vnderſtand this, by doubtfulneſſe of the word, he hath ſought place for deceit: which thing is not to be done, when veritie is ſought-for. But certes although he hath thought thus: yet that which followeth is falſe; namely, that to him who is accuſtomed to be made drunke, a ſecret ſpeech is not to be committed. For thinke to how many ſouldiers not alwayes ſober, both the Emperour, and Tribune, and Centurion hath committed ſilent things. Concerning that ſlaughter of *C. Cæſar*, of him do I ſpeak, who hauing ouercome *Pompeius*, poſſeſſed the Common-wealth: it was as well committed to *Tillius Cimber*, as to *C. Caſſius*. *Caſſius* dranke water all his life long. *Tillius Cimber* was both too much giuen to wine, and was lauiſh of his tongue: he ieſted at this thing himſelfe. Can I beare any one, ſaith hee, who cannot beare wine? Let euery one now name thoſe vnto himſelfe, to whom he knoweth that wine is badly, and that ſpeech is well committed. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding I will relate one example that commeth to my minde; leſt it be forgot. For life is to bee inſtructed by famous examples. Let vs not alwayes flie to thoſe that be old. *Lucius Piſo* the warden of the Citie, after that he was once made drunke, ſpent the greater part of the night in the feaſt: and did for the moſt part ſleepe almoſt vntill noone; this was his morning time. Notwithſtanding, moſt diligently he adminiſtred his office, wherein the ſafetie of the Citie was contained. To him both *Auguſtus* gaue ſecret commands, when he gaue him the gouernment of Thracia, which he did ſubdue; and *Tiberius* going into Campania, when he left many things in the Citie both ſuſpected and hatefull, I thinke, becauſe the drunkenneſſe of *Piſo* had well fallen foorth vnto him, afterwards made *Coſſus* gouernour of the Citie, a graue and moderate man, but drowned and floating in wine, ſo that ſometimes being oppreſſed with a ſound ſleepe, he was carried out of the Senate, into which he had come from a feaſt. To him notwithſtanding *Tiberius* wrote many things with his owne hand, which he iudged ought not to be committed to his owne ſeruants. No priuate nor publike ſecret eſcaped from *Coſſus*. Therefore let vs remooue from amongſt vs theſe declamations: The minde hath not power ouer it ſelfe, being bound about with drunkenneſſe. As barrels themſelues are broken with new wine: and as all that is in the bottome, the force of heate caſteth vp into the vpper part: ſo wine foming forth, whatſoeuer lieth hid in the bottome is brought forth and commeth abroad. As they who are loaded with wine, keepe not meat through abundance of wine, ſo indeed do they keepe no ſecret thing; that which is their owne and other mens, alike do they ſpread abroad. But although this is wont to fall forth, ſo alſo is that, that with theſe whom we know ſomewhat freely to drinke, we deliberate of neceſſarie things. Therefore this is falſe, which is put in the place of patronage, that a ſecret is not to be committed to him, who is accuſtomed to be made drunke. How much better were it openly to accuſe drunkenneſſe, and to lay open the vices thereof? which euen a tollerable man hath auoided, much more a perfect and a wiſe man: to whom it is ſufficient to quench thirſt: who alſo if at any time mirth doth ariſe, and is continued ſomewhat long vpon ſome other cauſe, yet notwithſtanding reſiſteth without being drunke. For we will ſee concerning that, whether the minde of a wiſe man may be troubled with too much wine, and may doe that which is accuſtomable to drunken men. In the meane ſpace, if thou wilt conclude this, that a good man ought not to be drunke, why dealeſt thou with ſyllogiſmes? Say how diſhoneſt a thing it is, to powre in more then one can containe, and not to know the meaſure of ones ſtomake: how many things drunken men doe, which ſober men be aſhamed of: that drunkenneſſe is nothing elſe, then a voluntarie madneſſe. Prolong that drunken habit into more dayes, doubteſt thou but it will be madneſſe? Now alſo it is not leſſer, but ſhorter. Relate the example of *Alexander*, the Macedonian, who in the middeſt of a banquet ſtabbed *Clytus*, one moſt deare and moſt faithfull vnto him, and vnderſtanding that heinous deed, he would haue died; certainly hee deſerued to die. Drunkenneſſe augmenteth and diſcouereth euery vice; it remoueth modeſtie, which hindereth from bad enterpriſes. For moe abſtaine from forbidden things, through ſhame to offend, then through good will. When too much wine poſſeſſeth the minde, what euill ſoeuer did lie hid, commeth forth. Drunkenneſſe cauſeth not vices, but betrayeth them; then the leacherous perſon tarrieth not indeed for a chamber, but without delay permitteth to his deſires, ſo much as they ſhall require: then the ſhameleſſe man profeſſeth and publiſheth his diſeaſe:

then

then the wanton containeth not his tongue nor hand. Pride encreaſeth to the haughty, rage to the cruell, malice to the enuious; euery vice is diſcouered, and commeth forth. Adde, that not knowing of himſelfe, doubtful and ſcarce plaine wordes, wandring eyes, ſtaggering gate, turning about in the head, the houſe it ſelfe ſeeming to turne about: the torment of the ſtomacke, when the wine waxeth warme, and ſtretcheth out the bowels. Then notwithſtanding, howſoeuer it is tollerable, whilſt it is yet in his owne power. What when it is corrupted with ſleepe, and that which was drunkenneſſe is made cruditie? Thinke what ſlaughters publique drunkenneſſe hath committed. This hath deliuered moſt fierce and warlike Nations to their enemies: this hath laide open walls defended againſt the reſolute warre of many yeares: this hath enforced the moſt reſolued, and the refuſers of ſubiection, to the command of other men: this hath conquered thoſe who haue beene vnconquered in warre. So many iournies, ſo manie battels, ſo many Winters, through which *Alexander* had paſſed, the difficultie of times and places beeing ouercome, ſo manie floods vnexpectedly falling forth, ſo many Seas diſmiſſed him ſafe; but the diſtemper of drinking, and that *Herculean* and fatall cuppe buried him. What glorie is it to containe much? When the victorie ſhall bee atchieued by thee, when men lying ſcattered aſleep, and caſting ſhall refuſe thy drunken carrowſes, when thou alone ſhalt remaine of the whole banquet, when thou ſhalt ouercome all men in magnificall valour, and no man ſhall be ſo capable of wine as thy ſelfe, yet art thou ouercome by a Tunne: what other thing ſaue drunkenneſſe, and the loue of *Cleopatra* no leſſe then wine deſtroyed *M. Antonius*, a great man and of a noble wit, and transferred him into externall faſhions, and into vices which were not Roman-like? This thing made him an enemie to the Common-wealth, this made him vnequall to his enemies, this made him cruell, when the heads of the Princes of the Citie were ſet before him as he did ſuppe, when amongſt moſt exquiſite feaſts & kingly ryot, he looked vpon to know the heads and hands of the proſcribed, when being loaded with wine, he notwithſtanding thirſted for bloud. It was intollerable which hee did when he was drunke, although he did thus being ſober: how much more intollerable was it, that he did theſe things in drunkenneſſe it ſelfe? For the more part crueltie followeth drunkenneſſe; for the health of the minde is violated and exaſperated. Euen as long diſeaſes cauſe tender eyes, yea at the leaſt lighting vpon of a beame of the Sunne: ſo continuall drunkenneſſe enrageth the minde. For when oftentimes they are not their owne men, vices bred with wine, and obdurated with cuſtome of madneſſe, be alſo of force without it. Tell therfore why a wiſe-man ought not to be made drunke. Shew the deformitie and the importunitie of the thing with deedes, not with wordes, which will be moſt eaſie to do. Proue theſe pleaſures, as they are called, when they haue paſſed a meane to be puniſhments. For if thou ſhalt argue vpon that, that a wiſe-man can be drunk with much wine, and retaine a right tenor, although he be ouerturned: thou mayſt as well conclude, that he may drinke poiſon and not die, that he may take iuice of blacke Poppie and not ſleepe, that he may take Ellebore, and not caſt vpward or ſcoure downeward, whatſoeuer ſticketh in the bowels. But if his feete be aſſaulted, if his tongue be not his owne, why thinkeſt thou him to be partly ſober, and partly drunke?

Epist. LXXXIIII.

Writing and reading are to be changed. Things read are to be turned into one nouriſhing ſubſtance, and are to be made ours. Lastly, there is an exhortation to wiſedome. Good and profitable admonitions.

I Iudge theſe iourneyes which ſhake off ſlouthfulneſſe from me, to profite my ſtudies and health. Thou ſeeſt why they helpe mine health: ſith the loue of learning maketh me ſlowe and negligent of my bodie, I am exerciſed by others helpe. I will ſhewe thee why they profite my ſtudies. I haue not departed from reading. But it is neceſſarie, as I ſuppoſe, firſt, that I may not be content with my ſelfe alone; then, that when I ſhall know things ſought forth by other men, and then that I may iudge of things alreadie found out, and that I may thinke of thoſe that be to be found out. Reading nouriſheth the wit; and it being wearied with ſtudie, notwithſtanding not without ſtudie refreſheth it. Neyther onely ought we to write, or onely to reade; the one of the things will make ſad, and will conſume the ſtrength; I ſpeake of writing: the other will diſſolue and diſſipate it. Interchangeablie this is to be exchanged with that, and the one is to be moderated with the other; ſo that whatſoeuer is gathered together by reading, the pen may reduce into a bodie. We ought, as they ſay, to imitate Bees, which wander vp and downe, and picke fit flowers to make honie: then whatſoeuer they haue brought they diſpoſe and place through their combes, and as our *Virgil* ſaith;

Moiſt honey to make thicke they much doe ſtriue,
Spreading the ſame with ſweet dew through their Hiue.

Concerning them it is not apparent enough, whether they draw a moiſt ſubſtance from the flowers, which is preſently honie; or whether that they change thoſe things which they haue gathered with a certaine mixture and propriety of their breath, into this taſte. For it pleaſeth ſome, that not the knowledge of making honie, but of gathering it is vnto them. They ſay that amongſt the Indians honie is found vpon the leaues of Reedes, which eyther the dew of that skie or the pleaſant and more fat moiſture of the very Reede may beget. Vppon our hearbes alſo the ſame force, but leſſe manifeſt and notable is found, which a creature born for this end may follow after, and gather together. Som think that thoſe things which they haue picked from the tender of that which is greene & flouriſhing, are not without a certain leauen, as I may ſo cal it, wherby diuers things doe knit together into one. But that I be not lead away to any other thing, then to that which is in hand, we alſo ought to imitate Bees, and to ſeparate what things ſoeuer we haue heaped together from diuers reading; for diſtinct things are the better kept. Then vſing the abilitie and care of our wit, to mingle diuers liquors into one taſte: that although it ſhall appeare whence it is taken, yet that it may appeare to be ſome other thing, then that whence it was taken: which thing we ſee nature doth in our bodie, without any helpe of vs. Nouriſhment which we haue taken, ſo long as it abideth in quality, and ſwimmeth ſolid in the ſtomacke is a burthen; but when it is changed from that which it was, then at length it paſſeth into ſtrength and into bloud. The ſame

let

let vs doe in theſe things wherewith wits are nouriſhed: that whatſoeuer wee haue gotten, we ſuffer not to be whole, nor to be other mens. Let vs concoct them, otherwiſe they will go into the memory, not into the wit. Let vs faithfully agree vnto them, and make them ours, that one certaine may be made of many things: as one number is made of ſeuerall ones, when one computation comprehendeth leſſer and diſagreeing ſummes. This let our minde do: all things whereby it is holpen, let it hide: only let it ſhew that which it hath done. Although in thee the likeneſſe of ſome one ſhall appeare, whom admiration hath more deeply faſtned in thee: I would that thou ſhouldeſt be like to him, not as an Image, but as a ſonne. An Image is a thing that is dead. What therefore? is it not vnderſtood whoſe ſpeech thou doeſt imitate? whoſe reaſoning? whoſe ſentences? I thinke at length it can not be vnderſtood indeede, if they bee of a great man, for not in all things, which he hath drawne as examples from euery one, hath hee ſo imprinted his ſhape, that they may agree into that one thing alone. Seeſt thou not of the voyces of how many, a Quire doth conſiſt? Notwithſtanding one ſound is made of them all. Some one voyce is acute, ſome baſe, ſom in a mean. Womens voices are ioined with mens, recorders and flutes are added vnto them: there the voyces of euery one in ſeuerall lie hid, of all appeare. I ſpeake of the Quire which the olde louers of muſicke did know of. In our feaſts there are more Singers, then once were of ſpectators vpon the Theaters. When the rowe of thoſe that ſing hath filled all wayes, and the Stage is compaſſed with Trumpeters, and all kinde of Pipes and Organs ſound from a gallerie aboue, a conſonance is made of diſcords. Such would I haue our minde to be, that there be many arts therein, many precepts, examples of many ages, but conſpiring in one. How ſaiſt thou, may this be done? By continuall taking of heed; if we ſhall doe nothing but by the perſwaſion of reaſon: this if thou wilt heare, it will ſay vnto thee; Leaue theſe things euen alreadie now, wherevnto men doe runne; leaue riches eyther the danger or burden of thoſe that poſſeſſe them; leaue the pleaſures of the bodie and of the minde, they mollifie and make weake; leaue ſuing for offices, it is a ſwelling, vaine, and windie thing it hath no bound: as well carefull is it, not to ſee any body before it ſelfe, as not not to ſee it ſelfe after another man: it laboureth with enuie, and indeede with two ſorts thereof. But thou ſeeſt how wretched he is, who is enuied at, if he himſelfe enuie alſo. Beholdeſt thou thoſe houſes of mightie men, thoſe tumultuous doores with the brawling of them that doe ſalute? Much reproach is there that thou maieſt enter in, more when thou haſt entred in. Paſſe by theſe ſtaires of the rich, and entries hanged with heapes of auncient ſpoyles. Not only in a craggie, but alſo in a ſlipperie place ſhalt thou here ſtand. Hither rather vnto wiſedom direct thy courſe, and ſeeke to attaine the moſt quiet, and therewithall the moſt ample things. What things ſoeuer ſeeme to excell in humane affaires, although they be ſmall, and ſtand aboue in compariſon of the baſeſt things, are notwithſtanding by difficult and hard wayes gone vnto. Vnto the height of dignitie there is a broken way. But if thou wilt climbe vnto this top, whereunto fortune ſubmitteth it ſelfe, thou ſhalt beholde indeed all things vnder thee, which are accounted exceeding high; but notwithſtanding thou ſhalt come vnto higheſt things by that which is plaine.

Epist. LXXXV.

He disalloweth Sophismes, and driueth them from serious studies. He giueth certaine examples, but leadeth to profitable things; against the Aristotelians, that a wise man ought to want affections. Then, that blessed life sufficeth of it selfe; it is one and equall, whether it be long or short. Also it is not lessened by outward things, although euils and losses fall forth, yet a wise man vseth all well. A good and wise Epistle.

I Had spared thee, and had now passed by whatsoeuer had remained as yet, contented to giue, as it were, a taste vnto thee, of those things which are spoken by our men, that it may be proued, that vertue alone is sufficiently effectuall to fulfill a blessed life. Thou commandest me to comprehend all the questions, that be either of our owne, or deuised for the teaching of vs: which thing, if I will doe, it shall not be a letter, but a booke. That thing so often doe I protest, that in this kind of argument there is no delight vnto me. It shameth me (being armed with a bodkin) to descend into a warre vndertaken by gods and men. He that is wise, is also a temperate man. He that is temperate is a constant man. He that is constant, is a true tempered man. He that is without griefe, is a blessed man. Therefore he that is prudent is a blessed man, and prudence is sufficient for a blessed life. To this collection, some of the Aristotelians answere after this sort, that thus they may interpret a man of true temper, and constant, and without griefe; that a man of true temper may be said to be, who rarely and smally is disturbed, not he who neuer is. Also without sadnesse doe they say him to be, who is not subiect to sadnes, nor is too frequent, nor too much in this fault. For that were to deny the nature of man, that the minde of some man should bee free from griefe: a wise man is not ouercome with sorrow, but is touched therewith: so other things, after this sort, correspond to their owne sect. They doe not with these things take away the affections, but moderate them. But how little doe we giue to a wise man, if hee bee stronger then the weakest, and merrier then the saddest, and more moderate, then the most vnbridled, and greater then the basest be? What if *Ludas* admire his owne swiftnesse, looking backe vnto those that be lame and weake?

On tops of grasse, not pressing them, she ran,
Nor tops of standing corne, her course hurt can;
In midst of sea on waters highest tip,
Her running feet in water doe not dip.

This is that swiftnesse esteemed of by it selfe, not which is praised in comparison of those that be most slow. What if thou call him, who is slightly sicke of an ague, a sound man? The smalenesse of a disease is not good health. Thus, saith he, a wise man is said to be of true temper, as sweet kernel-lesse Pomgranats, are called so, not in which there is no hardnesse of the kernels, but in which lesse hardnesse is. It is false: for I doe not vnderstand a lessening, but a wanting of euils in a good man: there ought to bee none, not those that are small. For if there be any, they will encrease, and sometimes will hinder vs. As a greater and a perfect web in the eye maketh blinde, so a small one troubleth the eye. If thou giuest any affections to a wise man, reason shall be vnable to master

maſter them, and ſhall be carried away, as it were, with a ſtreame: eſpecially when thou leaueſt not one, but a whole troupe of affections wherewithall it may ſtriue. A troupe, although it bee of thoſe that be meane, can doe more, then the violence of one that is great. He hath couetouſneſſe, but it is meane; he hath ambition, but it is not eager; he hath anger, but it is to be appeaſed; he hath inconſtancie, but not very wandering; and ſubiect to motion: he hath luſt, but not madneſſe. Better is it with him who hath one whole vice, then with him who hath lighter vices indeed, but yet hath all vice. Then there is no difference, how maine the affection be, and how great ſoeuer it is; it knoweth not to obey, it receiueth not counſell. As no liuing creature obeyeth reaſon, not the wilde, not the tame and gentle; for the nature of them is deafe to him that doth perſwade: ſo affections doe not follow, they doe not heare, how ſmall ſoeuer they be. Tygers and Lions neuer put off feirceneſſe, ſometimes they ſubmit it; and when thou ſhalt leaſt expect, their mitigated frowardneſſe is exaſperated. Vices neuer in good earneſt doe waxe tame. But if reaſon profiteth, the affections will not begin: if they ſhall begin againſt reaſons will, they will perſeuer againſt the will of it. For it is more eaſie to forbid the beginnings of them, then to rule their force. Certainly this mediocritie is falſe, and without gaine, and is to be eſteemed of in the ſame place, as if one ſhould ſay, wee might be indifferently madde, or indifferently ſicke. Vertue alone hath it; the euils of the minde doe not receiue moderation, more eaſily ſhalt thou take them away, then gouerne them. Is there any doubt, but that the inueterate and hard vices of humane minde, which we call diſeaſes, be without moderation; as couetouſneſſe, as crueltie, as vnrulineſſe, as impietie? Therefore alſo the affections are without moderation: for wee paſſe from theſe vnto thoſe. Furthermore, if thou giue any power to ſadneſſe, to feare, to couetouſneſſe, and to other bad motions, they will not be ruled by vs. Why? becauſe thoſe things be out of our power, whereby they be ſtirred vp. Therefore they encreaſe, as they haue greater or leſſer cauſes, whereby they be prouoked. Greater ſhall the feare be, if there be more wherewithall it may be affrighted, or if one ſhall look nearer thereunto; couetouſneſſe ſhall be more cruell, when hope of a larger eſtate ſhall call it forth. If it be not in our power, whether affections may be or not, that indeed is not, how great they may be: if thou haſt permitted them to begin, with their cauſes they will encreaſe, and they ſhall bee as great, as they are made by thee. Adde now, that theſe, although they be but little things, grow to be greater. Neuer doe hurtfull things keepe a meane. Beginnings of diſeaſes creepe forward, although they bee light; and ſometimes the leaſt acceſſion drowneth a bodie that is alreadie ſicke. But who is ſo mad, as to beleeue that, that the beginnings of thoſe things which are placed without our will, the limits of them are according to our will? How am I ſufficiently able to put an end vnto that, which I am ſcarce able to hinder? Sith it is more eaſie to exclude, then to ſuppreſſe things admitted in. Some haue diſtinguiſhed ſo that they ſaid: A temperate and a prudent man in the frame and habite of the minde is calme, but not in the euent thereof: for in regard of the habite of the minde he is not troubled, neither feareth, nor is ſad: but many cauſes doe outwardly fall forth, which may bring perturbation vnto him. This is it that they would ſay, that he is not indeed a cholericke man, yet that hee is angry at ſometime. And that hee is not a fearefull man, yet that hee feareth at ſometime: that is to ſay, hee wanteth the vice, but not the affection of feare. But if we allow of this feare, with frequent vſe it becommeth a vice: and anger

being admitted into the minde, diſcouereth that habit of the minde that wanted anger. Furthermore, if it contemneth not thoſe cauſes which outwardly come, and feareth any thing, when that valiantly we are to go againſt weapons, and fires, for our Countrie, Lawes and libertie, it will lingringly goe forth, and with a minde returning backe. But this diuerſitie of minde falleth not vpon a wiſe man. That furthermore doe I iudge to be obſerued, leſt wee confound two things which are ſeuerally to be proued. For by it ſelfe it is gathered, that there is one only good, namely, that which is honeſt: that by it ſelfe againe vertue is ſufficient for a happie life. If there be but one good, namely, that which is honeſt; all then grant that vertue is ſufficient to liue well: contrarily it ſhall not be reiected, if vertue alone doe make a bleſſed man, that there is one good, that is, that which is honeſt. *Xenocrates* and *Speuſippus* doe ſuppoſe, that a bleſſed man can be made by vertue alone: yet that is not the one only good, which is honeſt. *Epicurus* alſo iudgeth, that when one hath vertue, that he is bleſſed, yet that vertue it ſelfe is not ſufficient to a bleſſed life: becauſe pleaſure may make a man bleſſed, which is from vertue, and is not vertue it ſelfe. A fooliſh diſtinction. For the ſame man denieth, that vertue is at any time without pleaſure: thus if it alwaies be ioyned vnto it, and be inſeparable, it alſo is ſufficient alone. But that is abſurd, becauſe it is ſaid, that one ſhall become happie euen by vertue alone: but ſhall not become perfectly happie thereby: which thing how it may be done, I doe not finde. For a bleſſed life hath in it a perfect good, ſuch as cannot be ouercome: which thing if it be thus, it is perfectly a bleſſed life. If the life of the gods hath in it no more nor better thing; and a bleſſed life is a diuine life; it hath nothing whereunto it can more lift vp it ſelfe. Furthermore, if a bleſſed life needeth not any thing, euery bleſſed life is perfect, and a bleſſed, and a moſt bleſſed life is the ſame. What doubteſt thou, but that a bleſſed life is the chiefeſt good? Therefore if it bee the chiefeſt good, it is chiefely a bleſſed life. As the chiefeſt receiueth not augmentation (for what is aboue that which ſhall be the chiefe?) ſo is not a bleſſed life indeed, which is not without the chiefeſt good. But if thou ſhalt bring in one who is more bleſſed, then ſhalt thou make a great many more innumerable differences of the chiefeſt good: when I vnderſtand the chiefeſt good, I ſpeake of that which hath not a degree aboue it ſelfe. If any be leſſe bleſſed then another: it followeth, that he will more deſire the life of that other more bleſſed, rather then his owne life: but the bleſſed man preferreth nothing before his owne life. Which of theſe you will it is incredible; either that any thing remaineth to a bleſſed, which he had rather haue to be, then that which is: or that rather hee ſhould not deſire that, which is better then that other thing. For certainly, by how much he is more wiſe, by ſo much he will extend himſelfe to that thing which is beſt of all, and euery manner of way he will deſire to obtaine it. But how is he bleſſed, who can ſtill, yea who ought to deſire? I will ſay what it is, whence this error doth come. They know not that bleſſed life is one. The quality thereof, not the greatnes placeth it in the beſt eſtate. Therefore alike is it long and ſhort, broad and narrow, diſtributed into many places and parts, and gathered into one. He that eſteemeth it by number, and meaſure, and parts, taketh that therefrom, which is the moſt excellent therein. But what is that which is excellent in a bleſſed life? That it is full; namely, as the end of eating and drinking is ſacietie: he eateth more, that man eateth leſſe. What difference? Either of them is full. This man drinketh more, he leſſe: what difference? neither of them is a thirſt. He hath liued more, he fewer yeares. There is no difference: if many

yeares

yeares haue made him as wel a bleſſed man,as a few yeares this man. He whom thou calleſt leſſe bleſſed, is not bleſſed: the name cannot be leſſened. He that is valiant,is without feare: he that is without feare, is without ſadneſſe: he that is without ſadneſſe is bleſſed. This is our interrogation. Againſt this they endeuour to anſwer thus; that we bring in a falſe and a controuerted, for a true thing,namely,that he who is valiant is without feare. What therefore? ſhall not a valiant man,ſaith he,feare euils hanging ouer him? This were the part of a mad man,and of one out of his wits,and not of a valiant man. He indeed,ſaith he,feareth moſt moderately, but is not altogether without feare. They who ſpeake theſe things are againe returned vnto the ſame thing, that ſmaller vices be vnto them in the place of vertues. For he who feareth indeede, but more ſeldome and leſſe,wanteth not badnes,but is vexed with that which is lighter. But yet I think him mad, who feareth not euils hanging ouer him. True it is which he ſaith,if they be euils;but if he know that they be not euils,& iudgeth diſhoneſty alone to be that which is ill,he ought ſecurely to looke vpon dangers,& to contemne thoſe things that are feared by other men: or if it be the part of a foole or of a mad man,not to contemne euil things; by how much any one is the more wiſe,by ſo much ſhall he feare the more. As it ſeemeth to you, ſaith he,a valiant man ſhal thruſt himſelf into dangers. No; he ſhal not fear,but ſhall auoyde them. Warineſſe,not feare becommeth him. What therefore? Doeſt thou ſay,that he ſhall not feare death, bands, fire, and other weapons of fortune? No; for he knoweth that thoſe things be not ill, but ſeeme ſo to be: he thinketh that all theſe things be the feares of humane life. Deſcribe captiuitie,beating,chaines,pouertie,tearing aſunder of the members, eyther by ſickenelſe or by iniurie: and what ſoeuer thou ſhalt bring hereunto, number them amongſt imaginarie feares. Theſe things are to be feared by thoſe that be fearfull. Suppoſeſt thou that to be bad,whereunto ſome times of our owne accord we muſt come. Seekeſt what is euill? To giue place to theſe things which are called euill,and to yeeld our owne libertie vnto them, for which we are to endure all things. Libertie periſheth,except we contemne thoſe things,which lay a yoake vpon vs. They would not doubt what would become a valiant man, if they knew what valor were. For it is not vnaduiſed raſhneſſe, nor loue of dangers,nor a deſire of fearfull things. It is a knowledge of diſtinguiſhing, what is euill,and what is not: fortitude is moſt diligent in defending of it ſelfe, and the ſame is moſt patient of thoſe things, wherein is a falſe ſhew of bad things. What therefore if a ſword be thruſt into the throat of a valiant man, if firſt one part and then another be hewed forth, if he ſee his owne bowels in his owne armes,if after a ſpace,to the end that he may feele torments the more, he be ſet vpon againe, and freſh bloud trickleth downe by his dried bowels? wilt thou not ſay,that this man doth not feare, that he doth not feele griefe? Certainely he feeleth paine, for no vertue putteth off the ſenſe of a man: but he feareth not: being vnconquered, from on high he looketh vpon his dolours. Thou demaundeſt,what minde then there is vnto him? The ſame that is vnto them who exhort their ſicke friend. That which is euill hurteth,that which hurteth maketh worſe. Dolour and pouertie make not worſe, therefore they are not bad. Falſe is it,ſaith he,which is propounded; for if any thing hurt, it doth not alſo make worſe. A tempeſt and ſtorme hurt a Pilot, but notwithſtanding they make him not worſe. Certaine Stoicks do thus anſwer againſt this, That a Pilot is made worſe by a tempeſt and by a ſtorme, becauſe that thing which he had purpoſed he cannot effect,nor keepe on his courſe. Worſe is he made,

not

not in his skill,but in his work. To whom the *Aristotelian* : therefore, saith he, pouertie and dolour,and whatsoeuer such like thing there shall be,shal not take vertue from him,but shall hinder his working thereof. This were rightly said, except the condition of a Pilot,and of a wise-man were vnlike. For the purpose of him is in leading his life,not without faile to effect that which he assayeth to doe,but to doe all things aright. It is the purpose of the Pilot, without faile to bring a ship into an hauen. They be seruile arts, they ought to performe that which they promise. Wisedome is a mistresse and gouernesse. The arts doe serue to,wisedome commandeth ouer life. I iudge that we must answere after another sort,namely,that neyther the skill of the gouernour is made worse by any tempest, nor yet the very administration of art. The gouernour hath not promised prosperous successe vnto thee,but his profitable endeuour, and skill to gouerne the ship. This appeareth the more, by how much the more some force of fortune hath hindred him. He that hath beene able to say this,O *Neptune*,this ship was neuer but right,hath satisfied skill. A tempest hindereth not the worke of a Pilot,but the successe. What therefore sayest thou? Doth not that thing hurt a Pilot, which hindereth him from entring the Port? which causeth his endeuours to be vaine? which eyther beareth him backe, or detaineth and disarmeth him? It hurteth him not as Pilot,but as one that doth saile. Otherwise it doth not so much hinder,as shew the Pilots skill. For euery one can,as they say,be a pilot in the calme. These things hinder the ship; not a pilot,as he is a pilot. Two persons a pilot hath; the one common with all who haue gone aboard the same ship,wherein he himselfe also is a passenger; the other proper,as he is a gouernour. The tempest hurteth him as he is a passenger, not as a Pilot. Furthermore the art of a Pilot is anothers good, it appertaineth to those whom he carrieth: as the art of a Physitian appertaineth to those whom he doth cure. Wisedome is a common good, and is proper to owne selfe,for those with whom he doth liue. Therefore peraduenture a Pilot is hurt,whose promised seruice to others is let by a tempest. A wise-man is not hurt by pouertie,nor by dolour,nor by other tempests of life. For not all workes of him be hindered,but only those that pertaine to other men: alwayes is he himselfe indeed, then greatest of all,when fortune hath opposed her selfe vnto him,then manageth he the businesse of wisdome it selfe: which wisdome we haue said to be both anothers and his owne good. Furthermore not then indeed is he hindred to profite other men,when some necessities do presse him. Through pouertie he is hindred to teach, how a Common-wealth may be managed: but he teacheth that thing,how pouertie is to be managed. His worke is extended all his life long. Thus no fortune,no thing excludeth the acts of a wise-man. For he doth not that verie thing, whereby he is fobidden to doe other things. He is fit for both chances: a gouernour of the bad, an ouercommer of the good. So I say hath he exercised himselfe,that he sheweth vertue as well in prosperous as in aduerse affaires, neyther looketh he vpon the matter thereof,but vpon it selfe. Therefore neyther pouertie,nor dolour, nor any other thing,which turneth backe the vnskilfull,and drioeth them headlong,hindereth them. Hast thou rather he should be pressed? He maketh vse of it. Not only of Iuorie did *Phidias* know how to make Images: he made them of brasse. If marble were vnto him, if thou hadst offered baser matter, he would haue made such an one thereof,as could be made of that which was the best. So a wise-man will shew vertue,if he may,in wealth; if not, in pouertie: if he shall be able,in his countrie; if not,in banishment: if he can, being a commaunder;

if

if not, being a ſouldier: if he can, being ſound; if not, being weake: what fortune ſoeuer he ſhall entertaine, he will performe ſome memorable thing thereby. Certain tamers there be of wilde beaſts, who teach the fierceſt creatures, and which terrifie a man when they meete him, to ſuffer the yoake: and not contented to haue ſhaken fierceneſſe off, do tame them, euen to keepe them companie. The maſter vſeth often to thruſt out his hand to Lions; they kiſſe it. The Keeper commandeth his Tyger; the *Æthiopian* Player commandeth his Elephant to fall vpon their knees, and to walke vpon a rope: ſo a wiſe-man is skilfull to ſubdue euill things. Dolour, pouertie, ignominie, priſon, baniſhment, when they come vnto him, are made tame.

EPIST. LXXXVI.

Of the Countri-houſe of AFRICANVS, *of his building and Bath, which was neyther garniſhed nor neat. Againſt the ryot of his time. Laſt of all, of ſetting Olines, through occaſion of a Countrey-houſe.*

LYing in the verie towne of *Scipio Africanus*, I write theſe things vnto thee, hauing adored the ſpirit of him, and the Altar, which I ſuppoſe to be the ſepulcher of ſo great a man: the ſoule of him indeed I perſwade my ſelfe that it hath returned into heauen, whence it was: not becauſe he lead great armies (for this alſo furious *Cambyſes* did, and proſperouſly vſed furie) but for great moderation and pietie, more admirable in him when he left his countrie, then when he defended it. Eyther *Scipio* muſt be depriued of Rome, or Rome of libertie. *Nothing*, ſaith he, *will I derogate from lawes, nothing from decrees. Amongſt all Citizens let there be an equall right. O my countrie, vſe the benefit of me without me. I haue beene the cauſe, I will alſo be an argument of libertie vnto thee: I depart if I haue increaſed more, then is expedient for me.* How can I chuſe but admire this greatneſſe of minde? He departed into voluntarie baniſhment, and disburthened the Citie. The matter was brought vnto that paſſe, that eyther libertie ſhould do iniury to *Scipio*, or *Scipio* to libertie. Neither was lawfull to be done. Therfore he gaue place to the lawes, and betooke himſelfe to Liternum, as willing to impute the baniſhment of himſelfe, as of *Hannibal* to the Common-wealth. I ſaw that towne builded of foure ſquare ſtone, a wall compaſſing about a wood, towers alſo ſet vnder both ſides of the towne for a defence: A Ciſterne laid vnder the buildings and greene places, which was able to ſerue euen an armie of men: A little narrow Bath, ſomewhat darke, as the olde faſhion was. It ſeemed none was warmed for our anceſtors, except it were obſcure. Great pleaſure entred into me, beholding the manners of *Scipio* and of vs. In this corner that horrour of Carthage, to whom Rome is in debt, that it was taken but once, waſhed his bodie, wearied with the labours of the countrie: for he exerciſed himſelfe in work, and he himſelfe tilled the earth, as the faſhion of the ancients was. He ſtood vnder this ſo baſe a roote, this ſo meane a floore ſuſtained him. But now who is he that can ſuſtaine to be bathed thus? Poore and baſe ſeemeth hee to himſelfe, except the walls haue ſhined with great and precious rounds, except Alexandrian marbles be diſtinguiſhed with Numidian roofe-caſt; except all about vpon them, a curious varied plaſtering be layed like a picture that is drawne, except the chamber be couered ouer with glaſſe, except ſtone of the Ile Thaſſus, once a

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rare gazing flocke in ſome Church, haue compaſſed about our ponds, into which wee let downe our bodies emptied of much ſweat; except ſiluer cockes haue powred out water vnto vs. And as yet I ſpeake of the conduits of the common ſort: what when I ſhall come to the Bathes of freed men? how great pictures, how great pillers holding nothing vp, but placed for ornament ſake to the cauſing of coſt, how great waters ſliding downe vpon ſtaires with a great noice? To that delicacie are wee come, that wee will not tread but vpon precious ſtones. In this Bathe of *Scipio*, there be verie ſmall chinckes, rather then windowes, cut out in the ſtone-wall, that without hurt of the ſenſe, they ſhould let the light in. But now are they called the bathes of Gnats, if any be not framed ſo, as to receiue with moſt large windowes the Sunne all the day long, except they be bathed and coloured both at one time, except from a throne they look vpon both land and ſea. Thoſe therfore which had concourſe and admiration when they were dedicated, theſe are reiected into the number of the old, when riot hath deuiſed ſome new thing, wherewithall it ſelfe might ouercome it ſelfe. But in old time there were few bathes, neither were they adorned with any trimming vp. For why ſhould a thing of a farthing worth be adorned, and which is found forth for vſe, and not for delight? Water was not ſtill powred in, neither alwaies as from a warme fountaine did it runne freſh: neither did they ſuppoſe that any matter it was, into what ſhining veſſell they put their waſhed-off filth. But, O the good gods, how delighted it to enter into bathes ſomewhat darke, and couered with ſeeling of the common ſort, which thou diddeſt know, that *Cato*, when he was ouerſeer of the buildings, or elſe *Fabius Maximus*, or ſome of the *Cornelij* had tempered with their owne hand? For alſo the moſt noble ouerſeers of houſes, performed this dutie alſo of going into thoſe places which receiued the people, and of exacting neatneſſe, and a profitable and an healthie temperature, not this which is lately found forth, like vnto a ſetting on fire, ſo that it is meet indeed to be waſhed aliue, as a ſeruant conuicted of ſome wickedneſſe is. No difference now ſeemeth vnto me, whether the bathe be ſcalding hot; or be but warme. How great rudenes may ſome condemne *Scipio* of, becauſe into his warme bathe with large windowes he did not let in the day, becauſe with a great deale of day-light he was not ſod, and did not ſee, how he might ſeeth within a bathe? O miſerable man! he knoweth not how to liue; he was not waſhed in faire, but oftentimes in troubled water, & almoſt muddy, when more vehemently it did raine. Neither much cared he, whether he were waſhed ſo, for he came to waſh away ſweat, and not to waſh away oyntment therewith. What ſpeeches beleeueſt thou there will be of ſome? I enuie not *Scipio*, he liued in baniſhment indeed, who was waſhed thus; yea if thou wilt know it, he was not waſhed euery day. For as they ſay, who deliuered the maners of the City as they were of old, they waſhed euery day armes and legges, as which had with worke gathered filth, but all ouer were they waſhed euery nine daies. In this place ſome one will ſay, it is apparant that they were moſt vncleane. What thinkeſt thou they ſmelled of? Of warre, of labour, of playing the men. After that neate bathes are found forth, more filthy men be. *Horatius Flaccus* being to deſcribe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights, what ſaith he?

Of Pomander doth RVFILLVS *ſmell*——

Thou art to grant *Rufillus* now, that it were all one, as if he ſmelled of a Goat, and

and were in *Gorgonius* his place, whom *Horatius* hath oppoſed to *Rufillus*. It is too little to take oyntment vpon thee, except it be renued twice or thrice in the day, leſt it vaniſh from the bodie. What, that they boaſt of a ſmell, as if it were their owne? If theſe things ſeeme too ſad vnto thee, thou ſhalt impute it to the village; wherein I learned from *Agialus* a moſt diligent husband (for hee now is the poſſeſſor of this ground) that a ſhrub, although it be old, may be tranſlated into another place. This is neceſſarie for vs to learne, who bee old men, of whom there is none but planteth an Orchard of Oliues for another man. That which I haue ſeene, this I ſpeake; namely, that an Orchard of three or foure yeares old, will with a plentifull fall of the leafe yeeld forth fruit; yea alſo that tree will couer thee: which

Hath beene ſlow to make a ſhade before,
To yong nephewes and thoſe that were vnbore:

As our *Virgil* ſaith, who beheld, not what might be ſpoken moſt truely, but moſt ſeemely: neither deſired he to teach husbandmen, but to delight thoſe that read. For (to paſſe by other things) I will adde hereunto that, which is needfull to reprehend at this day.

In Spring be Beans, and dunged Limons ſet,
And Millet doth a new yeares care beget.

Are theſe to be ſet at one time, and whether that the Spring-time be for the ſowing of them both; thou mayeſt iudge from hence. The moneth of *Iune*, wherein I write theſe things vnto thee, is neare vnto *July*. In the ſame day I ſaw ſome gathering Beans, and ſowing Millet. I returne to the Orchard of Oliues, which I ſaw diſpoſed after two ſorts. He remoued the trunkes of great trees, the boughes being cut off all about, and being brought to one foot length, with the bodie of the tree, the roots being cut off, that the very head being onely left, whence thoſe did hang. This being beſmeared with dung, he put into an hole: afterward he did not heape in the earth, but troad and preſſed it downe. There is nothing (as he ſaith) more effectuall then ſtamping it hard, namely, for that it excludeth the cold and winde; leſſe alſo it is ſhaken: and for this it ſuffereth the ſpringing roots to go forth, and to lay hould vpon the ground; which is needfull to be tender as yet, and lightly to ſtick therunto, light toſſing alſo vp and downe, plucketh it vp againe: but it is ſcarce a tree, vntill the root do plentifully hide it ſelfe in the ground, for from euery matter which is made naked, as he ſaith, new roots doe come out. But the ſtocke of the tree ought not to ſtand out aboue vpon the earth, no more then three or foure feete; for preſently it will be garniſhed from below: neither ſhall a great part thereof, as in old Oliue-gardens be withered, and ſcorchingly drie. This alſo hath beene another manner of planting them. In the ſame kinde I haue ſet in the ground ſtrong boughes, not of an hard barke, ſuch as are accuſtomed of the tender trees: but when they come, as it were, from a plant, they haue no rough nor ill-fauoured thing in them. That alſo haue I now ſeene, an old Vine to be tranſlated from her ſhrub: The ſmall ſtrings alſo of this (if it may be) are to be gathered, there the Vine more largely is to bee ſpread abroad, that alſo it may take roote from the body thereof. And I haue ſeene them ſet, not onely in the Moneth of Februarie: but alſo in the Moneth of March, which layed hold vpon, and embraced

ced Elmes about, which were none of their owne. All theſe trees which (as I ſo ſpeake) are in great plentie, are, as he ſaith, to be holpen with Ciſterne water: which if it profit, we haue raine in the power of our ſelues. I thinke it not meete to teach thee any more, leſt euen as our *Ægialus* hath made me to be an aduerſarie vnto him, ſo alſo I procure thee to be vnto me.

Epist. LXXXVII.

The frugalitie of Seneca *and contempt of externall things: an admonition vnto others, that their wils and deedes might bee ſuch. Then follow ſmall diſputations, wherein he approoueth, that caſuall things are not amongſt thoſe that be good: onely that they may be called Commodities.*

I Haue ſuffered ſhipwracke, before I haue gone aboard: how it hath come to paſſe, I ſet not downe, leaſt amongſt the Stoicall paradoxes thou ſuppoſe, that this alſo is to bee put: of which things, I will approoue when thou wilt, yea if thou will not, that none is falſe, nor ſo wonderfull, as appeareth to bee at the firſt ſight. In the meane ſpace this iournie hath inſtructed mee, how many things we neede not to haue, and how eaſily with iudgement we might contemne them, which if at any time neceſſitie hath taken away, we feele them not to be taken away. With a very few ſeruants, whom one Coach could contain, without any ſtuffe, ſaue that which was carried vpon our backes, I and my *Maximus* haue now ledde theſe two dayes a happy life. A mattereſſe lyeth vpon the ground, I vpon the mattereſſe. Of two cloakes, the one is a blanket to lie vpon, the other is made a couerlid. Concerning my dinner, nothing is ſuperfluous therein, it hath beene made readie in no more then in an houres time; neuer without drie figs, neuer without an handfull of hearbs: thoſe if I haue bread, be made like water-gruell: if not, they be for bread: alwayes are they ſerued in vpon New-yeares day, which I make proſperous and bleſſed by thoughts that be good, and by greatneſſe of the minde: which neuer is greater then when it hath ſeperated forraine things: and by fearing of nothing hath got peace vnto it ſelfe; and by coueting of nothing hath got wealth vnto it ſelfe. The Coach wherein I ride, is a country one. The Mules teſtifie that they liue by going onely. The Muleter is vnſhod, but not for heat: I ſcarce obtaine of my ſelfe, that I would haue this Coach to be ſuppoſed mine. A peruerſe ſhamefaſtneſſe of that which is right abideth as yet: ſo often as we doe fall into ſome brauer company, I bluſh againſt my will; which is an argument, that theſe things which I approue, which I praiſe, haue not as yet a certaine and vnmoueable ſeat. He that bluſheth at a baſe Coach glorieth at a pretious one. Little haue I profited as yet, I dare not publiſh frugalitie, yea now doe I care for the opinions of thoſe that paſſe by. A voyce was to be ſent out againſt the opinions of all mankinde: yee be mad, you erre, you be amaſed at ſuperfluous things, you eſteeme no man according to his worth. When ye come to patrimonie, ye are moſt diligent reckoners; thus ye ſet downe an account of euery one, to whom ye will commit eyther money or benefits. For theſe alſo do ye account amongſt your expences. He poſſeſſeth a great deale, but he oweth much: he hath a faire houſe, but it is gotten with the money of other men: no man on the ſudden can ſhew a more gallant familie, but he payeth not his debts. If he ſhall pay his creditors, nothing

ſhall

ſhall remaine vnto him. The ſame ye ought alſo to doe in other things, to examine how much proper goods euery man hath. Thou ſuppoſeſt him to be a rich man, becauſe golden houſhold-ſtuffe followeth him vpon the way, becauſe he tilleth grounds in all Prouinces, becauſe a great booke of his accounts is rouled vp, becauſe he poſſeſſeth ſo much ground in the Suburbes, as with enuie he ſhould poſſeſſe in the deſerts of *Apulia*: and when thou haſt ſaid all, he is a poore man; wherfore? becauſe he is in debt. How much, ſayeſt thou? All that he hath, except peraduenture thou thinkeſt that there is a difference, whether that one hath borrowed of a man, or of fortune. What to the purpoſe doe appertaine fatted Mules, all of one colour? What theſe carued Coaches?

Tapeſtry, Scarlet, foot clothes horſes bore,
And long golde poitrels on their breaſts before.
Couered with golde, they champ a yellow bit,
And with their teeth the golde they chaw of it.

Theſe things can make neyther a better Maſter nor Mule. *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor (whoſe birth truely profited the people of Rome, as much as *Scipioes* did; for the one made warre with our enemies, the other with manners of the time) was carried on a gelding, and had a cloake-bagge behinde him, wherein he carried his neceſſarie ſtuffe. O how doe I wiſh that ſome of theſe delicate horſe-men might meet with him, hauing foot-men and *Numidians*, and a great deale of duſt before him. He without doubt would ſeeme richer and better attended then *Cato* was: he amongſt that delicate preparation, yea, when hee doubteth exceeding much, whether to beſtow himſelfe on the ſword, or on the knife. O how great a dignitie was it to that age, that an Emperour, who had triumphed, who had beene Cenſor, and which is aboue all, that *Cato* ſhould be contented with one horſe, nay certainly not with a whole horſe; for his fardell hanging downe on both ſides, poſſeſſed part of him. Thus wouldeſt thou not preferr before all the well-fed ambling nags, before great and eaſie going horſes, that one onely horſe rubbed by *Cato* himſelfe? I doe not ſee that any end will be vnto this matter, except that which I ſhall cauſe to my ſelfe. Here therefore will I holde my peace as concerning theſe things: which without doubt hee foreſaw they would be ſuch, as now they be, who firſt called them impediments. Now further will I relate a very few interrogations of our men pertayning to vertue, which we ſtriue to be ſufficient for a bleſſed life. That which is good, maketh men to be good. For alſo in muſicke-skill, that which is good maketh a Muſitian. Caſuall goods make not a man good, therefore they be not good. The Ariſtotelians doe thus anſwer againſt this, that they ſay that to be falſe, which we doe firſt of all propound: from that ſay they which is good, men are not alſo made good. In muſicke there is ſome thing that is good, as a Pipe, an Harpe-ſtring, or ſome inſtrument fitted for the vſe of ſinging: notwithſtanding not any of theſe things maketh a Muſitian. Here will we anſwer; you vnderſtand not how we haue placed that which is good to a Muſitian: for we doe not ſpeake of that which inſtructeth, but of that which maketh a Muſitian: thou commeſt to the furniture of skill, and not vnto skill. But if there be anie thing which is good in Muſicke skill, that certainely will make a Muſitian ſo to be: yea, furthermore I will make that to be more plaine. That which is good in muſicke skill, is ſaid ſo to be two manner of wayes; the one whereby muſicall effects, the other whereby Art is holpen. The inſtruments of the Pipe, and

Organs, and Harpe-ſtrings do appertaine to the effect, but they doe not appertaine to the Art it ſelfe; for he is a workeman without theſe, but cannot peraduenture without them vſe his skill. This is not alike double in a man: for there is the ſame good both of a man, and of his life. That is not good which can befall euery moſt baſe and diſhoneſt man: but riches befall both to the Bawde and Fencer, and therefore they are not good. That which is propounded, ſay they, is falſe; for in Grammar skill, and in the Art of Phyſicke and of gouerning, wee ſee that goods do befall to euery one of the baſeſt ſort. But theſe Arts profeſſe not a greatneſſe of the minde, they riſe not aloft, neyther diſdaine they ſuch things as come by chance. Vertue extolleth a man, and placeth him aboue thoſe which are deere to mortall wights: neyther doth hee too much deſire or feare thoſe things that are called good or bad. *Chelidon* one of thoſe effeminate ones which *Cleopatra* had, poſſeſſed a great Pattimonie: lately *Natalis*, both of a wicked and of an vnpure tongue, into the mouth of whom women were purged, both was the heire of much, and left many heires. What therefore? did money make him pure, or did not he himſelfe pollute money? which ſo falleth vpon certaine men, as a piece of money falleth into the vault. Vertue ſtandeth aboue theſe things, it is deemed by the worth of it ſelfe: it iudgeth none of theſe things to be good, howſoeuer they fall vnto vs. Phyſicke and gouernement forbid not to themſelues and to theirs, the admiration of ſuch things. He that is not a good man, may neuertheleſſe be a Phyſitian, may be a Gouernour, may be a Grammarian forſooth as well as a Cooke. To whom it befalleth not to haue euery thing, him mayeſt thou not call an vniuerſall man. What things euery one hath, ſuch a manner of man he is. The Exchequer is worth ſo much as it hath; yea, into the reuenew thereof commeth that which it hath. Who ſetteth any price vpon a full bagge, except the ſumme of the money put therein hath cauſed him? The ſame befalleth to a Maſter of great patrimonies, they are the reuenewes and the appendices vnto them. Why therefore is a wiſeman great? Becauſe he hath a great minde. True therefore it is, that that is not good, which befalleth vnto euerie moſt baſe man. Therefore will I neuer ſay, that the want of ſorrow is a good thing, a Graſhopper hath that, a Gnat hath that. Nor indeed will I ſay, that quietnes, and to want trouble is a good thing. What is more idle then a Worme? Seekeſt thou what maketh a man wiſe, what maketh a God? It is meet that thou giue ſome diuine, ſome heauenly, ſom magnificent thing. Good fal'eth not vpon all, neither endureth it euery poſſeſſor. See thou,

What euery land will beare, or will not haue;
This corne, that grapes, more happily doth craue.
Some-where yong trees do ſprout, and graſſe amaine:
Of Saffron ſmels, hill Tmolus is the vaine.
Doth not th' Indian clime ſend Iu'ry out;
Of Sabais ſoft is not their incenſe bought?
From naked Chalybes is Iron brought.

Theſe things are aſſigned to their owne place, that commerce might be neceſſarie vnto men amongſt themſelues, if interchangeably one ſhould demaund ſomwhat of another man. That chiefeſt good it ſelfe hath alſo his ſeat: it ſpringeth not where Iuorie or Iron doth. Seekeſt thou what is the place of the chiefeſt good? The minde: this except it be pure and holy, entertaineth not God. God is not made of that which is bad; but riches are cauſed by couetouſneſſe;

ouſnes; therefore they be not good. It is not good, ſaith he, that good ſpringeth of that which is bad. From ſacriledge and from theft doth mony come. therfore bad indeed is ſacriledge and theft: but becauſe, it cauſeth more bad, then good things. For it giueth gaine, but with feare, with care, with torments both of bodie and of minde. Whoſoeuer ſpeaketh this, it is needfull that he admit, that as ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it doth many bad things, ſo alſo that it is good in ſome ſort, becauſe it doth ſome good: then which thing what is more monſtrous? Although we be altogether perſwaded, that ſacriledge, theft, and adultery are amongſt thoſe things that be good. How many bluſh not at theft; how many boaſt of adulterie? for ſmall ſacriledges are puniſhed, great ones are carried in triumph. Adde now that ſacriledge, if altogether it be good in any ſort, ſhall alſo be honeſt, & ſhall be ſaid to be well done: for the action is ours, which thing the thought of no man receiueth, therefore good things cannot come of thoſe that be bad. For if, as yee ſay, for this one thing ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it bringeth much euill: if thou ſhalt remit puniſhments to it, if thou ſhalt promiſe ſecurity, altogether it ſhall be good. But the greateſt puniſhment of heinous deeds is in themſelues. Thou erreſt, I ſay, if thou put them off to the Hang-man, and to the ſayle: preſently are they puniſhed, when they are done, yea whileſt they are in doing them. Therfore good is not borne from that which is bad, no more then a Fig from an Oliue tree. They anſwer that they be borne for ſeed: good things cannot wax worſe. As that which is honeſt, is not borne from a diſhoneſt thing, ſo from a bad thing is not that which is good: for the ſame is an honeſt and a good thing. Some of ours do thus anſwere againſt this: let vs ſuppoſe that mony is a good thing, whence ſoeuer it be taken, notwithſtāding mony is not therfore frō ſacriledge, although it be taken from ſacriledge. Thus vnderſtand this. In the ſame pitcher there is both gold and a viper. If thou ſhalt take the gold out of the pitcher, becauſe there alſo a viper is, not therefore doth the pitcher giue gold vnto me, becauſe it containeth a viper, but it giueth gold, although it haue a viper. After the ſame ſort gaine is made from ſacriledge, not as ſacriledge is diſhoneſt and wicked, but as it hath gaine; euen as in that pitcher a viper is bad, not the gold which lieth with the viper: ſo in ſacriledge the heinous deed is bad, but not the gaine. Againe, it is argued: the condition of both the things is moſt vnlike: there can I take away gold without the viper: heere I cannot make gaine without ſacriledge: this gaine is not added to, but is mingled with wickedneſſe. Which whileſt we will obtaine, we fall into many euill things: that is not good, whileſt wee will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things; therefore riches are not good. Your propoſition, ſaith he, hath two ſignifications; the one whileſt we will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things: but into many bad things doe we fall, whileſt alſo wee would obtaine vertue. Some one whileſt hee hath failed to ſtudie, hath ſuffered ſhipwracke; another hath beene taken. Another ſignification is thus, that whereby we fall into euils, that is not good. The conſequent to this propoſition will not be: by riches or by pleaſures we fall into euils: or if by riches we fall into many euils, riches are not onely not good, but be bad. But yee onely ſay, that they be not that which is good. Furthermore, ſaith he, yee grant that riches haue ſome vſe, and amongſt commodities doe ye number them. But by the ſame reaſon they ſhal not be a profit indeed: for by them many diſcommodities come to vs. Some men anſwere thus vnto theſe things: ye erre, who impute diſcommodities vnto riches. They hurt no man, either doth folly hurt euery man, or the wickedneſſe of other men: ſo, euen as a ſword which killeth no man, yet is the

weapon of him that doth kill. Riches therefore doe not hurt thee, if for riches there be hurt vnto thee. *Posidonius* speaketh better, as I suppose, who saith, that riches are the cause of euill things, not because themselues can doe any thing, but because they prouoke those that will doe. For there is one efficient cause, which of necessitie forthwith must hurt: another is a precedent cause, riches haue in them this precedent cause. They puffe vp the minde, bring forth pride, procure enuy, and so farre forth estrange the minde, that the fame of money, yea that which will hurt delighteth vs. But good things ought to want all manner of blame: they be pure, they doe not corrupt, nor solicite the minde: they lift vp indeed and dilate, but without swelling. Those things that be good, cause confidence, riches cause boldnesse. Those things that are good cause magnanimitie, riches insolencie. But insolencie is nothing else, then a false shew of greatnesse. After this sort sayest thou, riches are not only not that which is good, but also that which is bad. They were a bad thing, if by themselues they should hurt; if (as I haue said) they should haue an efficient cause: now they haue a precedent cause, and indeed not only one prouoking, but drawing minds thereunto. For they shew forth a very likely shape of that which is good, and credible to most men. Vertue also hath a precedent cause vnto enuie, for many through wisdome, many through iustice are enuied at: but neither from it selfe hath it this cause, nor any like vnto it. For contrarily that more likely shape is by vertue set before the mindes of men, which may call them vnto loue and admiration thereof. *Posidonius* saith, that we must reason thus: What things giue neither greatnesse, nor confidence, nor securitie to the minde, are not good: but riches, and good health, and things like vnto these, cause none of these things; therefore they are not good: yea also hee enforceth this reason after this sort. Those things be bad which giue neither greatnesse, nor confidence, nor securitie to the minde; but contrarily beget insolencie, pride, arrogancie: but by casuall things we are enforced into these; therefore they are not good. By this reason, saith he, they shall not be commodities indeed. There is one condition of commodities, another of good things. A commoditie is which hath more vse, then trouble: a good thing ought to be sincere and without hurt on euery part. That is not good which profiteth more, but that which bringeth profit alone. Wherefore, commoditie pertaineth both to liuing creatures, and to vnperfect men, and to fooles. Therefore discommoditie may be mixed therewithall: but it is called commoditie, being esteemed by the greater part thereof. That which is good, appertaineth to a wise-man alone, it is meet that it should be without hurt. Be of good courage: one, but an *Herculean* knot remaineth vnto thee. From bad things good is not made; from many pouerties riches doe not come; therefore riches are not good. Our men acknowledge not this reason. The *Aristotelians* both faine and loosen it. But *Posidonius* saith, that this Sophisme is tossed through all the Logicians Schooles, and by *Antipater* is refelled thus. Pouertie is not called according to a putting to, but according to a taking from, or (as the Ancients haue said by priuation: the Grecians say, κατὰ στέρησιν: not because it hath, is it called, but because it hath not. Therefore by many voide things nothing can bee filled: many things, and not much want, are the cause of riches. Thou vnderstandest pouertie, otherwise then thou oughtest to doe. Pouertie is, not which possesseth a few, but which possesseth not many things. Therefore it is called not from that which it hath, but from that which is wanting vnto. More easily would I expresse that which I meane, if there were a Latine word, whereby ἀπορία is signified. *Antipater* assigneth

aſſigneth this to pouertie. I ſee not what other thing pouertie may bee, then poſſeſſion of a ſmall thing. Concerning this we will ſee, if there ſhall be great leaſure at any time, what the ſubſtance of riches, what the ſubſtance of pouerty may be: but then alſo will we conſider, whether it were better to aſſwage pouertie, to take loftie lookes from riches, then to ſtriue concerning words, as though alreadie we had iudged of the things. Let vs ſuppoſe that we are called to a Parliament. A law is propounded for the aboliſhing of riches: by theſe reaſons ſhall we perſwade or diſſwade? By theſe ſhall wee cauſe the people of *Rome* to require, and to praiſe pouertie, the foundation and cauſe of their Empire? and to feare their wealth? to thinke how they haue found theſe amongſt the conquered? that hence ambition, and bribery, and tumults haue broken into a moſt holy and a moſt temperate Citie? That too luxuriouſly the ſpoyles of the Nations are ſhewed out? That one people hath taken from all, more eaſily that from one it might bee taken by all. It is better to perſwade theſe things, and to fight againſt the affections, not to beguile them. If we can, let vs ſpeake more valiantly; if not, more openly.

Epist. LXXXVIII.

Liberall ſtudies are not amongſt good things, neither doe they of themſelues leade to vertue. Seuerally teacheth he this in Grammer, in Muſicke, in Geometrie, in Aſtronomie. But although they doe not leade, yet they helpe: that is, they further and prepare. Then there is another diuiſion of Arts, into Vulgar, Sporting, Childiſh, Liberall: and amongſt theſe he maketh Philoſophie to be onely that, which truely maketh free. Yea it alone ſearcheth foorth concerning Good and Bad things, it alone knoweth them; it therefore alone, or chiefely is to be embraced: and ſheweth how vnprofitable and ſuperfluous things Great Readers follow after, yea ſome Philoſophers too. O good, O golden things be heere! Reade ye both yong and old.

THou deſireſt to know what I thinke concerning liberall ſtudies. I admire none, I number none amongſt thoſe things that be good, whoſe end is for gaine. Hired workmanſhips they bee, ſo farre profitable, as they prepare, and not detaine the wit. For ſo long muſt wee abide in them, as the minde can performe no greater thing; they be our rudiments, not our workes. Wherefore, thou ſeeſt they be called liberall ſtudies, becauſe they be worthy of a free man. But one ſtudie is liberall indeede, which maketh a free man; this is of wiſdome, high, valiant, magnanimous; other be pettie and childiſh things. Beleeueſt thou that there is any good in theſe things? the profeſſors whereof thou ſeeſt to bee the moſt diſhoneſt, and the moſt wicked of all men? We ought not to learne, but to haue learned theſe. Some haue iudged that that queſtion is to be propounded concerning liberall ſtudies, whether they could make a man good. They promiſe it not indeed, neither doe they affect the knowledge of this thing. A Grammarian is conuerſant about the care of ſpeech, and if he will wander any further, about Hiſtories yea that he may extend his limits the fartheſt of all about verſes. What of theſe maketh the way to vertue? Doth the vnfolding of Syllables, and diligence of words, and memorie of fables, and the law and ſcanning of verſes? Which of theſe taketh away feare, taketh out couetouſneſſe, refraineth luſt? Let vs paſſe to Geometrie, and to muſicke: nothing

ſhalt thou finde with them, which forbiddeth to feare, forbiddeth to couet: which whoſoeuer is ignorant of, in vaine he knoweth other things. Let vs ſee whether theſe teach vertue, or not, if they doe not teach, they deliuer it not indeed: if they doe teach, they be Philoſophers. Wilt thou know, how that they haue not ſit downe to teach vertue? behold how vnlike the ſtudies of all be amongſt themſelues: but likenes had bin if they had taught the ſame things. Except peraduenture they perſwade thee, that *Homer* was a Philoſopher, with theſe very things whereby they conclude, they may deny it. For ſometimes they make him a Stoick, allowing of vertue alone, & flying back from pleaſures, and not retiring backe from that which is honeſt, for the price of immortalitie it ſelfe: ſometime an Epicurean praiſing the ſtate of a quiet Citie, and amongſt bankets and ſongs ſpending his life: ſometime an Ariſtotelian bringing in three kinds of good things: ſometime an Academick, teaching all things to be vncertaine. It appeareth that none of theſe things be in him, becauſe that all be: for theſe things diſagree amongſt themſelues. Let vs grant vnto them, that *Homer* was a Philoſopher: certainly he was made wiſe before he knew any verſe: therfore let vs learne thoſe things, which haue made *Homer* to be a wiſe-man. For me to ſeeke after this thing indeed, whether *Homer* or *Heſiod* were elder by birth, no more appertaineth to the buſines, then to know, whether *Hecuba* was yonger then *Helen* and why ſo badly ſhe did beare her age. What, I ſay, ſuppoſeſt thou that it appertaineth to the purpoſe, to enquire for the yeares of *Patroclus* and *Achilles*? Seekeſt thou where *Vlixes* did wander, rather then that thou cauſe, that we doe not alwayes goe aſtray? There is not idle time to heare, whether that *Vlixes* were toſſed betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, or was without the world that is knowne vnto vs: for ſo long a wandring could not bee in ſo narrow a place. Tempeſts of the minde doe daily toſſe vs, and wickedneſſe driueth vs vpon all the euils, which *Vlixes* had. Beautie is not wanting which may ſolicite the eyes, not an enemie: hence are very cruell monſters and delighting in humane bloud: hence are deceitfull allurements of the eares: hence are ſhipwrackes and ſo many varieties of euill things. Teach mee this thing how I may loue my Countrey, how my wife, how my father, how euen ſuffering ſhipwracke, I may faile vnto theſe ſo honeſt things. What enquireſt thou, whether *Penelope* was vnchaſt, whether ſhee deceiued her age, whether ſhe ſuſpected him to bee *Vlixes* whom ſhee ſaw, before that ſhee knew it to be true? Teach mee what chaſtitie is, and how great a good there is in it: whether it bee placed in the bodie or in the minde. I paſſe to a Muſitian. Thou teacheſt mee how acute and graue ſounds may agree amongſt themſelues, how a concord may bee of ſtrings making an vnlike ſound. Make rather that my minde may agree with it ſelfe, and that my counſels may not diſagree. Thou ſheweſt vnto mee which be the mourning tunes: ſhew rather how in aduerſitie I may not vtter a mourning voice. The Geometrician teacheth me to meaſure large pieces of grounds: rather let him teach, how I may meaſure, how much may be ſufficient to a man. Arithmeticke teacheth mee to number, and to lend my fingers to couetouſneſſe: rather let it teach that theſe computations doe nothing appertaine to mine eſtate. Hee is not an happier man, whoſe patrimonie weareth the caſters vp of his accounts: yea very ſuperfluous things may hee poſſeſſe, who ſhall become moſt vnhappie, if hee bee conſtrained to reckon vp, how much hee hath. What profiteth it mee to know, how to diuide a ſmall field into parts, if I know not with my brother how to diuide it? What profiteth it ſubtilly to know how many feete are in an acre of ground, and alſo

to

to comprehend if any thing hath escaped the pearch; if a mightie neighbour maketh me sad and encroacheth on somewhat of that which is mine? Teacheſt thou me, how I may loſe nothing of my bounds? but I am willing to learne how I may loſe them all with mirth. I am expelled, ſaith he, from my fathers and from my grandfathers land. What? before thy grandfather who poſſeſſed this ground? Tell if thou canſt; not what mans, but what peoples it was? Thereon haſt thou entred, not as a Lord, but as a Tenant. Whoſe Tenant art thou? Thine heires, if thou haſt good lucke. Lawyers denie, that any thing can be preſcribed vpon, which is publike: this is publike which thou poſſeſſeſt, and belongeth indeede vnto mankind. O remarkeable Art! thou knoweſt to meaſure round things, thou bringeſt into a quadrate what ſhape ſoeuer thou ſhalt receiue: thou telleſt of the diſtances of the ſtarres: nothing is there but falleth within the meaſure. If thou be a workeman, meaſure the minde of man: tell how great, tell how little it is. Thou knoweſt which is a ſtreight line; what profiteth it to thee, if thou be ignorant what is ſtreight in life? Now I come to him who boaſteth in the knowledge of heauenly things.

Whether colde SATVRNE *doth it ſelfe betake,*
And what circles CYLLENIVS *ſtar doth make.*

What ſhall it profit to know this? that I may be carefull when *Saturne* and *Mars* ſhall be in oppoſition, or when *Mercury* ſhall make his euening fall *Saturne* looking? Rather I will learne this, that whereſoeuer theſe things be, that they be proſperous, that they cannot be changed. A continuall order and an ineuitable courſe of deſtinies moueth theſe: by ſet courſes they doe retire. They eyther moue or note forth the effects of all things. But whether they be the cauſe, why euery thing falleth forth, what ſhall the knowledge of an vnchangeable thing profite thee? or whether they ſignifie, what skilleth it to prouide for that which thou canſt not auoyde? Whether thou do know or not know theſe things, they ſhall come to paſſe.

On the ſwift Sunne, and ſtarres that follow it,
If that thou looke in order as they ſit,
Th' enſuing day will neuer thee deceiue,
Nor cleare nights ſlights of foreſight will bereaue.

Sufficiently and abundantly it is prouided, that I ſhould be ſafe from ambuſhes. Doth not the time that is to morrow deceiue me? for it deceiueth him that is ignorant hereof. I know not what ſhall be; I know what may come to paſſe. I deſpaire nothing of this. I expect the whole. If any thing be remitted, I take it in good part. Time deceiueth, if it ſpareth mee: but neyther ſo indeed deceiueth it. For as I know that all things may fall forth, ſo alſo I know that for certaine they will not fall forth. For certaine I expect proſperous things: I am prepared for thoſe that be bad. In that it is needfull that thou ſuffer me not going by that which is put in writing. For I am not perſwaded to receiue Painters into the number of the liberall arts, no more then makers of ſtatues, or workers in marble, or other ſeruants of riotouſnes. Alike do I expell wraſtlers from theſe liberall ſtudies, & all the skill conſiſting in oyle and clay; or may I receiue thoſe that make ſweet oiles, & Cooks and others, that do apply their wits for the pleaſures

ſures of vs? For liberall things, I pray thee haue theſe faſting vomitors, whoſe bodies be fat, but mindes be leane and aſleepe? Doe we beleeue that this is a liberall ſtudie for our youth, which our auncеſtors haue exerciſed to be right, to caſt Darts, to toſſe a Speare, to ride an horſe, to handle weapons. Nothing did they teach their children, that was to be learned by thoſe that lie ſtill. But neyther theſe nor thoſe do teach or nouriſh vertue. For what profiteth it to gouern a horſe, and with a bridle to moderate his courſe, and with moſt vnbridled affections to be led away? What profiteth it with wraſtling, or with buffets to ouercome many men, and to be ouercome by anger? What therefore? Do liberal ſtudies beſtow nothing vpon vs? For other things much, for vertue nothing. For theſe baſe profeſſed Arts, which conſiſt of the hand, confer very much to the inſtruments of life, notwithſtanding to vertue they doe not belong. Why therefore doe we inſtruct our children in liberall ſtudies? Not becauſe they can giue vertue, but becauſe they prepare the minde to the receiuing of it. For as that firſt literature, as the auncients called it, whereby the firſt principles are deliuered to children, teacheth not the liberall Arts, but prepareth a place for the firſt receiuing of them: ſo liberall Arts leade not the minde to vertue, but make it fit. *Poſidonius* ſaith that there be foure kindes of Arts; the vulgar and baſe, ſporting, childiſh, and the liberal Arts. Vulgar be of crafts-men, which conſiſt of the hand, and be buſied for the furniſhing of life; wherein there is no counterfeiting of comlineſſe, nor of any honeſt thing. Sporting Arts be thoſe which tend to the pleaſure of the eyes & of the eares. To theſe you may number the Inginers, who deuiſe frames riſing vp of themſelues, and boards ſecretly encreaſing to a great height, and other varieties ſcarce thought vpon; eyther thoſe things ſeperating which did cleaue together, or theſe things which ſtood aſunder, comming together of their owne accord, or theſe things which ſtood vp by little and little, ſetling downe againe vpon themſelues. The eyes of the vnskilfull are ſtricken with theſe things, wondering (becauſe they haue not knowne the cauſes) at all ſudden things. Childiſh they be, and haue ſome ſimilitude with the Liberall Arts, namely, theſe which the Grecians call ἐγκυκλίους, and our men call Liberall Arts. But they alone are Liberall Arts (and as I may more truely ſpeake) bee free, which haue a care of vertue. Euen as, ſaith hee, ſome part of the minde is for naturall, ſome for morall, ſome for reaſoning Philoſophy; ſo alſo this troope of Liberall Arts, doth in Philoſophy challenge a place vnto it ſelfe. When we come to Naturall queſtions, we ſtand to the teſtimonie of Geometrie. Therefore is it a part of that which it doth helpe? Many things helpe vs, yet for that they are no parts of vs: yea if they were parts, they would not helpe. Meate is an helpe of the bodie, yet is it not a part. The ſeruice of Geometry performeth ſomewhat vnto vs: ſo is it needfull to Philoſophie, as a Carpenter is vnto it: but neither is he a part of Geometrie, nor that of Philoſophie. Furthermore, both haue their ends: for a wiſe-man both ſeeketh and knoweth the cauſes of naturall things, the numbers and meaſures of which, a Geometrician followeth after and counteth. A wiſe man knoweth after what manner heauenly things conſiſt, what force, or what nature is vnto them: a Mathematician collecteth the courſes, and returnings backe, and the obſeruations, by which they deſcend and be lifted vp, and ſometimes make a ſhew as though they ſtood ſtill, although that heauenly things cannot ſtand. A wiſe-man knoweth what the cauſe is that expreſſeth images in a glaſſe: a Geometrician can tell that vnto thee, how much a body ought to bee abſent from the image, and what forme is of the glaſſe that may repreſent images. A Philoſopher

loſopher will proue the Sunne to be great: the Mathematician will ſhew how great it is, who proceedeth by a certaine exerciſe and vſe; but that he may proceede, certaine principles are to be obtained by him. But that Art ſtandeth not vpon her owne right, whoſe foundation is by requeſt. Philoſophy deſireth nothing from another thing, it raiſeth vp the whole worke from the ground. The Mathematicks (as I may ſo ſpeake) is a ſuperficiall Art, it receiueth principles from others, by the benefit of which it may come to farther things: if by it ſelfe it could come to that which is true, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I ſhould ſay that it would beſtow much vpon our minds, which encreaſe by the handling of heauenly things, and draw ſomewhat from it. The minde is made perfect by one thing, namely, by the vnchangeable knowledge of good and bad things; which agreeth vnto Philoſophie onely. But none other Art enquireth about good and bad things: let vs conſider all Vertues in particular. Fortitude is a contemner of things to be feared: it deſpiſeth, prouoketh and breaketh terrible things, and ſuch as ſend our libertie vnder the yoke: what therefore doe liberall ſtudies ſtrengthen this? Fidelitie is the moſt holy good thing of a humane breaſt, by no neceſſitie is it conſtrained to deceiue, it is corrupted by no reward. Burne, ſaith he, beat, kill, I will not betray; but by how much the more paine ſhall ſeeke to diſcouer ſecret things, by ſo much will I the more deepely hide them: what are liberall ſtudies able to cauſe theſe mindes? Temperance ruleth ouer pleaſures; it hateth and driueth away ſome, it diſpenſeth with other ſome, and reduceth them to a ſound meane, neyther at any time doth it for themſelues come vnto them. It knoweth that the beſt meane of deſired things is, not to take how much thou wilt, but how much thou oughteſt. Humanitie forbiddeth to be proude ouer thy fellowes, to bee couetous: in words, in deedes, in affections it ſheweth it ſelfe gentle and eaſie vnto all; it ſuppoſeth none euill to be eſtranged from him, but eſpecially it loueth that good of it ſelfe which ſhall be for anothers good; what doe liberall ſtudies command theſe maners? No more then ſimplicitie, modeſtie, frugalitie, and parſimonie; no more then clemencie, which ſpareth the bloud of another as it were his owne, and knoweth that a man muſt not prodigally vſe a man. When ye ſay (ſaith he) that without liberall ſtudies vertue cannot be attained vnto: how denie ye that thoſe things confer nothing to vertue? Becauſe neyther without meat can vertue be attained vnto, yet notwithſtanding meate appertaineth not to vertue. Wood conferreth nothing vpon a ſhip, although that a ſhip cannot be made without wood. There is no cauſe, ſaith hee, that thou mayeſt thinke any thing to be made with the help of that thing, without which it could not be made. That alſo may be ſpoken indeede, that without liberall ſtudies wiſdome may be comne by: for although that vertue be to be learned, notwithſtanding it is not learned by theſe things. But why is it, wherefore I ſhould eſteeme that he ſhall not become wiſe, who is ignorant of learning, ſeeing wiſdome is not in learning? It deliuereth deedes, not wordes; and I cannot tell whether the memorie may be more ſure, which hath no help out of it ſelfe. Wiſdome is a great and ſpacious thing; it hath neede of an emptie place: wee muſt learne diuine and humane things, things paſt, things to come, things fading an eternall, and time it ſelfe: concerning which one thing, ſee how many things may be ſought for; firſt, whether any thing may be by it ſelfe, then, whether anie thing may be before time: if time hath begun with the world, whether alſo before the world; becauſe ſomewhat hath beene, time hath alſo beene. Innumerable queſtions be only concerning the mind; whence it may be, and what,

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when it beginneth to be, how long it may be: whether it may paſſe from one place to another, and may change her houſe, and may be caſt from one forme of liuing creatures into another: or that it may ſerue no more then once, and being ſent forth may wander in the whole world: whether it be a bodie, or no: what it will doe, when it hath ceaſed to doe any thing by vs: how ſhee will vſe her libertie when ſhe ſhall flee out of this denne: whether it may forget former things, and there begin to know it ſelfe, after that it being led out of the bodie, hath departed on high. Whatſoeuer part of diuine and humane affaires thou ſhalt comprehend, thou ſhalt be wearied with huge abundance of things to be ſought for, and to be learned. That theſe ſo many, and ſo great things may haue free place of remaining, ſuperfluous things are to be taken out of the mind. Vertue will not put it ſelfe into theſe ſtraits: a great matter deſireth a large ſpace: let all things be expelled; let the whole breſt be emptie for it. But the knowledge of many Arts delighteth. Let vs therefore retaine ſo much of them, as is neceſſary. Suppoſeſt thou that it is a thing to be reprehended in him, who getteth ſuperfluous things for his vſe, and layeth abroad the pompe of precious things in his houſe: and thinkeſt thou him not to be blame-worthy, who is occupied in the ſuperfluous implements of learning? To bee willing to know more, then may be ſufficient, is a kinde of intemperancie. What, that this following after Liberall Arts maketh men troubleſome, full of words, vnſeaſonable, pleaſures of themſelues, and therefore not learning neceſſarie things, becauſe they haue learned ſuperfluous things. *Dydimus* the Grammarian wrote foure thouſand bookes: wretched, if he had read ſo many ſuperfluous things. In theſe booke it is ſought of the Country of *Homer*; in theſe of the true mother of *Æneas*: in theſe whether *Anacreon* led a more luſtfull or a more drunken life: whether *Sappho* was a whore; and other which were to be vnlearned, if thou ſhouldeſt know them. Goe now, and deny life to be long. But alſo when thou ſhalt come to our owne men, I will ſhew that many things with axes are to be cut off. This praiſing, O learned man! coſteth great expence of time, great trouble of the eare of other men. Let vs be content with this more ruſticke title: O good man. Is it euen ſo? Shall I toſſe ouer the Chronicles of all Nations, and ſhall I ſearch who firſt hath written verſes: how much time may be betwixt *Orpheus* and *Homer*; when I haue not records of time, ſhall I reckon it: and ſhall I reuiew the note of *Ariſtarchus*, wherewith he noted the verſes of other men: and in Syllables ſhall I ſpend my time? What ſhall I ſo ſticke in the Geometricall duſt? Hath that wholeſome precept, *Spare time*, ſo fallen out of minde? Shall I know theſe things, and be ignorant of my ſelfe? *Appion* the Grammarian, who vnder *Caius Cæſar* was caried about in all Greece, and by all Cities was adopted into *Homers* name, ſaid, that *Homer* hauing finiſhed the matter both of the *Odyſſes* and Iliads, added a beginning to his worke, wherein he comprehended the *Troian* warre. He brought an argument of this thing, becauſe of purpoſe he had placed two letters in the firſt verſe, containing the number of his bookes. It is meet that he know theſe things, who will know many things. Wilt thou not thinke how much time bad health may take from thee, how much publike and priuate buſineſſe, how much buſineſſe by day, how much ſleep, meaſure thine age, it is not capable of ſo many things. I ſpeake of Liberall ſtudies: how much ſuperfluitie Philoſophers haue, how much retiring from vſe. They alſo haue deſcended to the diſtinction of Syllables, and to the proprieties of coniunctions and prepoſitions, and to enuy Grammarians, to enuy Geometricians. Whatſoeuer was ſuperfluous in the Arts of them, they

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tranſlated into their owne Art. Thus it is come to paſſe, that through more diligence they know rather to ſpeake, then to liue. Heare how great euill too great ſubtiltie can cauſe, and how great an enemie it is to truth. *Protagoras* ſaith, that alike, concerning euery thing it may be diſputed on vpon both parts: and concerning this very thing, whether that euery thing may be diſputed on vpon both parts. *Nauſiphanes* ſaith, that of theſe things that ſeeme to be, that nothing rather is, then is not. *Parmenides* ſaith, that of theſe things that are ſeene, there is nothing at all. *Zeno Eleates* hath caſt all buſineſſe out of buſineſſe; hee ſaith, that nothing is. The *Pyrrhonians* are for the moſt part conuerſant about the ſame things, ſo are the *Megaricans*, and *Eretricans*, and the *Academicks*, who haue brought in a new knowledge, of knowing nothing. Caſt all theſe things into that ſuperfluous flocke of Liberall ſtudies. Thoſe deliuer a knowledge that will not profit; theſe take away the hope of all knowledge: it is better to know ſuperfluous things, then nothing at all. Theſe doe not carry a light before, whereby the eye may bee directed to that which is true: theſe put out mine eyes. If I beleeue *Protagoras*, there is nothing but doubts in the nature of things: if *Nauſiphanes*, this one thing is certaine, that nothing is certaine: if *Parmenides*, there is nothing but one thing: if *Zeno*, there is not one thing indeed. What therefore be we? What theſe things which ſtand about, nouriſh, and ſuſtaine vs? The whole nature of things is a ſhade, or vaine, or deceitfull. I cannot eaſily tell, whether I may be more angry at them, who would haue vs to know nothing: or at them, who haue not indeed left this thing vnto vs, to know nothing.

EPIST. LXXXIX.

The difference betwixt Philoſophie and wiſedome: and a diuerſe diuiſion thereof, and againe a diuiſion and deſcription of the parts. Then an admonition, that theſe and ſuch like are to be referred to manners and to the minde: and by the way he inueigheth againſt thoſe that be badly rich, and therewithall he chaſtiſeth riotouſneſſe and couetouſneſſe.

THou deſireſt a profitable thing, and which is for certaine neceſſarie vnto wiſedome, namely, that Philoſophie be diuided, and that the huge bodie thereof be diſpoſed into members. For more eaſily by parts are we brought to the knowledge of the whole. I would that as the face of the whole world commeth into ſight, ſo that whole Philoſophie might come vnto vs, a ſight moſt like to the world. For truely it would ſpeedily draw all mortall men into admiration of it ſelfe, theſe things being left, which now with great admiration of the great ones, we doe beleeue. But becauſe this cannot fall forth, ſo ſhall it be looked vpon by vs, as the ſecrets of the world are ſeene. The minde of a wiſe-man indeed comprehendeth the whole frame thereof, neyther leſſe ſwiftly goeth about it, then our eye goeth about the skie: but to vs, to whom darkeneſſe is to be broken thorow, and whoſe ſight faileth in that which is hard by, ſeuerall things can more eaſily be ſhewed, we being as yet not capable of the whole. I will therefore doe that which thou requireſt, and I will diuide Philoſophie into parts, not into pieces. For it is profitable to be diuided, and not to be hacked ſmall. For as to comprehend the greateſt, ſo hard it is, to comprehend the ſmalleſt things

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The people are described into Tribes, an armie into hundreths. Whatsoeuer hath encreased to be very great, is more easily taken notice of, if it hath departed into parts; which (as I haue said) it is not meete, they should be innumerable and small. For too great a diuision hath the same fault, that no diuision hath: it is like to that which is confused, whatsoeuer is cut euen vnto dust. First therefore as it seemeth I will tell, what difference there may be betweene wisedome and Philosophie. Wisdome is a perfect good thing of the minde of man: Philosophie is a loue, an affectation of wisdome. This sheweth that which it hath attained vnto. It appeareth, whence Philosophie may be named: for it confesseth with the name it selfe. Some haue defined wisdome thus; that they called it a knowledge of diuine and of humane things. Some thus; Wisdome is to haue knowne diuine and humane things, and the causes of these. This addition seemeth superfluous vnto me, because causes be parts of diuine and of humane things. Also there haue beene who haue defined Philosophie, some one way, and some another way: some haue said, that it is a studie of vertue; some a studie of correcting the minde. By some it is called a desire of true reason. As though it were manifest, that there were some difference betwixt Philosophie and Wisedome. For it cannot come to passe, that that which is affected, and that which affecteth is the same thing. As there is much difference betwixt money and couetousnesse, seeing the one desireth, the other is desired: so is there betwixt Philosophie and Wisdome. For this is the reward and effect of that: that commeth, this is come vnto. Wisedome is that which the Grecians call σοφία. This word did the Romanes also vse, as also they now vse Philosophie; thing which the auncient Comedies acted in gownes will proue, and the title written vpon the monument of *Dossennus*:

Stranger stand still, to go do not proceede,
But stay, the wisedome of DOSSENNVS *reade.*

Some of our men, although Philosophie were the studie of vertue, and this were sought for, and that did seeke, haue notwithstanding thought, that those might not be seuered. For neyther Philosophie is without vertue, nor vertue without Philosophie. Philosophie is a studie of vertue, but by vertue it selfe: but neyther can vertue be without the studie of it selfe, nor the studie of vertue be without it selfe. For not as in these who endeuour to strike any thing from a farre off, in one place is he that striketh, in another that which is striken: nor as journies which leade vnto Cities, be without them. By vertue we come vnto it. Therefore Philosophie and vertue doe cleaue together betwixt themselues. Both the greatest and most authors haue said, that there be three parts of Philosophie; namely, Morall, Naturall, and Reasonable. The first composeth the minde, the second searcheth the nature of things, the third exacteth the proprieties of words, and their frame, and manner of reasoning, that false things may not creepe in for that which is true But there be found, who likewise would diuide Philosophie into fewer things, and who would diuide it into more. Som of the Aristotelians haue added a fourth part, namely, Ciuill skill, because it desireth a certaine proper exercise, and is occupied about another matter. Certaine haue added a part vnto these, which the Grecians call οἰκονομικὴ, the knowledge of gouerning a familie. Some also haue seperated a place for the kindes of life. But is not any part of these, which is not found in that Morall part. The Epicureans haue supposed, that there be two parts of Philosophie, Naturall and Morall.

rall. The reaſoning part they haue remoued away. Then when they were conſtrained with the things themſelues to ſeperate doubtfull things, to reproue falſe things lying hid vnder the ſhew of that which is true, themſelues alſo brought in a place, which they call Concerning iudgement and rule, it beeing called Reaſonable after another name: but they ſuppoſe that place to bee an augmentation of a Naturall part. The Cyrenians tooke naturall things away together with the reaſonable, and were content with Morall: but theſe alſo, who remoue them away, doe bring them in another way. For they diuide Morall thinges into fiue partes: that one part is of things to be deſired and to bee fledde from, another of the affections, a third of the actions, a fourth of the cauſes, a fift of the arguments. Cauſes of things are from the naturall part, arguments from the reaſonable, actions from the Morall. *Ariſto Chius* not onely ſaid, that the naturall and reaſonable were ſuperfluous, but alſo contrarie, hee alſo clipped Morall Philoſophie round about, which he had left alone. For hee tooke away that place, which containeth admonitions, and ſaid, it appertained to a Tutor, and not to a Philoſopher or a louer of Wiſedome: as though that a wiſe-man is any thing elſe, then a Tutor of mankinde. Therefore ſith Philoſophie or the loue of Wiſedome is three-folde, let vs firſt beginne to diſpoſe the Morall part thereof, or that which ordereth the maners of men. Which it pleaſeth againe to be deuided into three: that the firſt might bee a contemplation diſtributing his owne to euerie man, and eſteeming how much euerie thing is worthy of; this part is moſt profitable; for what is ſo neceſſarie as to ſet prices vpon things? The ſecond part is of endeuour, the third of actions. For the firſt is, that thou iudge of how great worth euerie thing may be: the ſecond, that thou take an ordered and temperate affection to theſe things: the third, that there may be an agreement betwixt thine endeauour and action, that in all theſe things thou mayeſt agree with thy ſelfe. Whatſoeuer of theſe three ſhall bee wanting, it alſo troubleth the reſt. For what profiteth it, to haue all things iudged of within, if thou be too much in eagerneſſe? What profiteth it to haue repreſſed eagerneſſe, and to haue deſires in thine owne power, if in the verie action of things thou be ignorant of times, and knoweſt not when, and where, and how euery thing ought to be done? For it is one thing to haue knowen the worth and prices of things; another, the oportunities; another to refraine eagerneſſe, and to goe, not to ruſh to the doing of things. Therefore then is life agreeable to it ſelfe, when action hath not forſaken eagerneſſe. Eagerneſſe is conceiued from the worth of euery thing, therefore it is remiſſe or more fierce, according as that thing is worthy to be ſought for. The part of Philoſophie which teacheth concerning the nature of things is cut into two; things that haue bodies, or into thoſe that be without bodies. Both are deuided (as I may ſo ſpeake) into their owne degrees. The place of bodies into theſe firſt, namely into thoſe things which make, and thoſe things which are begotten of theſe: but the elements are begotten. The very place of an element (as ſome ſuppoſe) is ſimple, or without any mixture at all; as otherſome thinke, it is diuided into a matter, and into a cauſe mouing all things, and into the elements. It remaineth that wee diuide the reaſonable part of Philoſophie. Euerie ſpeech is eyther continued or diuided betwixt him that anſwereth and asketh. It hath pleaſed that the one ſhould be called *Dialecticke*, or the Arte of Logicke, the other *Rhetoricke*, This careth for wordes, and ſenſe, and order. *Dialecticke* is diuided into two parts; into words and ſignifications: that

is, into things which are ſpoken of, and into wordes, wherewith they are ſpoken. Then there followeth an huge diuiſion of them both: therefore I will make an end in this place.

I onely will relate
Of things their chiefeſt ſtate.

Otherwiſe, if I would make parts of parts, there will be made a book of queſtions. I ſcarre thee not, O *Lucilius*, the beſt amongſt men, from reading theſe things, ſo that whatſoeuer thou ſhalt reade, thou doe preſently referre it vnto manners. Bridle thou thoſe, ſtirre vp that which languiſheth in thee, binde that which is looſe, tame that which is ſtubborne, and vexe thy publique deſires as much as thou canſt: and theſe ſaying, How long the ſame things? Anſwere, I ought to ſay, How long will yee the ſame offend? Yee will haue the remedies to ceaſe before the vices. But I ſo much the rather will ſpeake, and becauſe yee refuſe, I will goe on. Then beginneth Phyſicke to profite, when touching cauſeth griefe in a troubled bodie. I will alſo ſpeake thoſe things which ſhall profite the vnwilling. Sometime not ſome flattering voyce ſhall come vnto you: and becauſe each of you will not heare the truth, heare it in publique. How farre will yee propagate the limits of your poſſeſſions? The ground is narrow for one Maſter, which receiued a people. How farre will yee ſtretch out your tillage, not being contented indeede with ſowing of Prouinces, to limit a meaſure of your Farmes. The runnings of famous flouds thorough the ground of priuate men, and great Riuers, and the bounds of great Nations, from the Fountaine vnto the mouth, bee yours. This alſo is too little, except yee haue compaſſed Seas with your large poſſeſſions: except your Bayliffe raigne beyond the *Hadrian*, and *Ionian*, and *Ægæum* Sea, except Ilands, the houſes of great Captaines, bee numbred amongſt the baſeſt things. Poſſeſſe ye ſo largely as ye will; let that be priuate ground, which ſometimes was an Empire: make yours whatſoeuer yee can, ſo that more belongeth to another man. Now I talke with you, whoſe riotouſneſſe is alike ſpaciouſly ſpread abroad, as the couetouſneſſe of thoſe is. I will tell you; How long ſhall be no water-lake, ouer which the height of your Villages may not hang? No ſtreame, whoſe bankes your buildings may not couer about? Whereſoeuer veynes of warme water ſhall ſpring vp, there new lodgings of ryot ſhall be builded. Whereſoeuer the ſhoare ſhall bend crookedly into ſome creeke, yee preſently will lay foundations; not being contented with ground, except yee force with hand, to driue the Sea farther in. Although your houſes glitter in all places, ſomewhere being ſet vpon Mountaines, for the vaſt proſpect both of Land and Sea: ſomewhere being reared vp from the plaine ground to the height of Mountaines; when yee haue builded manie, when yee haue builded huge things, yee are notwithſtanding but ſeuerall and ſmall bodies. What doe many chambers profite, yee lie but in one. It is not yours, whereſoeuer yee are not. Then I paſſe to you, whoſe deepe and vnſtable throate, on the one ſide ſearcheth Seas, on the other ſide ſearcheth Landes. Through great labour hee followeth after ſome creatures with hookes, ſome with ſnares, ſome with diuers kindes of Nets: no liuing creatures haue peace, except it bee by loathing and deteſting them. For how little of theſe bankets, which ye prepare through ſo many hands, doe ye taſte of with a mouth wearied with pleaſures? How little of this wilde beaſt,

taken

taken with danger, doth the maſter with a raw and loathing ſtomacke taſte of? How little of ſo many ſhel-fiſh brought from ſo far, ſlideth downe by this inſatiable ſtomacke? Vnhappie alſo ye are, becauſe yee vnderſtand not, that yee haue a greater hunger, then a belly. Tell theſe things to other men, ſo that whileſt thou telleſt them, thou mayeſt heare them thy ſelfe. Write, ſo that when thou haſt written, thou read, and referre all to the manners, and to the aſſwaging of the outrage of affections. Studie, not to know any thing more, but better to know things.

Epist. XC.

The praiſe of Philoſophy, it hath formed life, it hath framed ſocieties and Empires, it hath giuen lawes and equitie. Alſo whether Arts be profitable to life, as working with the hammer, working in Marble, in mettals, on cloathes, and ſuch like? Himſelfe denieth it, againſt Posidonivs, *and ſaith, that theſe things are inferiour to the maieſtie thereof, and that many of theſe be ſuperfluous. It manageth, and hath managed the affaires, not of the bodie, but of the minde. Alſo whether wiſe-men were in the rude age? No, but thoſe that were like to wiſe-men, by the benefit not of learning, but of nature. There are many good things amongſt theſe, and fruitfull for knowledge, and for life.*

WHo can doubt, my *Lucilius*, but that it is the gift of the immortall gods, that we liue; but of Philoſophy, that we liue well? Therefore by ſo much that we owe more to it, then to the gods, by how much more a good life is a greater benefit, then life? For certaine it ſhould be due, except the gods had giuen Philoſophie it ſelfe: the knowledge whereof they haue giuen to none, but the abilitie to all. For if they alſo had made this a common good, wee likewiſe ſhould be borne wiſe: wiſedome had loſt that which is the beſt therein, that it is not amongſt caſuall things. For now this is precious and magnificent in that, that it commeth not by chance, that euery man oweth that vnto himſelfe, that it is not ſought for from another man. What ſhouldeſt thou haue, to admire in Philoſophy, if it had beene a thing comming by gift? One worke of this is, to finde forth the truth concerning diuine and humane things: Iuſtice, Godlineſſe, Religion, and all the other traine of vertues vnited and agreeing amongſt themſelues, neuer do depart from this. This hath taught to honor diuine things, to loue humane things, and that gouernment is in the power of the gods, and that ſocietie is to be amongſt men: which ſometime remained inuiolable, before couetouſneſſe diſtracted ſocietie, and was a cauſe of pouertie euen vnto them whom it hath made rich. For they haue ceaſed to poſſeſſe all things, whileſt they would haue them to be their owne. But the firſt men, and who were begotten of theſe without corruption, followed nature, and had the ſame, both for a Captaine and law, according to the iudgement of him that was better. For it is the part of Nature to ſubmit worſer things to the better. For either the greateſt or the moſt vigorous bodies doe indeed rule ouer the dumbe flockes. A baſe Bull goeth not before, but he who hath ouercome other males in greatneſſe, and in ſtrength of limbes: the higheſt of Elephants leadeth the flocke: amongſt men for chiefeſt is he accoun-

red who is the beſt. Therefore a Gouernour was choſen by the minde: and ſo it was the chiefeſt happineſſe of the Nations; amongſt whom one could not be more mightie, except he were better. For he is able to doe ſo much as he will, who thinketh that he cannot doe, ſaue that which he ought. *Poſidonius* therefore doth iudge, that rule was in the power of wiſe-men, in that which is called the golden age. Theſe contained their hands, and defended the weaker from thoſe that were more ſtrong: they perſwaded and diſſwaded, and ſhewed both profitable and vnprofitable things. The wiſdome of theſe men prouided that nothing might be wanting vnto theirs, their fortitude kept dangers backe, their bountie encreaſed, and adorned thoſe that were ſubiect vnto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule ouer other men, but an office. No man tried how much hee was able to doe againſt them, through whom he had begun to be able to doe. Neither was there either minde or cauſe to iniurie any one, when there was good obedience to him who gouerned well, and a King could threaten nothing beſides, to thoſe who did badly obey, then that they ſhould depart out of his Kingdome. But after that, vices creeping vp, Kingdomes were turned into tyranny: there began to be need of lawes, the which were made by wiſe men at their beginning. *Solon* who founded *Athens* with equall right: amongſt the ſeuen noted for wiſdom in his age. If the ſame age had brought forth *Lycorgus*, he had beene in that holy number accounted the eight. The lawes of *Zaleucus* and of *Charondas* are praiſed; theſe learned not right at the Bar, nor at Counſellers dores, but in that ſecret and holy ſolitarie place of *Pythagaras*, which they gaue to *Sicily*, which flouriſhed then, and to *Greece* in *Italy*. Hitherto I agree to *Poſidonius*: that Arts were inuented by Philoſophy, which Arts life vſeth in continual practiſe: I wil not grant; neither that glory which is adioyned to building. That, ſaith he, taught thoſe who were ſcattered vp and downe, and couered with a cottage, or with ſome rock, vnder which they digged, or with the trunke of an hollow tree, to deuiſe houſes for them. But I iudge Philoſophy, no more to haue inuented theſe frames of one houſe ariſing vpon another, and preſſing downe Cities, then the ponds of fiſhes ſhut herein, to the end that the throat might not vndergoe perils of tempeſts, and although that the ſea were exceedingly rough, yet that riot might haue her hauens, wherein ſhe might fatten ſeuerall ſorts of fiſh. What ſayeſt thou? hath Philoſophie taught men to haue a locke and key? and what elſe was it, then to giue a ſigne to couetouſneſſe? Hath Philoſophy with ſo great perill of the inhabitants, hung vp theſe tops of houſes that hang ouer vs? For it was too little to be couered by thoſe things which by hap did befall vnto vs, and without difficultie and art to finde out ſome receptacle for our ſelues. Beleeue that age was happie, which was before builders of houſes were. Theſe things were borne when riot began to be, to hew wood into a foureſquare, and with an inſtrument of iron cutting it, as it is marked out, and to poliſh a beame with a certaine hand.

Our forefathers with wedges claue
Such wood as they then cut would haue.

For houſes were not prepared for a ſupper, which could encertaine the people: neither for this vſe were Pine or Fir-trees carried vpon a long row of carts, the ſtreets trembling thereat, whileſt from that tree, roofes being loaded with gold did hang. Forkes vnder-propped a cottage hanging downe vpon both ſides: thicke dead boughes and leaues being heaped together, and ſet a ſide-long, cauſed

ſed raine although it were great to runne of. They being ſecure, dwelled vnder theſe houſes. Thatch couered free-men, bondage enhabiteth vnder marble and gold. In that alſo I diſagree from *Poſidonius*, becauſe hee iudgeth that working-tooles were deuiſed by wiſe-men. For after this manner he might ſay, that they were wiſe, by whom

Deuis'd it was the wilde with net and gin
To take; with dogs great fields to compaſſe in.

For the craft of men, not wiſdome hath deuiſed all theſe things. In this thing alſo I diſagree, that they were wiſe-men, who inuented the metals of iron and braſſe: when the burned ground through the firing of woods had powred forth the veines that did lie aboue. Such men inuent theſe things, as honour them. This indeed ſeemeth not ſo ſubtill a queſtion to mee, as it ſeemeth to *Poſidonius*: whether the hammer or the pinſers began to be vſed firſt. One of an exerciſed, ſharpe, of no great, nor high wit found them both forth, and euery thing beſides which is to be ſought for with a bended bodie, and with a minde looking towards the earth. A wiſe-man hath beene eaſie to feed. What elſe? ſith euen alſo in this age, hee deſireth to be moſt ſoone prouided. How I pray thee agreeth it, that thou admire both *Diogenes* and *Dedalus*? Whether of theſe ſeemeth vnto thee to be wiſe, he that inuented the ſaw: or he who ſeeing a boy drinking water in his hollow hand, preſently brake a cup taken out of his bagge, thus reprouing himſelfe: How long haue I, fooliſh man, had ſuperfluous burthens? Who foulded himſelfe double in a Tub, and did lie therein? At this day whether thinkeſt thou him the wiſer man, who hath found forth, how out of ſecret pipes he may caſt forth Saffron vp to a great height; who with a ſudden force of water filleth and drieth little ſeas; who ſo coucheth together the changeable roofes of ſupping Parlors, that one faſhion after another may preſently ſucceed, and ſo often the roofe may bee changed as the diſhes themſelues: or him, who ſheweth this both to himſelfe, and to other men, that Nature hath commanded no hard or difficult thing vnto vs? That we may dwell without a cutter of marble, that we may be cloathed without traffick with the *Serians*, that we may haue neceſſary things for our vſes, if wee ſhall be content with theſe things, which the earth hath laid in the higheſt part therof? Whom if mankind would heare, they ſhould know that a Cooke were as ſuperfluous as a Souldier. They were wiſe-men, or for certaine, like vnto wiſe-men, to the bodies of whom there was a ſpeedie fence. Neceſſarie things coſt but a ſimple care: men labour for delights. Thou wilt not deſire worke-men, if thou follow nature. It would not haue vs to bee entangled, it hath furniſhed vs, vnto whatſoeuer things it hath conſtrained vs. Cold is intollerable for a naked bodie. What therefore? What, cannot the skins of wilde beaſts, and of other creatures, enough and abundantly defend vs from cold? Doe not many Nations couer their bodies with barkes of trees? Are not the feathers of birds ſewed together for the vſe of apparell? And are not at this day a great part of the Scythians couered with the skins of Foxes and of Miſe, which bee ſoft, and not to be pierced thorow by the windes? Notwithſtanding there is neede of a thicker ſhade, to driue backe the heat of the Sommer Sunne. What therefore, hath not Antiquitie hidden many places, which either by iniurie of time, or by ſome other chance being made hollow, haue retired into the forme of a den? What therefore? haue they not with their hands wouen an hurdle of twigs, and pla-

ttered it with baſe clay, then haue they not couered the top thereof with ſtubble, and with other things fetched out of the wood, and whilſt raine hath ſlidden downe by the eaues therof, haue they not in ſecurity ſpent the Winter? What therefore? doe not the Syrtick Nations lie in a place digged out of the ground? who becauſe of the toogreat heate of the Sunne, haue no couering ſufficient enough for the repelling of the heate, but the very drie ground it ſelfe? Nature was not ſo much an enemie, that ſeeing ſhe gaue an eaſie paſſage of life to all other creatures beſides, man alone ſhould not liue without ſo many Arts. None of theſe things is by it commanded vnto vs, nothing is to be ſought for with labour to prolong our life. We be borne to prepared things: we haue made all things difficult vnto vs by diſdaine of eaſie things. Houſes and clothes and nouriſhments of bodies and meates, and thoſe things which be now made a great buſineſſe were eaſie to come by, and freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the meaſure of all things was as neceſſitie required; we haue made theſe things precious, we haue made them marueilous, we haue made them to be ſought for with great and with many Arts. Nature ſufficeth to that, which it requireth. Riot hath reuolted from nature, which continually inciteth it ſelfe, and increaſeth in ſo many ages, and helpeth vices with wit. Firſt it began to deſire ſuperfluous, then contrarie things, laſt of all it ſolde the minde to the bodie, and commanded it to ſerue the luſt thereof. All theſe Arts, wherewith the Cittie is continually ſet on worke, or maketh ſuch a ſtirre, doe manage the affaires of the bodie: to which all things were once performed as to a ſeruant, but now are prouided as for a Lord. Therfore hence be the ſhops of weauers, hence of hammer-men, hence of thoſe that ſeeth perfumes, hence of thoſe that teach effeminate motions of the bodie, and effeminate and wanton ſongs. For that naturall meane hath retired backe, which finiſhed deſires with neceſſarie helpe: now is it clownilhneſſe and miſerie to be willing to haue ſo much as doth ſuffice. It is incredible, my *Lucilius*, how eaſily ſweetneſſe of ſpeech can draw from the truth, euen thoſe that be great men. Behold *Poſidonius*, as mine opinion is, one of thoſe who haue added much to Philoſophie, whilſt firſt of all he will deſcribe how ſome threeds may be hard ſpunne, and how ſome may be drawne from the ſoft and looſened tow: then how a webbe of cloth extendeth the yarne with weights hung thereon, how the woofe is wouen in to mollifie the hardneſſe of the cloth, preſſing it together on both ſides, and how the broad places may be conſtrained to come, and to be ioyned together: he alſo ſaid, that the Weauers Art was inuented by wiſe-men, forgetting this moſt ſubtile kinde, which was afterwards found out, wherein

The web is ioyn'd to beame, a ſmall ſticke doth diuide
The yarne, the midale woo'es with ſhattle ſlide,
Which teeth in ſtay of Weauers loome faſt put,
With their broad comb the wouen yarne do cut.

But if it had hapned vnto him to ſee the webs of our time, of which apparrell is made that will not couer, wherein I will not ſay, that there is no helpe to the bodie but that there is no helpe for ſhame? Then he paſſeth to husbandmen, and no leſſe eloquently deſcribeth how the ground is plowed vp, and tilled againe, to the end that the earth may more eaſily lie open to the rootes, then he deſcribeth the ſeed that is ſowen, and weedes picked out by the hand, leſt ſome caſuall and wilde thing may encreaſe vnder it, to kill the corne. This alſo, ſaith he,

he,that it is the worke of wiſe-men; as though that now alſo tillers of ground did not finde out very many new things,whereby fertilitie might be encreaſed. Then not contented with theſe Arts,ſendeth a wiſe-man downe into the hand-mill; for hee declareth how imitating the nature of things, men beganne to make bread. The hardneſſe of the teeth meeting together, one with another,breaketh,ſaith he,the corne that is receiued into the mouth, and whatſoeuer falleth from them, is brought againe by the tongue vnto the ſame teeth: then is it mingled with ſpittle,that more eaſily it might paſſe thorow the ſlipperie jawes; but when it commeth into the bellie, it is concocted with the heat of the ſtomacke,then at length commeth it to the bodie. Some following this example,laide one rough ſtone vpon another,in likeneſſe of the teeth, of which the vnmoueable part expecteth the motion of the other: then the graines are broken by the grinding of them both,and more are they turned backe againe, vntill being ground they be brought vnto meale:then ſprinckled he flower with water,and mixed it with continuall kneading, and made bread thereof; which firſt of all warme aſhes and an hote ſtonedid bake: afterwards by little and little were Ouens found forth,and other meanes,whoſe heate might ſerue,according to the pleaſure of men. There wanted not much, but that he ſaid, the Shoomakers craft to be,alſo found forth by wiſe-men.Reaſon indeed, but not right reaſon hath inuented all theſe things. Theſe are inuentions of a man not of a wiſe-man: ſo verily indeed as ſhips,by which we paſſe ouer Riuers, and by which we paſſe ouer Seas, ſailes being fitted for the receiuing of the force of windes,and a ſterne being added to the end of the poope, which hither and thither might enforce the courſe of the ſhip: and an example is drawn from fiſhes, who be ſtered by the taile,and with the ſmall force thereof do bend their ſwiftneſſe into eyther ſide. All theſe things indeede, ſaith he, did a wiſe-man finde forth,but being leſſer then that himſelfe might handle them, he gaue them to more baſe ſeruants; yet they were inuented by none other, then by ſuch as at this day take charge of them. We know that certaine things haue at length comne forth in our memory; as the vſe of windowes made of ſtone, ſending cleere light thorow them,by reaſon of a ſlate that the light ſhineth thorow: as the hanging vp of bathes,and pipes preſſed into the walls,by which heat might be diſperſed all about,which ſhould alike cheriſh at one time,both thoſe things that be below,and thoſe that be aboue. What ſhall I ſpeake of Marbles,wherwith Temples,wherewith houſes doe ſhine? What of heapes of ſtone, faſhioned to be round and ſmooth,whereof we make galleries and houſes capable to receiue whole peoples? What of the notes of words,whereby ſpeedie ſpeech is taken,and the hand followeth the ſwiftneſſe of the tongue? Theſe are the deuices of the moſt vile ſlaues: wiſedome ſitteth more deepe, neyther teacheth it the hands,it is a miſtreſſe of mindes. Wilt thou know what thing that hath found forth,or what it hath made? Not vnſeemely motions of the bodie, nor variable ſingings by the Trumpet and Flute, by which breath being receiued, eyther in the going forth, or in the paſſing thorow, is formed into voyce: nor weapons,nor walls,nor warres; it endeuoureth profitable things, it fauoureth peace,and calleth all mankinde to an agreement. It is not, I ſay, an artificer of inſtruments for neceſſarie vſes. Why aſſigneſt thou ſo ſmall things vnto it? Thou ſeeſt a framer of thy life. It hath other Arts indeede vnder rule: for he that hath life,the ornaments of life do alſo ſerue vnto him. But he tendeth to a bleſſed eſtate,to that he leadeth, to that he openeth the way. Hee ſheweth what be,and what ſeeme to be euill things.He putteth vanitie out of the mind.

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He giueth ſolid greatneſſe: but he repreſſeth that which is puffed vp, and beautifull to be ſeene, through that which is vaine: neyther ſuffereth hee to be vnknowne, what difference there is betwixt great and ſwelling things; he deliuereth the knowledge of all nature, and of his owne. He declareth what the gods, and of what manner they be; what be the infernall, what the houſhold and the genies be: what be thoſe euerlaſting ſoules, hauing the ſecond nature of deities, where they abide, what they doe, what they can, what they will. This is the initiation of him, whereby not a priuate hallowed place, but the huge Temple of all the gods, euen this world is laid open: whoſe true images, and true repreſentations he hath brought forth to be ſeene in the ſoules of men: for the ſight is dull vnto ſo great ſights. Then it returneth to the beginning of things, and to eternall reaſon infuſed into the whole, and to the force of all ſeedes properly figuring euery thing. Then hee beginneth to enquire of the minde, whence it was, where, how long, and in how many parts it is diuided. Then from corporall hee hath tranſlated himſelfe to incorporall things, and hath examined the truth, and the arguments of them: after theſe, how the doubts of life and of death ſhould be diſcerned. A wiſe-man withdraweth not himſelfe, I ſay, as it ſeemeth to *Poſidonius*, from theſe Arts, but not at all commeth he vnto them. For hee had iudged nothing worthy of inuention, which he would not iudge worthy of perpetuall vſe. He would not take vp things to be laid down. *Anacharſis*, ſaith he, found out the Potters-wheele by the turning whereof veſſels be faſhioned. Then becauſe that the Potters wheele is found in *Homer*, he had rather that the verſes ſhould ſeeme to be falſe, then a fable. I do not contend, that *Anacharſis* was the author of this thing: and if he was, a wiſe-man indeed inuented it, but not as being a wiſe-man: as wiſe-men doe many things, as they be men, not as they be wiſe-men. Suppoſe that a wiſe-man is exceeding ſwift, hee will excell all in running, as hee is ſwift, not as he is wiſe. I would deſire to ſhew ſome glaſſe-maker to *Poſidonius*, who with breath faſhioneth glaſſe into many formes, which would ſcarce bee framed by a diligent hand. Theſe things are found out, ſince wee haue ceaſed to finde out a wiſe-man. *Democritus* himſelfe is ſaid to haue found out the Arch of ſtone, that the bending of ſtones by little and little declining on one ſide, might be faſtened to a ſtone in the middeſt. I ſay, that this is falſe. For it is needfull that before *Democritus*, both bridges and gates were, whoſe tops for the moſt part are crooked. Furthermore, yee haue forgotten, how the ſame *Democritus* found out, how Iuory ſhould be poliſhed, how a well purged ſtone ſhould be turned into Emrold, by which purging euen at this day, ſtones profitable in this kind being found out, are coloured. Although that a wiſe-man hath found out theſe things, yet found he not them out as he is a wiſe-man: for he doth many things, which we ſee as well to be done, euen by thoſe that are moſt vnwiſe, but either more skilfully or more practically. Seekeſt thou what a wiſe-man hath found out, what he hath brought forth into light? Firſt the nature of things, which he hath looked vpon, as other liuing creatures haue done, with eyes ſlow to diuine things. Then the law of life, which hee hath directed according to all things: neither only hath he taught to know, but to follow the gods, and to receiue accidents no otherwiſe then commands. He hath forbidden to obey falſe opinions, and he hath weighed with true eſtimation, of how great worth euery thing was: hee hath condemned pleaſures mixed with repentance. And hath praiſed good things which will alwaies pleaſe, and hath made apparent, that he is the happieſt man, who hath no need of happineſſe: that he is the moſt mighty

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tie man who hath power ouer himſelfe. I ſpeake not of that Philoſophie, which hath placed a Citizen out of his countrey, gods out of the world, which hath giuen vertue to pleaſure: but concerning that, which ſuppoſeth that there is no good thing, ſaue that which is honeſt, which cannot be mollified neither by the gifts of man, nor of Fourtune; the price of whom is this, not to be able to be taken with any price. I doe not ſuppoſe that this Philoſophie was in that rude age, wherein as yet workmanſhip was wanting, and they learned profitable things by vſe it ſelfe: as before thoſe fortunate times, when benefits of Nature did lie to be vſed in common, before couetouſneſſe and riot had ſeuered mortall men, and that by conſort they ran out to ſpoile, they were not wiſemen, although they did things to be done by thoſe that are wiſe. Certainly not any one ſhall more admire any other eſtate; neither if God permitted him to faſhion earthly things, and to giue manners to the Nations, ſhall allow any other thing, then that which is remembred to haue beene amongſt them, with whom

The ground then none did plow, none might diuide
Land that to him alone might then betide.
The earth it ſelfe in common all did lie;
No toiling was, but things to grow did hie.

What was more happie then that kinde of men? They enioyed the nature of things in common: that ſufficed to be a parent for the defence of all: this was the ſecure poſſeſſion of publike wealth. Why haue I not ſaid that, that kinde of mortall men was the richeſt of all, wherein thou couldeſt not finde one that was poore? Couetouſneſſe brake into things that were ſetled exceeding well: and whileſt it deſired to take ſomewhat apart, and to turne it to the vſe of it ſelfe, it hath made all things other mens, and from being vnmeaſurable, hath brought them into a ſtrait, and hath brought in pouertie, and by coueting many things, hath loſt all things. Therefore although it ſhould now conuert and repaire that which it hath loſt; although it ſhould adde fields vnto fields, and driue out neighbours from their lands, either by price, or wrong; although it ſhould enlarge grounds to be as bigge as prouinces; and call a long wandering through their owne, a poſſeſſion: yet no enlarging of limits ſhall bring vs thither, whence we haue departed. When we haue done all, we ſhall haue much; whereas we had all. The earth it ſelfe was more fertill without labour, and was large for the vſe of the people who robbed it not. Whatſoeuer Nature had brought forth, it was a pleaſure no leſſe to haue found it out, then to ſhew the inuention to another: neither could there be either too much or too little to any one: it was diuided amongſt thoſe that did agree. As yet the ſtronger had not laid hand vpon the weaker, as yet a couetous man did not by hiding that which did lie vp for him, alſo exclude another from neceſſary things. There was the like care of another, and of a mans owne ſelfe. Weapons did ceaſe, and hands were not tainted with humane bloud; they turned all their hatred vpon beaſts. They whom ſome thicke wood had couered from the Sunne, who liued ſafe vnder leaues in a baſe cottage, againſt the rigor of Winter or of raine, paſſed ouer pleaſant nights, without ſighing. Carefulneſſe, toſſeth vs in our purple and ſtirreth vs vp with moſt ſharpe prickes; the hard ground gaue ſoft ſleepe vnto them. Carued roofes did not hang ouer them, but they lying in the open aire, the ſtarres did ſlide ouer them, and the notable ſpectacle of the nights,

nights, the world was driuen on apace, leading ſo great a worke with ſilence: as well by day, as by night, the proſpect of this moſt beautifull houſe did lie open: one might behold the ſignes, declining from the middle part of heauen, and againe ſome ariſing from their hidden place. How could it not but delight to wander amongſt miracles that be ſo largely ſpread abroad? But yee be afraid of euery ſound of the houſes, and if any thing make a noiſe amongſt your pictures, yee flee away aſtoniſhed. They had not houſes like Cities. The aire and winde was free in open places, and the light ſhade of a rocke or of a tree, and very cleare fountaines, and riuers not made ſtale by any worke, nor by a conduit, nor by any conſtrained courſe, but running of their owne accord, and meadowes beautifull without arte, amongſt theſe things there is country little houſes, reared vp by a ruſticall hand. This houſe was according to Nature, wherein one might be lawfull to dwell, neither fearing it, nor for it; now houſes be a great part of our feare. But although a notable, and a life wanting deceit was vnto them, yet were they not wiſe-men, ſith now this is a name in greateſt worke. Notwithſtanding I deny not that they were men of an high ſpirit, and freſhly ſprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet waſted in ſtrength ſent forth better things. But as wit was more valiant in all, and more prepared for labours; ſo wits were not conſummated in all things. For Nature giueth not vertue; it is a skill to be made good. They indeed did not ſeeke for gold, nor ſiluer, nor gliſtering ſtones ſhining amongſt the loweſt dregs of the earth, yea as yet they euen ſpared dumbe creatures: ſo farre was it off, that a man not angry ſhould kill a man not fearing; onely comming to ſee him, ſhould kill any one. Not as yet any one had garniſhed apparell, as yet gold was not wouen in; as yet it was not delued out. What therefore? they were innocent in ignorance of things: but there is much difference, whether one will not, or know not to ſinne. Iuſtice was wanting to them, wiſedome was wanting, temperance and fortitude was wanting. A rude life had certaine things like vnto all theſe vertues: vertue befalleth not but to a minde inſtructed and taught, and brought to the higheſt by continuall exerciſe. Furthermore, indeed we are borne to this, but without this: and alſo in the beſt, before thou inſtruct, there is matter of vertue, not vertue it ſelfe.

Epist. XCI.

The doleſull and ſudden burning of the Colony at Lyons: by calling in of that, we are to thinke of ſudden things, and which may fall forth to a man. Hee ſetteth before our eyes the vncertaintie and variableneſſe of things: the greateſt and moſt firme things may be diminiſhed, changed, withdrawne, by earth-quake, waters and fire. All mortall things are condemned to periſh. Therefore neither death nor infamie is to be feared by a man.

VR *Liberalis* is now ſad, the fire, wherewith the Colony at Lyons was burned vp, being related vnto him. This accident might moue any man, much more one who loueth his country exceeding much. Which thing cauſeth to ſeeke out the reſolution of ones minde, namely, which he hath exerciſed, for thoſe things which he ſuppoſed might be feared: but I wonder not, if this ſo vnthought of miſchiefe, and almoſt vnheard of hath not beene without feare, ſith it was without

out example. For fire hath vexed many Cities, it hath destroyed none. For also where fire is set vpon houses by the enemies hand, it faileth in many places: and although forthwith it bee raised vp againe, notwithstanding seldome doth it so deuoure all, that nothing be left to the sword. Scarce also at any time hath there beene so grieuous and so pernicious an earth-quake, as to ouerthrow whole Townes. Lastly, neuer hath there any where beene so terrible a fire, that nothing remained to another burning. One night hath laide along so many most faire workes, euerie one of which might haue made seuerall Cities to haue beene famous; and it falleth forth in so great peace, as could not indeed be feared in warre. Who can beleeue this? that armes being quiet euery where, when securitie is spread abroad throughout the whole earth, Lyons that was pointed at in Gaule, is sought for. Fortune hath permitted all, whom publiquely it hath afflicted, to feare that which they were to suffer: no great thing but hath had some space of the ruine thereof. In this there was onely one night betweene a great Citie and none at all. To conclude, I am longer in telling thee that it hath perished, then it was in perishing. O *Liberalis*, all these things incline our affection to be firme and vndaunted against the euils thereof. Neyther is it striken without a cause. Vnexpected things doe aggrauate the more: noueltie addeth weight to miseries: neyther any man but hath the more grieued at that thing which he hath admired. Therefore nothing ought to be vnprouided for by vs: the minde is to be sent before vnto all things: and wee must thinke, not whatsoeuer is accustomed, but whatsoeuer may be done. For what is it, that fortune cannot when she will, take away euen from the most flourishing? which he cannot by so much the more assault and shake, by how much it shineth the more beautifully, What is hard, or what is difficult vnto her? Not alwayes one way, nor all of her runneth vpon vs. Sometimes she calleth for our owne hands vpon vs, sometimes contented with her owne strength, shee findeth forth dangers without an author. No time is expected, in pleasures themselues causes of dolour doe arise. Warre ariseth in the middest of peace, and the helpes of securitie passe ouer into feare. He is an enemie from a friend, a foe from a fellow. The calmes of summer is driuen into sudden tempests and those which be greater the winter storms. Without an enemie we suffer hostile things; and too great felicitie hath found forth causes of slaughter vnto it self, if other things faile. Diseases set vpon the most temperate, the consumption vpon the strongest, punishment vpon the most innocent, tumult vpon the most secret. Chance chuseth some new thing by which as it were forgetting, she reneweth her owne strength. Whatsoeuer long continuance of many labours, and much fauour of God hath builded vp, one day scattereth and dissipateth it. He gaue long delay to euils hasting on, who hath said that a day, an houre and a moment of time sufficeth for the ouerthrowing of Empires. There were some comfort to our weakenesse, and to our affaires, if all things were repaired with so great speed as they be finished by. Now increasings goe softly, but they make hast to losse: nothing in priuate, nothing in publique is firme: as well the destinies of men as of Cities are turned about. Feare neerly attendeth the choysest pleasure; & although there are no occasions of troubles outwardly, mischiefes breake forth from such places where they were least expected. These Kingdomes which stood both in ciuill and forraine warres, are ruined without any opposition. What Common-wealth could support her felicitie? Al things therfore are to be thought vpon, and the minde is to be confirmed against those things that may happen. Thinke vpon exiles, torments, warres, sickenesses and ship-

ſhipwrackes. Fortune may bereaue thee of thy countrey, and thy countrey of thee: ſhe can caſt thee into a deſert, ſhe can make that place deſolate, wherein the people is almoſt ſtifled with thronging. Let the whole condition of mans life be ſet before our eyes, and let vs conſider in our mindes (if we would not be oppreſſed, neither ſtupified with any vnuſuall miſeries, as if they were new) not how much happeneth oftentimes, but how much may for the moſt part fall out. We muſt wholly apprehend the inconſtancie of the affaires of this world. How often haue the Cities of Aſia & Achaia bin ruinated by one earthquake? How many Cities in Syria, and how much hath the earth deuoured in Macedon? How often hath this miſerie afflicted Cyprus? how often hath Paphos beene buried in her owne ruines? Oftentimes haue wee heard newes of the deſtructions of whole Cities, and we amongſt whom theſe rumours are ordinarily ſpread; how ſmall a part are we of all things? Let vs therefore erect our ſelues againſt aduerſities, and whatſoeuer thing may happen, let vs know that it is not ſo great as is reported. A rich Citie, the ornament of all thoſe Prouinces, into the which it was inſerted and receiued by them, being built vpon a hill, and that not ouer-high is burned. And time alſo ſhall conſume the very foundations of all theſe Cities, which now thou heareſt praiſed for their magnificence and riches. Seeſt thou not how in Achaia the foundations of famous Cities are conſumed? and that nothing is extant wherby it may be knowne that in times paſt they haue beene. Not onely thoſe things which are framed by hand doe periſh. Not onely ſuch things as mans Art and induſtry hath planted doth time ouerturne, but the mountain tops moulder, and whole regions are come to nought. Thoſe places are couered with the ſea that ſtood far off from the ſight of the ſame. The fire hath conſumed the Mountaines from the hollow wherof it flamed out. And in times paſt hath eaten away the higheſt Promontories which were a ſollace to Sailers, & brought the proudeſt hills to humble ſhoars. The very workes of nature are vexed, and therefore ought we to ſuffer patiently the deſtruction of Cities. All things that ſtand muſt fall, and an end remaineth to all things: whether the windes ſhut in by an internall force and blaſt haue ſhaken of the weight vnder which they be held; or the force of flouds in ſecret, hath throwne downe thoſe things that ſtand againſt them; or the violence of flames hath broken the ioyning together of the ground; or oldneſſe, from which nothing is ſafe, hath by little and little ouercome them: or the vnwholeſomneſſe of the skie hath caſt out people, and ſituation hath corrupted deſerts. It is a long thing to reckon vp all the wayes of the deſtinies. This one thing I know, that all the workes of mortall men are condemned by mortalitie. We liue amongſt thoſe things that periſh. Theſe and ſuch like comforts I apply to our *Liberalis*, he being ſet on fire with a certaine burning loue to his countrey; which peraduenture is conſumed, that it might be the better builded vp. Oftentimes iniurie hath made place to greater fortune. Many things haue fallen that they might riſe higher and greater. *Timagines* an enemy to the proſperitie of the Citie, did ſay, that he grieued at the firing of Rome for this one thing becauſe he knew that better would riſe againe, then had been burned. In this Citie alſo it is very like, that all will ſtriue, that greater and more certaine things may be reſtored then they haue loſt. I wiſh that they may be more long-laſting and builded with better ſignes of lucke for a longer age to come. For the hundreth yeare is ſcarce to this Colonie from the beginning thereof, an age ſcarce long enough for a man. It being lead forth into this frequencie, waxed well againe with the oportunitie of the place: which notwithſtanding hath ſuffered

fered moſt grieuous chances within the ſpace of the olde age of a man. Therefore let the minde be framed to vnderſtanding, and to patience of her lot, and let her know, that there is nothing which fortune dare not doe. That ſhe hath the ſame right againſt Empires, which ſhe hath againſt thoſe that doe rule: that ſhe can doe the ſame againſt Cities, that ſhe doth againſt men. None of theſe things is to be fretted at. We haue entred into that world, wherein men liue by theſe lawes. Pleaſeth it? Obey. Pleaſeth it not? Depart which way thou wil. Be angry, if any thing be fooliſhly, vniuſtly reſolued vpon by thy ſelfe. But if this neceſſitie tyeth the higheſt and loweſt, therefore returne into fauour with deſtiny, by which all things are diſſolued. There is no cauſe that thou meaſure vs with Tombes, and with theſe Monuments, which being of vnequall bigneſſe, doe compaſſe the way about. The duſt maketh all equall. We are borne vnlike, we die alike. The ſame I ſay of Citties, that of the inhabitants of Citties. As well was Ardea taken, as Rome. That maker of mankinde hath not diſtinguiſhed vs by birth, nor by famouſneſſe of names, no longer then we be. But when we come to the end of mortall things: O ambition, ſaith he, depart thou; let there be the ſame law to all things which preſſe the earth. We be alike to the ſuffering of all things. No man is more fraile then another, no man is more certaine of his owne vntill next day. *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians, began like a wretch to learne Geometry, that he might know how little the earth was whereof he had poſſeſſed very little. Thus, I ſay, like a wretch for this, becauſe he was to vnderſtand that hee did beare a falſe ſirname. For who can be great in ſo ſmall a thing? Thoſe things that were deliuered were ſubtile, and to be learned by diligent attention: not which that mad man could perceiue, who ſent his thoughts beyond the Ocean, Sea. Teach me, ſaith he, eaſie things. To whom his Maſter ſaid; Theſe things be the ſame, and alike difficult vnto all. Thinke thou that the nature of things ſaith this. Theſe things whereof thou complaineſt, they are the ſame vnto all: more eaſie things can be giuen vnto none; but whoſoeuer will, ſhall make thoſe things more eaſie vnto himſelfe. How? With vprightneſſe of minde. It is meet both that thou grieue, and thirſt, and be hungry, and waxe olde, and if longer ſtay amongſt men befall vnto thee, that thou be ſicke, and loſe ſomewhat and doe periſh. Notwithſtanding there is no cauſe that thou mayeſt beleeue theſe things which make a noiſe about thee. None of theſe things is bad, nothing intollerable or hard. Feare is from conſent vnto theſe things. Thus thou feareſt death as report. But what is more fooliſh then a man fearing words? Our *Demetrius* is accuſtomed elegantly to ſay, that the ſpeeches of the vnskilfull are as much eſteemed by him, as is the breaking of winde. For what difference, ſaith he, is there vnto me, whether that theſe doe make a noyſe from aboue or from below. How great madneſſe is it to be affraide, leſt thou be diſcredited by thoſe that haue no credite? As ye haue feared fame without cauſe, ſo alſo thoſe things, which ye ſhould neuer feare, except fame had commanded it. What ſhall a good man ſuffer loſſe, being beſpotted with vniuſt reports? Neither indeed let this hurt death in the iudgement of vs: for this alſo endeuoureth that which is bad. None of them who accuſe it, haue tried it. In the meane ſpace it is raſhneſſe to condemne that which thou knoweſt not. But thou knoweſt that, how profitable to many it is, how many it freeth from torments, from pouertie, from complaints, from puniſhments, from tediouſneſſe. We are not in the power of any thing, ſith death is in our owne power.

Epist. XCII.

That reason rule thin man, and that all things are to be referred to this, and that blessed life is in that being perfect. That externall things haue light or no weight. Also that pleasure is of no moment, it is the good of vnreasonable creatures. And yet that externall things may be assumed, which are according to nature; but with iudgement: and that this then is good in them, to be well chosen. Neuertheless also without them, that one is blessed, yea most blessed by vertue alone. These things may befall: yet being added, they doe not encrease, nor being taken away doe decrease blessednesse: against which no time can doe any thing. That wee are to be made like to God, and that we goe to him.

I Thinke that thou and I agree of this, that externall things are gotten for the body, and that the body is reuerenced for the honour of the minde, that there bee seruile parts in the minde, whereby wee bee mooued and nourished, giuen vnto vs for that principall thing. In this principall there is somewhat that is vnreasonable and reasonable. That serueth to this. This is one thing, that is not referred vnto any besides: but it carrieth all things vnto it selfe. For also that diuine reason is set ouer all things, it selfe is vnder none. And also this of ours is the same, because it is from it. If we agree amongst our selues concerning this, it followeth also that we agree concerning that, that blessed life is placed in this one thing, that reason may be perfect in vs. For this alone submitteth not the minde, it standeth against Fortune. In euery habit of things, it being preserued, preserueth. But that is the onely good, which is neuer broken off. He, I say, is blessed, whom nothing maketh lesser; he holdeth the chiefe, and leaneth not indeed vpon any thing, saue vpon himselfe, For he may fall, who is sustained by the helpe of another. If it be otherwise, those things that be not ours shall begin to preuaile much in vs. But who shall stand by Fortune, or what wise-man admireth himselfe for those things that bee others? What is blessed life? securitie and perpetuall tranquillitie. The greatnesse of the minde will giue this, and a firme constancie of a thing well iudged of. But how come we to this? If all veritie be throughly looked vpon; if an order, manner, comlinesse, and an hurtlesse will, or that wich is bountifull, and bent to reason, and neuer departing from it, being both louely, and to be admired, be preserued in the doing of things. Lastly, that I may briefely write the forme vnto thee, such ought the minde of a wise-man to bee, as may become a god. What can he desire, to whom all honest things doe befall? For if things that be not honest, can conferre any thing to the best estate, blessed life shall be in those things, without which it is not. And what is more foolish or more dishonest, then to tie the good of a reasonable soule vnto vnreasonable things? Notwithstanding, some iudge the chiefest good to be encreased, because it is scarce full, casuall things resisting it. *Antipater* also amongst the great Authors of this sect, saith, that himselfe giueth somewhat to externall things, but very little. But thou seest what manner of thing it is, not to be contented with day light, except some pettie fire shined vnto vs. What moment in this clearenesse of the Sunne can a sparke of fire haue? If thou art not contented with honestie alone it is needfull that thou wilt haue quiet to be added thereunto, which the Grecians call *hesychian*, or pleasure. The one of these things how-

howſoeuer may be receiued. For the minde is voide of trouble, being free to the beholding of the vniuerſe, and nothing calleth it away from the contemplation of Nature. That other thing, namely, pleaſure is the good of a beaſt. We adde an vnreaſonable thing to that which is reaſonable, a diſhoneſt thing to that which is honeſt. Doth the tickling of the body cauſe a happy life? Why therefore doubt ye to ſay, that a man is well, if his taſte be well? And numbreſt thou him, I doe not ſay, amongſt men, but amongſt mankinde, whoſe chiefeſt good conſiſteth of taſtes, and colours, and ſounds? Let that creature which is borne to eate, onely depart from that moſt beautifull number of liuing creatures, and next vnto the gods, and let him be numbred with brute beaſts. The vnreaſonable part of the minde hath two parts: the one couragious, ambitious, vnbridled, placed in the affections: the other baſe, languiſhing, giuen vnto pleaſures. They haue left that vnbridled, but better, certainely more valiant and more worthie a man: and haue thought this feeble and abiect to be neceſſarie to a bleſſed life. They haue commanded reaſon to ſerue this, and haue made that which is demiſſe and ignoble, to be the good of a moſt generous creature. Furthermore, it is mixed, and monſtrous, and framed of the diuers agreeing members of liuing creatures. For as our *Virgil* ſaith of *Sylla*:

A womans face and virgins breaſts moſt faire
Vntill her middle-part: after ſhe bare
Fiſh-like, a bodie vaſt with Dolphines tailes,
And many a woluiſh paunch with her ſhe trailes.

But although that fierce, horrible, and ſwift liuing creatures are ioyned to this *Sylla*, yet of what monſters haue theſe men compounded wiſdome? The firſt part of a man is vertue it ſelfe; the brittle and fading fleſh, and apt onely to receiue meates, as *Poſidonius* ſaith, is committed vnto this. That diuine vertue endeth in a mutable thing; and a ſluggiſh and decaying liuing creature is adioyned to the higher, venerable, and heauenly parts thereof. That reſt how quiet ſoeuer gaue of it ſelfe nothing indeed to the minde, but remoued impediments. Pleaſure of it owne accord diſſolueth and mollifieth all ſtrength. What ſo diſagreeing coniunction of bodies amongſt themſelues ſhall bee found? A moſt ſluggiſh thing is adioyned to that which is moſt valiant; ſcarce ſerious things to that which is moſt ſeuere, euen a diſtemperate and confuſed thing to that which is moſt holy. What therefore, ſaith he, if good health, and quiet, and a wanting of griefes ſhall no wayes hinder vertue, wilt thou not ſeeke for thoſe things? What elſe but that I ſhould ſeeke? Not becauſe they be good, but becauſe they be according to nature, and becauſe with good iudgement they be taken by me. What good then ſhall there be in them? this one, to bee choſen well. For when I take ſuch a garment as is meete, when I walke as is requiſite; when I ſup as I ought: not the ſupper, or walking, or apparell are good things, but my purpoſe in theſe of keeping a meane agreeable vnto reaſon in euery thing. Yea now I will adde, the choice of neat apparell is to bee deſired by a man. For man is by nature a neat and an elegant liuing creature. Therefore neat apparrell is not a good thing by it ſelfe, but the choice of neat apparrell; becauſe it is not good in the thing, but in the choice: becauſe our actions be honeſt, not thoſe things that are acted. That which I haue ſpoken of apparrell, ſuppoſe that I haue ſpoken the ſame concerning the bodie. For Nature hath alſo compaſſed the minde with this, as a certaine apparrell, it is the cloa-

thing thereof. But who at any time hath esteemed his apparrell by a chest? A sheath maketh the sword to be neither good nor bad. I also do answere thee the same concerning the bodie: I would take indeed, if choise be giuen, both health and strength. But my iudgment concerning them, and not they themselues, shal be that which is good. A wise-man is blessed indeed, saith hee; notwithstanding, he obtaineth not that chiefest good, except also that naturall instruments be correspondent vnto him. Thus wretched indeed he cannot be, who hath vertue: but he is not most blessed, who is forsaken of naturall good things, as of health, and of soundnesse of members. Thou granteſt that which seemeth more incredible, that one is not miserable in the greatest and in continuall dolors, yea also that he is blessed: thou denyest that which is more light, that hee is most blessed. But if vertue can cause that a man bee not miserable, it will more easily cause that he be most blessed. For lesse distance remaineth from blessed to most blessed, then from miserable to blessed. Or what thing preuaileth so much, that it may place him amongst the blessed, who is taken from calamities: can it not adde that which remaineth, to make him most blessed? Faileth it in the highest top? Commodities and discommodities are in life; both are without vs. If a good man be not miserable, although he be pressed with all discommodities; how is he not most blessed, although he be destitute of some commodities? For euen as he is not depressed with a burthen of discommodities, to be euen a miserable man; so is he not led with want of commodities, from being a most blessed man. But as well he is most blessed without commodities, as he is not miserable by discommodities. Cannot his good be taken from him, if it can be diminished? A little before I said, that a small fire helpeth not the light of the Sunne. For whatsoeuer shineth without it, is hid with the clearnesse thereof. But certaine things, saith he, doe also hinder the Sunne. But the force and the light of the Sunne is whole, euen amongst opposite things: and although somewhat may lie betweene, which may hinder vs from the sight of it, yet is it in worke, and is carried in his owne course So often as it hath shined amongst the clouds, it is no lesse, nor slow indeede, then when it shineth bright, because there is great difference, whether that somewhat doe only stand against or hinder. After the same sort opposite things detract nothing from vertue. It is not lesse, but shineth lesse: peraduenture it so appeareth not, nor shineth vnto vs: it is the same vnto it selfe, and after the fashion of the obscured Sunne, doth in secret exercise her force. Therefore calamities, and losses, and iniuries, can doe this against vertue, that a small cloud can doe against the Sunne. There is found, who saith, that a wise-man hauing scarce good health, is neither miserable nor blessed. Hee also is deceiued; for hee matcheth casuall things with vertues, and giueth so much to honest things, as to things wanting honestie. But what is more filthie, what is more vnworthie, then to compare venerable things with those that are base? For faith, iustice, pietie, fortitude, prudence, are venerable things: on the contrarie, those bee vile, which doe befall more full to the most base, namely, a sound thigh, and arme, and teeth, and the health and strength of these. Againe, if a wise man who hath a diseased body, shall bee accounted neither miserable nor blessed, but shall bee left in the middest: his life also shall neither bee to bee desired nor to be fled from. But what is so absurde, as that a wise mans life should not bee desired? and what is so without credit, as that there is a life which is not to be desired, or to be fledde from? Then if the losses of the bodie doe not make miserable, they suffer to bee blessed. For they vvhich haue not povver of

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tranſlating into a worſer eſtate, haue not power indeede of hindering the beſt eſtate. We know, ſaith he, that ſomewhat is hot, and ſomewhat cold: and that luke-warme is betwixt them both. So one is bleſſed, and another miſerable; another neyther miſerable nor bleſſed. I will diligently ſearch this Image that is ſet againſt vs. If I ſhall put more cold into that luke-warme, it will bee made cold: if I ſhall power on more warme, it ſhall at laſt bee made warme. But how much ſoeuer I ſhall adde to the miſeries of this man, who is neither miſerable nor bleſſed, hee ſhall not bee miſerable, as yee ſay, therefore this ſimilitude is vnlike. Then I deliuer to thee a man neyther miſerable nor bleſſed: I adde blindeneſſe to him, he is not made miſerable: I adde weakneſſe, hee is not made miſerable: I adde continuall and grieuous dolours, hee is not made miſerable. Whom ſo many euils tranſlate not into a miſerable life, they doe not indeede leade him from a bleſſed life. If a wiſe-man, as yee ſay, cannot fall from being bleſſed, to bee miſerable, hee cannot fall into not bleſſed. For why ſhould hee, who hath begunne to ſlide, ſtay any where? That thing which ſuffered him not to bee rolled to the bottome, keepeth him in the toppe. But why cannot a bleſſed life be vndone? indeede it cannot be leſſened; and therefore vertue it ſelfe, by it ſelfe, is ſufficient vnto it. What therefore, ſaith hee, is not a wiſe-man more bleſſed, who hath liued longer, whom no dolour hath called away: then hee who oftentimes hath wraſtled with bad ſucceſſe? Anſwere mee: Is hee not both better and honeſter? If theſe things bee not, hee is not more bleſſed indeede. It is meete that hee liue more rightly, that hee may liue more bleſſedly: if hee cannot liue more rightly, hee cannot liue more bleſſedly indeede. Vertue is not augmented: therefore not a bleſſed life indeede which is from vertue. For vertue is ſo great a good thing, that it feeleth not theſe ſmall additions, namely, ſhortneſſe of life, and dolour, and diuers diſcommodities of the bodie. For pleaſure is not worthie, to which it may haue reſpect. What is the chiefeſt in vertue? Not to neede a future thing, nor to reckon his dayes. In whatſoeuer time yee will, eternall good maketh abſolutely perfect. Theſe things ſeeme incredible vnto vs, and running out aboue humane nature. For we meaſure the maieſtie thereof by our weakeneſſe, and wee put the name of vertue vpon our vices. What furthermore, ſeemeth it not alike incredible, that one being placed in greateſt torments, ſhould ſay, I am bleſſed? But this voice is heard in the verie ſhoppe of pleaſure: *I liue*, ſaith EPICVRVS, *this moſt bleſſed and laſt day:* when on the one ſide difficultie of making water tormented him, and on the other ſide an incurable dolour of an exulcerated belly tormented him. Why therefore are theſe things incredible with them, who embrace vertue: ſith alſo they are found amongſt them, ouer whom pleaſure ruleth? Theſe degenerate alſo and of a moſt baſe minde ſay, that a wiſe-man ſhall not be miſerable, nor bleſſed, in greateſt dolours, in greateſt calamities. But this alſo is incredible, yea more incredible. For I ſee not, how vertue being caſt from her owne height, how it may not bee driuen into the loweſt. It eyther ought to make bleſſed; or if it be driuen from this, it ſhall not forbid to be made wretched. He that ſtandeth cannot be ouercome: it is requiſite that eyther hee be ouercomne, or ouercome. Both vertue and bleſſed life befalleth to the immortall gods alone: a certain ſhadow and ſimilitude of thoſe good things be vnto vs. We come to thoſe things, we attaine them not. But reaſon is common to gods and men: this is conſummated in them, it is conſummable in vs. But our vices draw vs to deſpaire. For that other ſecond man, as one ſcarce conſtant to keepe

the beſt things, whoſe iudgement as yet ſlideth and is uncertaine, deſireth the ſenſe of the eyes and of the eares, good health, and no ill-fauoured aſpect of the body, and abiding in his faſhion and furthermore, a longer ſpace of life. By this he may bee buſied in things not to bee repented of, according as an vnperfect man may. There is a certaine force in this badneſſe, whereby it maketh the minde prone to bad things: he worketh wanting badneſſe, and that working is different from that which is good. As yet he is not good, but is faſhioned for good: but whoſoeuer wanteth any good thing, is bad.

If preſent vertue and a minde
In any man thou ſhalt forth finde;

He matcheth the gods, he ſtriueth thither being mindefull of his originall. No man doth wickedly endeuour to aſcend thither, whence he had deſcended. But what is it, why thou eſteemeſt not, that there is ſome diuine thing in him, who is a part of God? All this wherein we are contained, both is one thing, and is God: and we are the fellowes and the members of him. Our minde is capable; it is carried thither, if vices preſſe it not downe. As the ſhape of our bodies is lifted vp, and looketh towards heauen: ſo the ſoule, to which ſo much as it will, it is lawfull to be ſtretched forth, is faſhioned for this by nature, to will things equall to the gods, and ſo to vſe her ſtrength, and to extend her ſelfe into her owne ſpace. For if it endeuoured to the higheſt by force of another, it were great labour, to goe into heauen: it returneth, when it hath gon this iourney, it goeth boldly, and is a contemner of all things, neither hath it reſpect to mony: gold and ſiluer are moſt worthy of that darkneſſe wherein they haue lien, it eſteemeth not this glittering, wherewith they ſtrike the eyes of the vnskilfull: it knoweth that they be digged out of the mud, from the which our couetouſneſſe hath ſeparated and digged them vp. It knoweth, I ſay, that riches are ſeated ſome where elſe, then where they are heaped vp; the minde, not the cheſt ought to be filled. One may ſet this ouer the rule of all things, one may bring this into the poſſeſſion of nature, as being his owne. Let the Eaſt and Weſt be his limit, and let him poſſeſſe all things after the manner of the gods; let him from aboue deſpiſe rich men with their riches: of whom none is ſo ioyfull in his owne, as ſorrowfull at another mans. When he hath lifted vp himſelfe into this loftineſſe, he is alſo not a louer, but a manager of the bodie, as of a neceſſarie burthen: neither ſubiecteth he himſelfe to that, ouer which hee is ſet. No man is free who ſerueth the bodie: for to paſſe by other maſters, whom too great care for it hath found forth, the command of it is auſtere and delicate. Sometime it departeth from this with an vpright minde, ſometime it breaketh from it with a great minde; neither ſeeketh it what end there ſhall be afterwards to the remainders thereof. But as wee neglect the haires that be ſhauen from the beard; ſo that diuine minde being to depart out of a man, iudgeth that it no more pertaineth to himſelfe, how his receptacle be beſtowed, whether the fire burne it vp, or the beaſts pluck it aſunder, or the earth couer it, no more then the ſecondines pertaine to an infant new borne. Whether when it is caſt out, the birds carry it aſunder, or it be conſumed.

When caſt it is away
To Sea-dogges for a pray,

What is it to him? Who then alſo whileſt he is amongſt men, feareth no threats:

ſhall

ſhall he after death feare any threats of them, whom we ſcarce ought to feare vntill death? The hooke, ſaith he, ſhall not teare me, nor the rending of my dead carcaſſe caſt out to reproach, although loathſome to them that ſhall look on. I requeſt no man for a laſt duetie: I commend my reliques to no man. Nature it ſelfe hath prouided that no man ſhould be vnburied. Whom crueltie hath caſt forth, the day ſhall burie. *Mecænas* ſaith eloquently:

I care not for a Tombe or any Graue,
To bury my remaines Nature will craue.

Thou wouldeſt haue thought that one girded like a man had ſpoken it: for he had both a great and a manly wit, except he himſelfe effeminately had managed it.

EPIST. XCIII.

Concerning the death of the Philoſopher METRONACTES, *who died a young man. That is of ſmall regard: alſo life is to be meaſured, not by ſpace, but by act. Euerie good life is that which is long: laſtly, nothing here is long.*

IN the Epiſtle wherein thou bewailedſt the death of *Metronactes* the Philoſopher, as though he might & ought to haue liued longer, I haue deſired thy equitie, which is abundant in thee to euery perſon and in euery buſineſſe, but faileth in one thing, wherein it faileth all men. I haue found many vpright towards men, but none towards the gods. We daily chide deſtinie: why was he taken away in the middeſt of his courſe? Why is not he ſnatched away? Why extendeth it olde age grieuous both to himſelfe and to others? Whether I pray thee, iudgeſt thou it to be more fit, that thou obey nature, or that nature obey thee? But what difference is there how ſpeedily thou depart, whence likewiſe thou muſt depart. We muſt not care to liue long, but to liue enough. For there is neede of deſtinie, that thou mayeſt liue long; that thou mayeſt liue enough, there is neede onely of the minde. Life is long if it be full: but it is filled, when the ſoule hath reſtored his owne good vnto himſelfe, and hath tranſlated the power of it ſelfe to it ſelfe. What doe foureſcore yeares ſpent in ſloath helpe him? This man liued not, but made an abode in life; neyther lately, but long agoe did he die. He liued foureſcore yeares. The difference is from what day thou accounteſt his death. But he died young; yet hee performed the dueties of a good citizen, of a good friend, of a good ſonne: he failed in no part: although his age were imperfect, his life was perfect. He liued foureſcore yeares: yea, rather he was foureſcore yeares; except peraduenture thou ſayeſt him to haue liued ſo, as trees are ſaid to liue. I deſire thee my *Lucilius*, that we endeuour this, that euen as pretious things, ſo our life may not lie much open, but may be worth much. Let vs meaſure it by the actions, not by time. Wilt thou knowe what difference there is betweene this couragious man, and contemner of fortune, who hath gone through all the degrees of humane life, and is promoted vnto the higheſt good, and him ouer whom many yeares haue paſſed? The one is alſo after death the other periſhed before death. Therefore let vs praiſe and place him in the number of the happy, to whom how little time ſoeuer hath happe

happened, it is bestowed well. For he hath seene true light, he hath not beene one of the ordinary sort; he liueth, and hath liued, and hath flourished. Sometime he hath vsed prosperous successe: sometime, as it commeth to passe, the brightnesse of a strong Planet hath shined through the cloudes. Why seekest thou, how long he hath liued? He liued euen vntill posteritie: he passed away, and gaue himselfe to the memory of ages to come. Neyther therefore haue I refused that many yeares should befall vnto me. But yet will I not say, that any thing hath beene wanting to a blessed life, if the space thereof be cut off. For I haue not fitted my selfe vnto that day, which greedy hope hath promised to be the last vnto me: but I haue looked vpon euery one as being my last. Why askest thou me, when I was borne? Am I as yet reckoned amongst those that be more young? I haue that which is mine owne. Euen as in a lesser habite of bodie, one may be a perfect man: so in a lesser measure of time, there may be a perfect life. Age is amongst externall things. So long as I am, it is anothers time: so long as I am a good man, it is mine owne time. Exact this of me, lest as it were in darkenesse I measure out an vnnoble age; that I may leade a life, not that I may be carried through it. Seekest thou what is the largest space of life? To liue euen vnto wisdome: He that commeth vnto that, hath touched, not the longest but the greatest end. But let him glorie, and giue thankes vnto the gods; and amongst them, let him impute it to himselfe, and to the nature of things, that he hath beene. Deseruedly shall he ascribe it: for he hath returned a better life then he receiued. He hath set downe the patterne of a good man: he hath shewed what an one and how great he was: if he had added any thing, it had beene like vnto that which was past. And notwithstanding how long doe we liue? We enioy the knowledge of all things. We know from what things the principall Nature lifteth vp it selfe on high, how it ordereth the world, by what courses it recalleth the year, how it hath shut vp al things which were at any time, and hath made it selfe the end of it selfe. We know that the starres goe by their owne force: that nothing but the earth standeth still: that other things with a continuall swiftnesse runne on. We know how the Moone passeth by the Sunne: wherefore being more slow, she leaueth the swifter behinde her: how it receiueth or loseth light: what cause bringeth on the night, what bringeth backe the day. Thither must we goe, where thou mayest beholde these things neerer vnto thee: neither, saith that wise man, do I the more valiantly depart, because I iudge a way to lie open for me vnto the gods. I haue deserued indeed to be admitted, and now haue I beene amongst them: and I haue sent my minde vnto that place, and they haue sent theirs vnto me. But suppose that I be taken away, and that nothing of a man remaineth after death: I haue alike as great a minde, although I depart to passe into no place. He liued not so many yeares as he might haue done. Also it is a booke of a few verses, but to be praised and profitable indeed: thou knowest the Chronicle of *Tamusius*, that it is not fashionable, and what it is called: alike is the long life of certain men, and that which followeth the Chronicle of *Tamusius*. What iudgest thou him to be more happy, who is slain in the last day of the show of *Gladiators*, then he who is slaine in the midst of the dayes? What thinkest thou that any one is so desirous of life, that he had rather haue his throate cut in the vntiring house, then on the Theater? No greater space doe we one goe before another. Death goeth through all; he that killeth, followeth him close who is killed. That is the smallest thing, concerning which men doe most carefully deale. But what pertaineth it to the purpose how long thou auoydest, that which thou canst not auoyde?

Epist. XCIIII.

A diſcourſe, whether the Teaching or Exhorting part of Philoſophy be more profitable? and whether the one can ſuffice without the other? Aristo *preferreth the former, and admitteth it alone: and his arguments be here. And other adioyne the other part, and ſhew the great vſes thereof; and* Seneca *diſtinguiſheth finely, wittily, and fruitfully. Reade and delight.*

SOme haue receiued that part of Philoſophie alone, which giueth proper precepts to euery perſon, but frameth not the whole man, perſwading the husband how to carrie himſelfe towards his wife; the father how to bring vp children; the maſter how to gouerne ſeruants: and haue left the other as wandring without our profite: as though any one could in part perſwade, except firſt he had comprehended the ſumme of vniuerſall life. But *Ariſto* a Stoicke, on the contrary eſteemeth this to be a light part, and which deſcendeth not euen vnto the breaſt: but that which hath not precepts, he ſaith, that it profiteth very much; and that the decrees themſelues of Philoſophie, are the conſtitution of the chiefeſt good, which he that hath vnderſtood and learned well, himſelfe commandeth himſelfe, what is to be done on eyther part. Euen as he who learneth to caſt a Dart, taketh a fit place, and frameth his hand for the direction of thoſe things which he deliuereth; when he hath gotten this force by inſtruction and exerciſe, he vſeth it at whatſoeuer he will; for he hath learned not to hit this or that, but whatſoeuer he will: ſo he who hath inſtructed himſelfe for his whole life, deſireth not particularly to be admoniſhed, hee being taught for the whole; not how to liue with a wife or with a ſonne, but how he may liue well: in this alſo it is, how he may liue with his wife and children. *Cleanthes* iudgeth this part alſo to be profitable indeede, but weake except it flowed from the whole, except one knew the very decrees and heads of Philoſophie. Therefore this place is diuided into two queſtions; Whether it be profitable or vnprofitable, and whether it alone can make a good man, that is, whether it be ſuperfluous, or can make all things elſe ſuperfluous. They who would haue this part to be thought ſuperfluous, ſay thus: If any thing ſet againſt the eyes hindereth the ſight, it is to be remoued; but that not being caſt away he hath loſt his labour, who hath giuen inſtructions: thus thou ſhalt walke, thither ſhalt thou ſtretch out thine hand; after the ſame manner, when any thing blindeth the minde, and hindereth it from diſcerning the order of dueties, he doth nothing who deliuereth precepts: thus ſhalt thou liue with thy father, thus with thy wife. For precepts will profite nothing, ſo long as error is ſpread before the minde: if that be driuen away, it will appeare what is due to euery duetie. Otherwiſe thou teacheſt him what a ſound man muſt doe, thou makeſt him not ſound. Thou ſheweſt to him that is poore, how to play the rich man: but how can this be done, if ſo be that pouertie remaine? Thou ſheweſt to him that is hungry, what he may do as a man being full: rather take away hunger, which is faſtned to the inward parts. The ſame will I ſay vnto thee concerning all vices; the things themſelues are to be remoued away; we are not to command that which cannot be done, whilſt they do remain. Except thou ſhalt expell falſe opinions, that we be troubled withall; neyther will a couetous man heare how he muſt vſe money, nor a fearefull man how he may contemne dangers. It is requiſite that thou make him

him know that money is neyther good nor bad: that thou ſhew vnto him moſt miſerable rich men: that thou cauſe, that whatſoeuer we haue feared in publique, he may know that it is not ſo to be feared, as fame relateth it is: no not dolour nor death: that it is a great comfort often in death, which the law conſtraineth vs to ſuffer, becauſe it returneth to no man: obſtinacie of minde ſhall be for a remedie in griefe: he that ſuffered any thing reſolutely, maketh it to be lighter vnto himſelfe: that the nature of griefe is the beſt, becauſe neyther that which is extended can be great; nor that which is great can be extended: that al things are to be valiantly receiued, which the neceſſitie of the world commandeth vs. When thou haſt brought him by theſe decrees vnto the ſight of his owne condition, and he ſhall know that a bleſſed life is, not which is according to pleaſure, but according to nature: when he ſhall altogether loue vertue, the onely good of a man, and ſhall flie from diſhoneſtie as that which is onely bad, he ſhall know that all other things, namely, riches, honours, good health, ſtrength, empire be in the middle part, and are neyther to be numbred amongſt the good, nor reckoned amongſt the euill. He ſhall neede no inſtructor to ſay vnto him, walke thus, ſup after this manner; this becommeth a man, that a woman; this a married man, that a batchelor. For theſe things which they ſo diligently preſcribe, they themſelues cannot do. Theſe things doth the Schoolmaſter teach his ſcholler, the grand-mother her nephew; and the cholericke maſter argues that a man muſt not be angry. If thou enter into the ſchooles, thou ſhalt finde that children are taught all that for their leſſon, which Philoſophers boaſt of with ſuch loftie lookes. Finally, whether wilt thou propoſe ſuch things as are manifeſt, or ſuch as are doubtfull? Thoſe things that are euident neede not to be taught, and he that teacheth ſuch things as are doubtfull, is hardly beleeued. It is therefore a ſuperfluous thing to teach. This learne thus: If thou propoſeſt things that are obſcure and ambiguous, thou muſt confirme them by proofes. If thou wilt proue them, thoſe things by which thou proueſt are more auaileable, and are ſufficient enough of themſelues. Thus vſe thy friend, thus thy fellow Cittizen, thus thy companion. Why? Becauſe it is iuſt. All theſe things the common place as touching iuſtice, will furniſh me with. There finde I that equity is a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe, that feare cannot compell vs thereunto, and that for gaine we will not reſpect it: briefly, that he is not iuſt and vpright who approueth any thing in this vertue, but the vertue it ſelfe. When as I haue perſwaded my ſelfe of theſe things, and learned it perfectly, what doe theſe precepts profite me, which inſtruct the learned man? To giue precepts to a wiſe-man is a ſuperfluous trauaile, to an ignorant man it ſufficeth not. For he muſt heare not onely what is taught him, but why it is taught him: that is to ſay, whether they be neceſſarie to him that hath true opinions as touching goods and euils, or to him that hath not: hee that hath them not, will be no wayes profited by thee, for a common report contrary to thy admonitions hath filled and poſſeſſed his eares. He that hath an exact iudgement of that he ought to flie and follow, knoweth that which he ought to doe, although thou be ſilent. All this part of Philoſophie therefore may be cut off. There are in vs two euils, which make vs commit others. Eyther in our mindes is there a mallice contracted by euill opinions; or although it be not occupied with falſities, yet is it inclined vnto error, and is quickly corrupted by ſome vaine appearance, which draweth him thither whether he ſhould not pretend. It behoueth vs therefore eyther to cure the ſicke minde, and to deliuer it from vices, or that it be not as yet infected, but inclined vnto euill, to preuent it. The decrees of

Philoſophy

Philoſophie doe both the one and the other. Therefore ſuch a kinde of teaching doth nothing. Furthermore, if we giue inſtructions to all in particular: we ſhould neuer make an end. For we muſt inſtruct the Vſurer one way, the Husbandman another way, the Merchant thus, him that affected the friendſhip of Princes, otherwiſe: thus, thoſe that ſhould loue their equals: that way, ſuch as affect their inferiours. In matrimony they muſt teach how a man muſt liue with a wife, whom he maried a maid; how with her that had a huſband before, how with a rich, how with a poore one. Thinkeſt thou there is no difference betwixt a barren and a fruitfull woman, betweene an old, and a yong maiden, betwixt a mother, and a ſtepdame? we cannot comprehend all kindes; and yet euery one of them requireth ſeuerall leſſons and aduertiſements. But the lawes of Philoſophie are ſhort, and containe and write all things. Adde hereunto that a wiſe mans precepts ought to be limited and certaine; if they are found to bee infinite, they are out of the limits of Philoſophie, wiſedome knoweth what the bounds of all things ſhould be. This part therefore which propoſeth things in particular ought to be remoued, becauſe that what ſhe promiſeth to performe to a few, ſhe cannot performe to all. Contrariwiſe wiſdome embraceth and containeth all men. There is little difference betweene publike madneſſe, and that which the Phiſitians deſcribe, but that the particular is poſſeſſed with a certaine ſickneſſe, the publike is beſotted with falſe opinions: the one hath drawne the cauſes of his furie from the indiſpoſition of the body, the other from the infirmities of the minde. If a man ſhould giue precepts to a furious man, and teach him how to ſpeake, how to walke out, how to behaue himſelfe in publike, how in priuate, he ſhould be more mad, then the mad man he teacheth. He muſt purge the melancholy humor, and the cauſe of furie muſt be remoued. The like muſt be done in this other furie of the minde; it muſt be diſcuſſed and driuen away, otherwiſe all aduertiſement will bee to no end. Theſe things are ſpoken by *Ariſton*. To whom we will anſwere in particular. Firſt to that where he ſaith, that if any thing hindereth the eye and letteth the ſight, it ought to be remoued. I confeſſe that he hath no neede of precepts to make him ſee, but of medicines to purge his ſight, and meanes to driue away that which blemiſheth the ſame. For by nature we ſee, and he that taketh away the obſtacles, he returneth the eye to his ſight. But Nature teacheth not a particular dutie to euery one. Secondly, he that is cured of his ſuffuſion, cannot as ſoone as he hath recouered his ſight, giue ſight to other men likewiſe. He that is rid of an infirmitie recureth alſo. The eye needeth neyther exhortation nor counſell to vnderſtand the proprieties of colours, it will diſtinguiſh white from blacke without any teacher. Contrariwiſe, the minde needeth many precepts to diſcerne what is to be done in life. Albeit the Phiſitian not only cureth the infirme eye, but counſelleth alſo. Thou muſt not (ſaith he) expoſe thy weake eye-ſight ſuddenly to the open aire and brighter light, firſt from an obſcure place ſeeke out a ſhadie, then be more bould, and by little and little accuſtome thy ſelfe to endure the cleare light. Thou muſt not ſtudie after meat, keep thy ſelfe quiet where thine eyes are great and ſwolne. Auoide the winde and force of cold, leſt it beate vpon thy face, and ſuch like, which were no leſſe profitable then the medicines were. In briefe, Phyſicke annexeth counſailes to remedies. Error, ſaith he, is the cauſe of ſinne, which ſinne counſaile acquitteth vs not of, neither conuinceth falſe opinions of good and euill things I grant that precepts ſuffice not of themſelues to driue a peruerſe opinion out of the vnderſtanding: but it followeth not, that being aunexed to others, they ſhould be vnprofitable.

Firſt

First of all, they refresh the memorie. Secondly, by their meanes, those things which in generall seemed confused, being diuided into parts, are more diligently considered. Happily thou after this manner supposest consolations and exhortations superfluous, but they are not; consequently not admonitions. It is a folly (saith *Ariston*) to command a sicke man such a thing as he should doe in his health, whereas his health is to be restored vnto him, without which all his precepts are vaine. But haue not both the sicke and whole certaine things common to them both, whereof they ought to be admonished, as not to eate ouergreedily, nor trauell excessiuely? Both poore and rich haue certaine common precepts. Cure auarice (saith he) and thou shalt haue nothing wherein thou shalt admonish either the poore or rich: if the couetousnesse both of the one and the other bee abated. Is it a different thing not to desire money, and to know well to vse it? The couetous haue no measure in their desires, they that are not couetous, know not how to make vse of money as they ought. Take away the errours (saith he) the precepts are superfluous. It is false: for suppose that auarice be moderated, dissolution restrained, rashnesse bridled, idlenesse awakened: although the vices are driuen away, yet ought we learne that which we ought to doe and how. The admonitions serue to no vse, being applied to enormous vices. I answere that Physicke healeth not incurable diseases, yet is it ministered to some for remedie, to othersome for mitigation: not all the whole power of Philosophie, although she intend all her forces to this end, can roote out an indurate and inueterate plague out of our mindes: and yet she remedieth some euils, though she cureth not all. What profiteth it, saith he, to shew that which is discouered? Greatly, for sometimes although wee know a thing, yet we regard it not. Admonition teacheth not, but it awakeneth and setleth the memorie, and preuenteth forgetfulnesse. We take little heed of many things, which passe before our eyes. To admonish is a kinde of exhortation. Oftentimes our mind pretendeth not to comprehend that which is apparent: we ought therefore to refresh the memory with the knowledge of things best knowne. In this place it shall not be amisse to repeate the notable saying of CALVVS against VATINIVS, *You know there hath beene bribing, and all men know that you know it.* Thou knowest that we ought to entertaine friendship religiously, but thou doest it not. Thou knowest him to be a wicked man, that requireth his wife should bee honest, and himselfe hunteth after other mens wiues. Thou knowest that as she ought not to acquaint her selfe with an adulterer, so thou shouldest not haue to doe with a strumpet, and yet thou vsest to prostitute. For this cause oftentimes oughtest thou to call thy duetie to memorie, for thy memorie must not be distracted, but at hand and before thine eyes. All holesome things ought to be oftentimes remembred, and renewed, to the end that besides the knowledge thereof, wee may haue them readie to assist vs. Besides that which is alreadie well comprehended, is vnderstood and remembred farre better. If those things (saith hee) be doubtfull which thou teachest. Thou oughtest to adde proofe vnto them, they therefore be not the precepts will profit. I answere, that the authoritie of him that admonisheth, sufficeth without any proofe of his saying. As the answeres of the Lawyers are of force although they yeeld no reason of their counsell. Moreouer, precepts haue a great waight in themselues, especially if we intermix them with poesie, or that in prose they be shut vp together in a few, but graue words. As those of CATOES, *Buy not that which thou needest, but that which is necessarie. That which thou hast no need of is deare of a farthing.* And these other sentences proceeding from

from Oracles or other excellent men. *Spare time. Know thy ſelfe.* Wouldeſt thou aske the cauſe thereof, if a man ſhould repeate thee theſe ſentences. *Forgetfulneſſe is the remedie of iniuries. Fortune fauoureth the audacious. The idle man hinders himſelfe.* Theſe ſentences ſeeke no aduocate, they touch the affections and profit, becauſe Nature vnfouldeth vertue in them. Our mindes containe all the ſeeds of vertue, and theſe ſeeds fructifie by meanes of admonitions, no otherwiſe then a ſparkle being aſſiſted with a light blaſt, becometh a great flame: vertue is awakened, when ſhe is either touched or ſhaken. Furthermore, there are certaine things, which buried in our vnderſtanding, beginne to ſhew their worth, when they are quickened by admonitions. There are other ſorts of things which lie heere and there, which a dull vnderſtanding and vnexerciſed cannot recollect. It behoueth therefore to gather them into one, and to ioyne them together, to the end they may be more forcible, and raiſe the minde the more. Or if precepts haue no power, we muſt exterminate all inſtitution, and be contented with Nature her ſelfe. They that ſee this, conſider not that there are ſome that haue a ſtirring and noble ſpirit; the other of a dull and heauie. In briefe, that all are not equally, are not of one ingenuitie. The power of the minde is nouriſhed, and encreaſeth by precepts, and annexeth new perſwaſions to thoſe that are innate, and correcteth thoſe that are depraued. If any man (ſaith he) hath not the true decrees, what ſhall admonitions profit him, that is plagued and drowned in vices? Truely this, that he may be deliuered of them. For the naturall diſpoſition is not extinguiſhed in him, but obſcured and oppreſſed. In purſuite whereof ſhe endeuoureth to raiſe her ſelfe, and to reſiſt euill. As ſoone as ſhe is ſuccoured and aſſiſted by precepts, ſhee receiueth her forces, prouided that this contagion of ſinne, which hath ſo long time infected her, hath not wholly mortified her. For then the whole diſciplines of Philoſophie vniting all her forces, cannot reſtore her. For what difference is there betweene the decrees and precepts of Philoſophie, but that the one are generall, the other particular. Both of them command; the decrees are generall, the precepts particular. If any one (ſaith hee) hath iuſt and honeſt decrees, ſuch a one is admoniſhed in vaine; not ſo. For this man, although hee know that which he ought to doe, yet ſeeth he not exactly all the parts of his duetie. For we are not only hindered by our affections, from executing that which is good, but for want of a knowledge how to finde out that which is requiſite in euerie thing. Sometimes we haue a minde well compoſed, but heauie and vnaddreſſed to finde out the tract of the offices of our life, which is diſcouered vnto vs by admonitions. Driue away (ſaith he) the falſe opinions, as touching goods and euils, ſettle the true in ſtead of the falſe, and then will admonition be profitable. Aſſuredly the minde is gouerned by ſuch meanes, but not by this meanes onely. For although it be by arguments gathered, what are good, and what are euill, notwithſtanding precepts haue their parts, and both Prudence and Iuſtice conſiſt in offices, and offices are diſpoſed by precepts. Furthermore, the iudgement that we haue of goods and euils, is confirmed by the execution of offices, whereunto we are guided by precepts. For they agree together, neither may thoſe goe before, but theſe will follow after, and keepe their rancke; whence it appeareth that the Generall march before. Precepts, ſaith he, are infinite. It is falſe. For they are not infinite in things that are great and neceſſarie, but their differences according to time, place, and perſons are ſmall. But to theſe likewiſe are generall precepts giuen. There is no man (ſaith he) that cureth madneſſe by precepts, and conſequently not malice. There is a difference. For in

curing a mad man of his madneſſe, he is reſtored to his health. If wee haue excluded falſe opinions, we preſently apprehend not that which we ought to doe, and were it ſo, yet our admonition would confirme the right apprehenſion and iudgement we haue of goods and euils. This likewiſe is falſe, that precepts no wayes profite mad men. For as they profite not alwayes, ſo further they the cure. Both threatnings and chaſtiſements haue reſtrained mad men: I ſpeake now of thoſe mad men whoſe wits are altered, but not taken from them. The lawes, replieth he, cauſe vs not to doe that which we ought. And what other thing are they, but precepts intermixed with threatnings? Firſt of all they perſwade not, becauſe they menace; but precepts conſtraine not, but perſwade. Secondly, lawes deterre vs from doing euill: precepts exhort euery one to doe his duetie. Adde hereunto, that lawes are profitable to good manners, prouided, that precepts be vnited to their commandements. In this thing differ I from *Poſidonius*: I allow not the principles that are ſet in the beginning of *Platoes* lawes. For a law ſhould be ſhort, to the end that the ignorant might apprehend it more eaſily, as if it were an Oracle. Let it command, not diſpute. Nothing ſeemeth more impertinent and fooliſh to me, then a law garniſhed with a Preface. Admoniſh, tell me what thou wouldſt haue me do; I liſten not to thee to learne, but to obey. The lawes are profitable, ſo ſee wee that Commonweales, which haue had euill ordinances, haue had worſe manners. But lawes profite not all men; no more doth Philoſophie, and yet it ceaſeth not to be profitable and powerfull in forming mens minds. And what other thing is Philoſophy but the law of our life? But let vs preſuppoſe that the lawes are vnprofitable, it followeth not therefore that admonitions are vnneceſſary: otherwiſe we ſhould ſay that conſolations, exhortations, diſſwaſions, reprehenſions and praiſes, ſerued to no purpoſe. Theſe are ſorts of admonitions, & by their means the ſpirit attayneth his perfection. There is nothing that more reueſteth our vnderſtandings with vertue, nor that retireth them more from an euill cuſtome, and confirmeth them in goodneſſe, then good mens conuerſation. For by little and little it deſcendeth and diſtilleth into the heart, and to be often ſeene and heard, ſtandeth in ſtead of precepts, vndoubtedly the onely meeting with wiſe-men doth great good; and thou mayeſt learne ſomewhat of a vertuous man, euen then when he is ſilent. I cannot ſo well tell thee how it profiteth, as I haue found that it profited me. Some ſmall creatures (as *Phædon* ſaith) when they ſting are not felt, ſo ſmall and ready is their ſtinge to giue the pricke, but the ſwelling is diſcouered although there appeare no wound in the ſame. The like will befall thee in thy conuerſation with wiſe-men, thou ſhalt not perceiue when or how he profiteth thee, but thou ſhalt finde the profite. Whereto (ſaith he) tendeth all this? Good precepts and admonitions, oft-times reiterated, will profite thee as much as good examples. *Pythagoras* ſaith, that they who entred into a Temple, or that ſaw neere vnto them any image of the gods, or heard the voyce of ſome Oracle, changed their mindes and thoughts. Who dare denie, but that the moſt Ideots of the world are powerfully ſtriken with ſome precepts? As for example, by theſe which enſue, which are ſhort, but ſententious, and of great waight, namely, *Nothing too much. The greedy minde is neuer ſatisfied with gaine. Such meaſure as thou meteſt, the ſame ſhall be mete to thee.* Theſe things heare we with ſtrong apprehenſion, neyther may any man doubt or diſpute vpon them: Why? Becauſe truth perſwadeth without any aſſiſtance of reaſon: if the reſpect we beare vnto any man bridleth our ſpirits, and repreſſeth our vices, why ſhould not admonition doe the like? If correction maketh

keth men aſhamed, what ſhould hinder the ſame effect in good admonition, although it were accompanied but with ſimple precepts? But what admonition is more powerfull, and pierceth deeper, which fortifieth his commaundements with good reaſons, that alleageth why a man ſhould doe this or that, and what good may befall a man by his obedience? If commaundement and authoritie ſerue, ſo doth admonition; but authoritie is of great vſe, and conſequently admonition. Vertue is diuided into two parts, into contemplation of truth, and into action. Inſtitution teacheth contemplation, admonition action. A iuſt action both exerciſeth and ſheweth vertue. But if he that perſwadeth profiteth him that is to act, he likewiſe will profite that admoniſheth. If therefore vpright action be neceſſary to vertue, and admonition ſheweth what iuſt actions be, it followeth that admonition is neceſſary. There are two things which greatly fortifie the minde, aſſurance of the truth, and confidence. Admonition produceth both theſe. For there is credite giuen to the ſame, and when ſhe is beleeued, the minde conceiueth high hopes, and is filled with confidence: admonition therefore is not ſuperfluous. *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of great vnderſtanding, and onely happy to the publique good, amongſt all thoſe that were raiſed by ciuill warres, was wont to auow, that hee was very much indebted to this ſentence; *For by concord ſmall things increaſe, by diſcord the greateſt are ruined.* This, ſaith he, made me become a good brother, and a ſure friend. If ſuch ſentences familiarly entertained in the minde do forme the ſame, why ſhould not this part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth of ſuch like ſentences, doe the like? A part of vertue conſiſteth in diſcipline, another in action. Thou muſt learne, and that which thou haſt learned thou muſt confirme by action: which if it be ſo, not onely decrees of wiſe-men are profitable, but alſo the precepts, which reſtraine and oblige our affections as it were with an Edict. Philoſophie, ſaith he, is diuided into theſe, into ſcience and the habite of the minde. For he that hath comprehended any thing and knoweth that which he ought to do and auoide, is not yet wiſe, except his ſpirit be transformed into thoſe things which he hath learned. The third part, conſiſting in precepts, is compoſed of the two precedent, both of decrees and of habite, and conſequently ſuperfluous to make vertue complete, whereas they two are ſufficient. By this reckoning then conſolation is vnneceſſary, for this alſo conſiſteth of both; neyther exhortation, perſwaſion, neyther argumentation. For ſhe taketh her originall from the habite of a compoſed and ſtrong minde, But although theſe parts proceede from that habitude of the minde, the beſt habite of the minde is both of the one, and of the other. Furthermore, all that which thou ſayeſt reſpecteth a perfect man, and ſuch a one as hath attained the ſumme of humane felicitie. But to this a man attaineth very ſlowly; meane while we muſt ſhew an vnperfect man, yet ſuch a one as is toward the way which he ought to hold in his actions. It may be that wiſedome may addreſſe her ſelfe without admonition, conſidering ſhe hath already ledde the ſpirit ſo outward that he cannot be moued but on the right way. But as touching thoſe that are more feeble, they had neede of a conductor that may ſay vnto them, Thou ſhalt ſhun this, thou ſhalt doe this. Beſides, if he expect the time, wherein of himſelfe he may know that which is beſt to be done, he ſhall in the meane ſpace erre, and erring ſhall be hindred from attayning to that whereby he may be contented with himſelfe. He muſt therefore be gouerned till he begin to be able to gouerne himſelfe. Children are taught to forme their letters, their fingers are held, and their hand directed, and led to teach them to faſhion and counterfeit letters, then are they commanded

to follow ſuch and ſuch examples,and by them to reforme their writing. So is our minde ſtrengthned if it be inſtructed by propoſing ſome example vnto it which ſhe may follow. Theſe are the things whereby it is approued that this part of Philoſophy is not ſuperfluous. Furthermore it is demaunded whether ſhe alone ſufficeth to make a wiſe-man. We will anſwere this queſtion at another time: for the preſent,omitting thoſe arguments, doth it not appeare vnto vs that we had neede of ſome aduocate, who may giue vs inſtructions contrary to the precepts of the people? A man cannot ſpeake any thing that toucheth vs not. They that wiſh vs good hurt vs,and they alſo that curſe vs: for the imprecation of thoſe impreſſeth in vs falſe feares, and the loue of others ſpoyleth vs, in deſiring our proſperitie,becauſe it driueth vs to goods that are forraigne, wandring,and vncertaine, whereas we might draw felicity from our ſelues. I ſay that wee are not permitted to follow the right way. Our parents and ſeruants draw vs vnto euill. No man erreth to himſelfe onely, but ſpreadeth his follie amongſt his neighbours, and learneth of theirs likewiſe. And therefore the vices of the common ſort are in euery priuate man, becauſe the people amongſt whom he conuerſeth hath giuen them him, and in making others badde he becommeth badde himſelfe, hee hath learned the worſe, and afterwards teacheth the ſame; and when that which each one knew to be moſt wicked was gathered and put together, that great heape of iniquitie was made and diſcouered. Let there bee therefore ſome guide that may pull thee by the eare, driue thee from the bruite of Citties, and reclaime thee from the flatteries of the common ſort. For thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe if thou thinkeſt that vices are borne with vs; they ſteale vpon vs, and were ingeſted into vs. Let vs therefore repreſſe thoſe opinions which buzze about our eares by frequent admonitions. Nature neither tyeth nor obligeth vs to any vice: ſhe hath ingendered vs intire and free: nothing that might incite our auarice hath ſhe placed in open ſight,but hath put both golde and ſiluer vnder our feete to be kickt and trode vpon,or whatſoeuer it be for which we are kickt and trode vpon. She hath addreſſed our faces towards heauen, and would that we ſhould beholde whatſoeuer ſhe hath made, either magnificent or wonderfull in the world, the riſing and ſettings of the ſtarres, the ſudden courſe and motion of the heauens, which by day make vs ſee the goods of the earth, and by night thoſe of the heauens. The ſlow motion of the ſtarres,if they be compared with the whole, the ſwift,if thou imagine how great way they make without euer ſtaying; then the eclipſes of the Sun & Moone,oppoſed the one againſt the other: moreouer, diuers other things worthy admiration,whether they ſucceed by order, or break forth being moued by their cauſes; as the pillers of fire in the night, the flaſhes ſtreaming from the opening heauen without thunder and lightning,the pillers, beams & other diuers inflamed impreſſions in the aire: nature diſpoſeth al theſe things aboue vs. As touching gold, ſiluer & iron, which by reaſon of both theſe hath depriued vs of peace,ſhe hath hid them, as if they had bin badly cõmitted vnto vs. But we haue brought them to light,to the end we might fight for them: we caſting the waighty earth frõ off them, haue digged them vp,the only cauſes & inſtruments of our dangers. We haue truſted our miſeries vnto fortune, neyther are we aſhamed that they are in the greateſt eſtimatiõ with vs,which were moſt deeply buried in the boſom of the earth. Wilt thou ſee how fallatious the brightnes is that blemiſheth & bewitcheth thine eyes? There is nothing more abiect, nor more obſcure then theſe as long as they are buried in their mould. Why not? when as they are drawn out of the darknes of the largeſt and longeſt mynes,

mynes, there is nothing more deformed then they are, whilſt they are ſeperated from their excrements, and drawn from their vaines. Briefly, regard a while thoſe that trauell in the myne, by whoſe hands this ſterrill and informed kinde of earth is purged, and you ſhall ſee how they are beſmeared with ſmoake. But theſe doe more defile the mindes then the bodies, and there is more foyle in thoſe that poſſeſſe them, then in thoſe that refine them. It is neceſſary therfore to be admonished, and to haue ſome Counſellor of good vnderſtanding, that in ſo great confuſion and tumult of falſities, may truely ſpeake vnto vs: what ſhall he ſpeake? Thoſe words and wholſome counſails, which may open our eares, being deafned by ſo many ambitious cries, and ſay, Thou haſt no cauſe to enuy theſe whom the people termeth great and happy men. There is no cauſe that a vaine applauſe ſhould rauiſh from thee the ſetled habitude and health of thy ſoule. There is no reaſon that this great Lord, ſo gaily attended and clad in purple, ſhould driue thee from the height of thy peace. Thou haſt no more cauſe to iudge him more happy, to whom euery man giues place, then him whom the Sergeant enforceth to giue way. If thou wilt exerciſe a power that may be profitable vnto thee, and hurt no man, driue vice from thee. Many there are that ſet fire on Citties, that leuell huge Fortreſſes with the ground, which ſo many hundreth yeares were held impregnable, that raiſe Plat-formes as high as Caſtles, who by Engines of batterie ouerturne marueilous high wals, who cauſe armies to march before them, that neerely purſue their flying enemies, who couered with the bloud of conquered Nations, haue gotten countries as farre as the bounds of the Ocean; but theſe hauing defeated their enemies, haue themſelues bin ouercome by their own deſires. No man might make head againſt their armies, no more then they knew how to reſiſt their ambition and cruelties. Euen then when they ſeemed to purſue others, they were purſued themſelues. The curſed deſire of ſpoiling other mens countries afflicted vnhappy *Alexander*, and ſent him to countries vnknown. Doeſt thou think him a man of vnderſtanding, or in his right wits, who began to ruinate Greece, where firſt he was brought vp and inſtructed, did afterwards pillage all that which euery one poſſeſſed and eſteemed beſt? He impoſed a yoke on *Sparta*, and ſilence to *Athens*. And not content with the ſpoile of many Citties, either ſubdued or bought by *Philip* his father, he ſcattered them from one place to another, made war vpon al the world without remitting ought of his wonted cruelty, imitating herein the ſauage beaſts, who bite more then hunger enforceth them to. Furthermore, he ioyned diuers kingdomes in one, he made himſelfe dreadfull to the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, he ſubdued the free Nations that were vnder *Darius* his Dominion; yet would he beyond the Ocean, and the Sun being diſpleaſed that *Hercules* and *Bacchus* pillers ſhould confine his victories. He addreſſeth himſelfe to inforce Nature; he will not march, neyther will hee ſtay in a place reſembling thoſe fardels which are caſt from the top to the ground, which ceaſe not to tumble down vntill they fall to the bottom. Neyther did vertue nor reaſon counſaile *Pompey* to enterpriſe his forraine and ciuill warres, but a diſordinate loue of flattering greatneſſe droue him now into *Spaine* againſt *Sertorius*, then to make warre againſt the Pirats, and to aſſure the Seas. Theſe were his pretexts to maintaine his authoritie, who drue him into *Africa*, into the North, into *Armenia*, and through all the corners of *Aſia* againſt *Mithridates*. It was an immeaſurable deſire of greatneſſe, being in his owne opinion not great enough. What thing thruſt *Caſar* vpon his owne and his Countreyes ruine? Glorie and ambition, and no meaſure of eminencie aboue others: for hee could not

endure that one ſhould be before him, when as his Common-wealth endured two Maſters. Thinkeſt thou that *Marius* who was once Conſul (for one Conſulate he receiued, the other ſixe he bribed or enforced) was egged on by vertue to hew the *Cimbrians* and *Theutons* in pieces, to follow *Iugurth* thorough the deſerts of Africa, and to expoſe himſelfe to ſo many perils? *Marius* conducted the Army, but ambition conducted *Marius*. Theſe men, whilſt they ſhook all others, were ſhaken themſelues after the manner of whirle-windes, which before they winde in thoſe things they force vp, are themſelues toſſed; & therfore turne they with greater furie, becauſe they haue no holde of themſelues: by which meanes theſe men, after they haue cruelly tormented others, do feele in themſelues this pernicious fury, wherewith they haue offended other men. Thinke not that any man may become happy by another mans misfortune. All theſe examples propoſed both to our eyes and eares, ought to be remembred, and our hearts full filled with euill opinions, ought to be cleanſed. Where the place is voyde there muſt we lodge vertue, which rooteth out pleaſing lyes which ſeperateth vs from the people (to whom we giue ouer-much credit) and confirmeth vs in ſincere and good opinions. For this is wiſdome, to be conuerted into nature, and to be reſtored thither whence publique errour hath expelled vs. It is a great part of health, to haue forſaken the counſailors of folly, and to haue far-fled from this company of people which corrupt one another. To know that this is true, conſider how euery man liueth after one ſort in publike, after another in priuate. Solitude of it ſelfe, neither teacheth vs ſimplicity or innocence; the country maketh vs not more frugall or temperate, but when there is no body that may beholde and giue teſtimony, vices retire themſelues. For their good lieth in this to be beheld and ſeene. Who would put on a purple robe if no man ſhould ſee him? Who being couched vnder the ſhadow of ſome ruſticke tree, hath muſtred all the people of his diſſoluteneſſe to himſelfe alone? No man is braue in ſecret, no not in the preſence of two or three of his familiars, but according to the number and quality of thoſe that beholde him, maketh he ſhew of his vanities. So then if any one, eyther know or admire vs, that is the ſpur that pricketh on to diſcouer all theſe things, on which we are mad and beſotted. Take away the ſhew, thou ſhalt aboliſh couetouſneſſe. Ambition, diſſoluteneſſe and pride will haue themſelues ſeene. Wilt thou recouer them? Hide them. If therefore we are lodged in the midſt of Cities, let vs keep ſome good counſailor about vs: who oppoſing himſelfe againſt thoſe that praiſe great poſſeſſions, priſeth a rich man very little, and that meaſureth his goods by their vſe: againſt thoſe who make reckoning of nothing but credite and humane greatneſſe, let him approue and commend that honeſt repoſe which the ſtudy of good letters giueth; and let him eſteeme nothing ſo much as a conſcience that hath forſaken al tranſitory things, to ground himſelfe vpon the reall good? Let him ſhew that all they who are commonly called happy tremble, and are diſmayed in that high degree ſo much enuied, and haue a farre other opinion of themſelues then the people hath. For thoſe things that are raiſed & highly priſed in other mens eyes, in their iudgments are ſlippery, ſteepy, & vncertain. For this cauſe they are heartleſſe and fearfull as often as they looke into this ſteepe mountain of mightines, wherupon they are mounted. Then ſuſpect they thoſe things they deſired, and their felicity which hath beene ſo odious vnto others, is more hatefull to themſelues: Then praiſe they a peaceable and retired life: authority is diſtaſtefull vnto them, they ſeeke to be diſcharged of their proſperitie; then ſhalt thou ſee them play the Philoſophers for feare, and take good

counſaile

counſaile from their aduerſitie. For as if proſperitie and a good minde were appointed contraries, we are moſt wiſe in our miſeries, contrariwiſe proſperitie bereaueth vs of our iudgement.

Epist. XCV.

It adhereth or dependeth of the former, and the queſtion is, whether the Exhortatorie part of Philoſophie may alone ſuffice? When as eſpecially he hath ſhewed ſo many and ſo cleare vſes thereof. He denieth, ſetteth downe, and refelleth the arguments which are vrged. Therefore he praiſeth the doctrinall part, and ſheweth that precepts flow from that fountaine, and that life is contained therein. He intermixeth worthy things, and by the way maketh an excurſion againſt riot, luſt, and vnlawfull affection of honors. The whole Epiſtle is excellent and fruitfull.

THou requireſt me to repreſent that which I had remitted, till another time, and that I ſhould write vnto thee, if that part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth in precepts, which the Greekes call παραινετικὴ, wee preceptiue bee ſufficient to make a man perfectly wiſe. I know thou wilt take it in good part, if I deny the ſame, and for that cauſe the rather doe I renue my promiſe, and will not ſuffer that my word ſo expreſly and ſolemnly engaged ſhould be broken. Hereafter aske me nothing which thou wilt not obtaine, for ſometimes wee inſtantly require that, which wee would refuſe if it were offered vnto vs. This, whether it bee lightneſſe or familiaritie, is to bee puniſhed with a facilitie of promiſing: wee ſeeme to will many things which we would not. A certaine Reciter brought a great hiſtorie written in a ſmall hand, and ſtraitly foulded, and hauing red ouer a great part thereof: *I will giue ouer* (ſaith he) *if you will.* To this it is anſwered with a loud voice. *Reade on, Reade on*, by thoſe who would willingly that hee ſhould preſently hold his peace. Oftentimes we will owe things, and wiſh another, and to the gods themſelues wee ſpeake not truth; but the gods either heare vs not, or haue mercie vpon vs. But I ſetting apart all fauour will redeeme my ſelfe, and will cloy thee with a long Epiſtle, which if thou reade vnwillingly, ſay that thou thy ſelfe art the cauſe, and number thy ſelfe amongſt thoſe whom a wife continually tormenteth to get her ſelfe ſome new gowne daily: amongſt thoſe that haue no ioy of the goods they haue gotten with great labour: amongſt thoſe whom honour torments, being gotten by all induſtrie and labour, and the reſt who are partakers of their owne euils. But leauing this Preface, I come to the point. A bleſſed life (ſay they) conſiſteth of iuſt actions, whereunto we are led by precepts; conſequently precepts are ſufficient to make the life happie. Yet precepts doe not alwayes lead a man to iuſt actions, but when as the minde is capable and conformable to inſtructions. Sometimes they are propoſed in vaine, to wit, when the vnderſtanding is beſieged with falſe opinions. Againe, although they doe right, yet know they not that they doe right. For no man can performe that which he ought euerie way, nor vnderſtand when hee ought to doe a thing, nor how much, nor with whom, nor how, if from the beginning he hath not beene addreſſed and faſhioned exactly in all reaſon. By meanes whereof he cannot with his whole minde conſtantly and willingly endeuour vnto vertue, but ſhall be doubtfull and look backe. If an honeſt action (ſay they) proceedeth from precepts, precepts ſhall ſufficiently

ſufficiently ſuffice to make the life happie, but the one is true, conſequently, therefore ſo is the other. To theſe we anſwere, that honeſt actions proceed not onely from precepts and particular inſtructions, but alſo from maximes and generall rules. If other artes (ſaith he) are content with precepts, wiſdome alſo will be contented, which is the art of life, but he maketh a maſter of a ſhip that inſtructeth him thus. Steere after this manner, ſtrike ſaile after this faſhion, take the benefit of a good winde thus, reſiſt a contrarie that way, and make vſe of ſuch a meanes to warrantiſe thee from a croſſe winde. Precepts likewiſe confirme other ſorts of Artiſts. Cannot therefore Philoſophers teach others to liue; cannot they doe the like? All theſe arts are employed about the inſtruments of life, not about the whole life, and therefore many things hinder and let them externally, ſuch as are hope, couetouſneſſe, and feare. But Wiſdome the miſtris of life cannot be hindered by any thing from continuing her exerciſe, for ſhee preuenteth impediments, and temperateth obſtacles. Wilt thou know wherein they differ in condition? In mechanique arts it is more excuſable to ſinne for want of aduice, then caſually, and in wiſdome it is a great fault to ſinne willingly. That which I ſay is ſo. The Grammarian is not aſhamed of a Soleciſme, if he make it willingly, but he bluſheth if he doe it without taking heed. If the Phyſitian foreſeeth not that his patient begins to weare away, he committeth more error in his art, then if he perceiued the defect, and pretended not to know it. But in the art of good life, more ſhamefull is their fault, who offend willingly. Adde hereunto that the moſt kinde of arts, yea of them all the moſt liberall haue not only their precepts, but decrees, as Phyſicke hath. There is therefore one ſect of *Hippocrates*, another of *Aſclepiades*, another of *Themiſon*. Beſides no contemplatiue art is without her decrees, which the Greekes call δόγματα, wee precepts: propoſitions and foundations, which you ſhall finde in Geometrie and Aſtronomie. But Philoſophie is both contemplatiue and actiue, ſhe ſpeculateth and ſetteth hand to the worke. For thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that ſhe only promiſeth terreſtriall actions, ſhe aſpireth more high. I ſearch (ſaith ſhee) the whole world, neither containe I my ſelfe incloſed in the company of mortall men, to the onely end to perſwade or diſſwade. Great matters, ſuch as are aboue your reach call and inuite me.

For firſt I will diſcloſe and let thee know
The ſecrets of the heau'ns and higher powers,
Whence Nature formes, and whence ſhe makes things grow,
Whence they encreaſe, and ſpread their ſeeds and flowers,
Ile count thee all their of-ſprings and their ends,
And what in each thing Nature moſt intends.

Lucret. de Natura rerum.

As *Lucretius* ſaith. It followeth therefore that being contemplatiue, ſhee hath her decrees. In effect no man ſhall euer performe that which he ought, but he that hath comprehended the reaſon whereby in euery thing he may performe his decrees in all offices; which hee ſhall not obſerue who hath receiued but meere precepts. Thoſe things that are diſtributed by parcels are feeble in themſelues, and if I may ſo ſay, without roote. Thoſe are decrees which defend vs, which maintaine our ſecuritie and tranquillitie, which comprehend at once all life and all nature. The ſame difference is there betweene the decrees and precepts of Philoſophie, as there is betweene letters and whole clauſes. The one depend vpon the other, decrees alſo are the cauſe of precepts and of all things.

The

The ancient wiſdome, ſaith he, onely taught nought elſe, but what was to be done, and to be eſteemed. And then were men farre better, after learned men began to flouriſh, good men were ſcant. For that ſimple and open truth is changed into an obſcure and ſubtill ſcience, and we are taught how to diſpute, not how to liue. Without doubt, that ancient wiſdome, as you ſay, was rude and ſimple in the beginning, no leſſe then other arts which haue beene poliſhed by ſucceſſion of time. But at that time alſo the preſent remedies were not neceſſarie, wickedneſſe was not growne to that height, neither had ſhee ſpread her ſelf ſo largely euery where; ſimple remedies were ſufficient for ſimple vices. But now the more ſtrange the miſchifes are which aſſault vs, the more ſolide ſhould our reſiſt and defences be. Phyſicke in times paſt was but the knowledge of a few Simples, whereby a flux of blood might be ſtayed, and wounds by little and little might be healed. Afterwards ſhee attained to this raritie of medicines: neither is it to be wondered at, that in thoſe dayes ſhe had ſo little to doe; ſure then men had more ſtronge bodies, and were contented with eaſie and ſimple diet, and not corrupted by art and pleaſure. Which diet, after it beganne to be ſought, not to take away, but prouoke hunger; and a thouſand ſorts of ſauces were inuented, whereby the appetite might be awakened. Thoſe meats which ſuſtained ſuch men as were hungrie, are become as many burthens to full bellies. From thence proceeded paleneſſe, and the trembling of the nerues, being drowned in wine, and a more miſerable leaneneſſe cauſed rather by crudities, then by hunger. From this exceſſe hath proceeded the weaknes and ſtumbling of the feete, and ſuch a kinde of gate as drunken men vſe. Thence grew the water betwixt the filme and fleſh, thence was the belly diſcended, whileſt it was accuſtomed to receiue more then it could containe. Thence came the blacke Ianders, the diſcoloured face, and the conſumption of ſuch as rotted inwardly. Thence crooked fingers, by reaſon of the ſtifnes of the ioynts, hence the Apoplexie, hence the Palſey: why ſhould I reckon vp the ſwimming and turning of the head, the torments both of eyes and eares, and the vermination of the inflamed braine; and all the paſſages of our bodies, whereby wee are purged, affected with inward vlcers. Beſides an innumerable ſort of Feuours, the one violent and ſudden, the other lent and lingring, the other beginning with much horror and ſhaking of the members? why ſhould I rip vp other innumerable diſeaſes, the iuſt plagues of intemperance? Free were they from thoſe euils, who as yet were not weakened by theſe delicates, who gouerned and miniſtred vnto themſelues. They hardened their bodies with induſtry and true labour, either wearied with running, or hunting, or plowing of their lands; and their meat was ſuch as could not pleaſe any but ſuch as were hungry. There was therefore no need of ſo great a multitude of Phyſitians, neither of ſo many inſtruments and ſubnotaries. There health being entertained by a ſimple cauſe, was ſimple alſo: many diſhes haue bred many ſickneſſes. Behold how many things gormundize the ruine both of land and ſea, intermixeth together to the end they might afterwards be ſwallowed by one greedie guilet. It cannot be, but that things ſo diuers ſhould ſtriue one with another, and after they are ſwallowed downe, ſhould hardly be diſgeſted, by reaſon that the one is a hinderance to the other. It is no maruell, if of meats ſo different, ſuch confuſed and violent ſickneſſes are engendred, nor that the humours being driuen by contrary paſſages, ſhould redound as they doe. See heere the cauſe why we haue ſo many different ſorts of ſickneſſes, as of meats. The greateſt of the Phyſitians, and the Founder of the Science, ſaith, that women are neither bauld nor

ſicke

ſicke of the gout, yet they at this day are both deſtitute of haire and lame in their feet. The nature of women is not changed, but the life. For whereas they haue equalled men in their licentiouſnes, they haue likewiſe had an equall part in their maladies. They watch no leſſe, they drinke no leſſe, and challenge their huſbands in bathing and drunkenneſſe. Both the one and the other hauing, as it were, by force filled their panches, yeeld it vp againe by their mouths, and in vomitting returne backe againe all the wine they haue ſwallowed. The women as wel as the men gnaw vpon the Ice to coole their ouer-hot ſtomacks. But in luſt they ſurpaſſe the males, being borne to ſuffer. The gods and goddeſſes confound them, who haue peruerted the order of habitation both with male and female. Wonder not therefore, though the greateſt amongſt Phyſitians, and Naturaliſts was deceiued in this, that at this time there are ſo many bauld and gowtie women. By exceſſe haue they loſt the benefit of their ſex, and becauſe they haue ſhaken off the habit of women, they are condemned to endure the ſickneſſes of men. The ancient Phyſitians knew not what it was to preſcribe their patients to feed often, and to repleniſh their vaines that were emptied with wine: they knew neither how to cup nor to ſcarifie, nor to bath and ſweat thoſe that had been long time ſicke, they knew not how by binding the legs and armes, to reuoke the hidden heat to the outward parts, which was ſtayed in the center. There was no need to looke about for many kinds of remedies, when as there were but few ſorts of ſickneſſes. But now to what number and height are infirmities growne? This is the vſury which we pay for ſo much pleaſure as we haue wrongfully and inordinately deſired. Maruelleſt thou to ſee ſo many ſickneſſes? Number me the Cookes. All ſtudie is giuen ouer. The profeſſors of liberall ſciences are without auditors, their ſieges void, and their ſchollers gone. Solitude dwelleth in the Schooles of Rhetoricians and Philoſophers. Contrariwiſe, how many famous Kitchins are there: how many yong men fill vp the fires of ſuch as are prodigall and diſſolute. I ſpeake not of the troopes of poore yong children, who at the ſhutting vp of a feaſt attend to ſuffer other villanie in the chambers. I ouerſlip the troopes of thoſe that haue beene abuſed contrarie to Nature, diſtinguiſhed by nations and colours, ſo as on the one ſide, all they of the ſame height are raunged, and they whoſe beards begin to bud, and ſuch as are haired alike, to the end that he who hath the ſtraight and long haire, ſhould not bee mixed amongſt thoſe that are curled. I ouerpaſſe the troopes of Paſtlers, and attendants who ſerue in ſupper when the ſigne is giuen them. Good God, how many men are buſied about one belly. Thinkeſt thou that theſe muſhromes, a ſort of pleaſant poiſon, although they hurt not vpon the preſent, doe they not ſecretly work and wrong at laſt? Thinkeſt thou that this ſnow, which they vſe to refreſh and coole themſelues with in Sommer, hardeneth not their liuers, and that vnſauoury meat of Oyſters, that are fattened with mud, engender they not viſcous and clammie humors? Beleeueſt thou not that the ſauce which is compoſed of Mackerels and other ſort of fiſh that coſts ſo deere, doth it not with his drying ſaltneſſe burne the entrailes? Iudgeſt thou that theſe rotten ioyces which are ſwallowed downe hot, can they without harme be extinguiſhed in the ſtomacke? How filthie and peſtilent belches? What loathing of themſelues? Whileſt they diſgorge their old ſurfets? Know thou, that whatſoeuer they take rotteth, but diſgeſteth not. I remember that in times paſt *Æſopes* diſh was much ſpoken of, wherein this ſweet-lipped fellow running vnto his owne ruine, gathered all that was either rare or daintie from the tables of great men: there were diuers ſorts

of

of shel-fish handsomly chewed and ready to swallow, athwart whereof were enterlaced Creuisses, and aboue them dressed Barbels, cut in pieces and seuered from their sinnes and bones. It loatheth them to feede on euerie dish apart, all sauces are mixt in one, and at supper-time that is done, that should be done after collation time. Now must I expect to haue the minsed meates serued in so small, as if they had been chewed. What difference is there betweene taking away the scales and bones, or to haue a Cooke to execute the office of our teeth? It is too tedious a thing to disguise all sortes of meates; for once wee must make a hochpot, why should I put any hand into a dish that had but one kinde of daintie? Let me haue many come together. Let the ornaments of many dishes be vnited and ioyned together. Let them forthwith know, who say that this prodigality at mens Tables is done to make them to be talked of and esteemed, that these are not publique, but excesses done in secret. Let those things that were wont to be seuerally dressed, be serued in in one broth. It is all one as if Oysters and Sea-crabs, Muskels and Mullets be mixed together. The meat of those that vomit should not be more confused. But as these meates and sauces are confounded the one with the other; so likewise of such confused excesse, diuers compounded inexplicable, different, and manifold sickenesses do arise, against which Physique hath begun to arme her selfe with many remedies and obseruations. The same say I of Philosophy; it was in times past more simple, amongst those whose sinnes were not so enormous, but more easie and slight to be cured. Against so great corruption of manners all things are to be attempted. And would to God this plague at last might be so ouercome: we play the mad-men, not onely in priuate but in publique; Doe we represse priuate murthers? What shall I say of warres and the glorious sinne of destroyed countries? Neyther auarice nor crueltie knew any measure; and these things as long as they are done by stealth, and by priuate men are least hurtfull and monstrous. By the ordinances of the Senate, and Edicts of the people, those hainous offences which are condemned in priuate men, are permitted vnto all, and committed in sight of euery man. We praise a publique crime, which we would punish with death had it beene committed secretly. Are not men ashamed, that by nature are the mildest, to take pleasure in shedding their neighbours bloud, to make warre, and leaue this exercise to their children? wheras euen the dumbe and sauage beasts haue peace amongst themselues. Against so potent and generall a furie Philosophy was made more effectuall, and assumed so much power vnto her selfe, as they had gathered against whom she is addressed. It was an easie matter to chide and reproue those that were giuen ouer to wine, and besotted with delicacy and dainties; for there needed no great force to reduce the minde to frugality, from whence by little and little she had reuolted.

Now neede we worke by force and violence,
And then by Art and great experience.

Pleasure is sought for on euery side. No vice conteyneth it selfe in it selfe. Dissolution runs headlong into auarice, honesty is forgotten: there is nothing filthy if it be prised or pleasing. A man, a sacred thing; a man is now murthered in jest. And whereas it was impiety to teach a man to giue and receiue wounds, now expose we him in publique both naked and disarmed, supposing that his death would be a pleasing spectacle to content an assembly. So then in this peruersitie

peruerſitie and corruption of manners there needeth ſome medicine more eager then was accuſtomed to diſſipate theſe inueterate euils. We muſt propoſe *Maximes* and rules, that the perſwaſion of falſities too greatly entertained, may be wholly extinguiſhed. To theſe if we annex precepts, conſolations, exhortations, they may preuaile, being ſcarce powerfull enough of themſelues. If we will ſet them free that are bound, and draw them from thoſe euils wherewith they are now entangled, let them learne what euill is, and what good is. Let them know that all things change their name but onely vertue, and now become euill, and now good. As the firſt bond of warfare is Religion, and the loue of our Enſigne, and the loathing and hainouſneſſe to forſake it, and after this all the reſt are eaſily commanded and obtained at his handes who hath ſolemnly obliged his faith: ſo alſo muſt thou lay the firſt foundations in thoſe whom thou pretendeſt to conduct vnto happy life, and to plant vertue in their hearts. Let them be ſeized with a zealous ſuperſtition thereof, let them loue her, let them deſire to liue with her, not to liue without her. What then? Are there not ſome that without any ſubtill inſtitution, haue become honeſt, and haue attained to great perfection, whilſt they onely ſubmitted themſelues to bare precepts? I confeſſe no leſſe. But they had a happy and apprehending ſpirit, which in a moment apprehended that which is proper for his inſtruction. For euen as the immortall gods haue learned no vertue, whereas by being and nature they are all good, ſo ſome of noble nature comprehend thoſe things which are taught them, and as ſoone as vertue is ſhewed vnto them, they embrace it. Whence grew theſe mindes ſo greedily catching after vertue, and ſo fruitfull of themſelues? But to thoſe that are dull and hard of vnderſtanding, or long time beſieged with euill cuſtomes, the ruſt of their mindes muſt be rubbed off. Euen as we eaſily draw thoſe vnto perfection who are inclined to good; ſo on the other ſide the meanes to redreſſe the feeble, and to diſpoſſeſſe them of their euill opinions, is to propoſe vnto them the rules and *Maximes* of Philoſophie, which are marueilous neceſſary, as thou ſhalt perceiue by that which enſueth. We haue certaine inclinations which make vs heauy in ſome affaires, and light and raſh in others: neyther may this raſhneſſe be repreſſed, nor that ſlowneſſe awakened, except their cauſes be cut off, ſuch as are falſe admiration and fained feare. As long as theſe haue vs in their poſſeſſion, thou mayeſt ſay, This muſt thou doe for thy father, this for thy children, this for thy friends, this for thy gueſts; but auarice will reſtraine him that would attempt ſo good a courſe. He ſhall know that he ought to fight for his countrey, but feare ſhall diſſwade him. He ſhall know that he muſt labour for his friends to the vttermoſt, but pleaſures ſhall withdraw him. He ſhall know that it is a moſt hainous kinde of iniurie towards a wife to entertaine a harlot, yet ſhall luſt compell him to the contrary. It will therfore profite nothing to giue precepts, except thou firſt of all take away all things that are contrary to them: no more then it will profite to haue laide weapons in ſight, and to haue ſet them neerer, except his hands be vnbound that vſeth them. To giue a means vnto the minde to apprehend the precepts which we giue, we muſt giue it libertie. Let vs ſuppoſe that a man doth that which he ought not; he will not doe it continually, he will not doe it equally, for he knoweth not wherefore he doth it. By aduenture or by cuſtome ſome things will goe well, but a man ſhall not haue a rule in hand, to know the ſame whereunto he may truſt that they are rightly done, which he hath done. He will not promiſe to continue good that is caſually good. Againe, pecepts may happily inſtruct thee to doe that which thou

thou oughteſt, but not in that ſort as thou oughteſt; and if they performe not this, they bring thee not to vertue. He ſhall doe that which he is aduiſed to do: I grant it. But that is little, becauſe the praiſe conſiſteth not in the deede, but in the manner how it is done. What is more odious then a ſumptuous ſupper, whereupon a man ſpendeth a Knights liuing? What is more worthy of cenſure then if a man (as theſe gluttons ſay) beſtow this vpon himſelfe and his *Genius*? and yet haue there beene ſome perſons, both very ſober and temperate, that in ſuch extraordinary banquets haue ſpent the ſumme of ſeuentie fiue thouſand crownes. If for gormandize ſake a man lauiſheth in this expence, it is hateſull; if it be to honour any great and noble aſſembly, it may be borne withall, for it is no exceſſe but a ſolemne expence. The Emperour *Tiberius* hauing receiued a Barbell of a wonderfull greatnes: (ſhall I ſet downe the weight to awake gourmands? for it is ſaid that it weighed more then foure pounds & a halfe) cõmanded it to be carried to the market and ſould, ſaying to thoſe that kept him company at that time; *My friends, I am much deceiued, but eyther* APICIVS *or* P. OCTAVIVS *will buy this Barbell.* But there fell out farre more then he expected; for they ſet the Barbell to be cried, and it was ſold to him that offered moſt. *Octauius* bare it away, and was highly priſed amongſt his adherents, becauſe he had bought a Barbell which the Emperour had ſolde, and *Apicius* could not buy it for two hundreth crowns, or thereabouts. It was a ſhame for *Octauius* to diſburſe ſo much money, not for him that bought it to ſend it to *Tiberius*, although I would not excuſe him. He admired the thing which he thought *Cæſar* worthy of. A man ſits by his friend that is ſicke: I allow it; but if he doe it in hope to be his heire, he is a Vulture, he expecteth carrion. The ſame things are both honeſt and diſhoneſt: but it importeth to know wherefore, or how. But all things will be done honeſtly, if we addict our ſelues thereunto, and iudge it with the dependances thereof, to be the onely good of humane life, the reſt are good but for a ſhort time. We muſt therefore imprint in our hearts a leſſon that extendeth it ſelfe to the whole life: this is that which I call a decree. Such as this perſwaſion is, ſuch ſhall thoſe things be which ſhall be eyther done or thought. And ſuch as theſe ſhall be, ſuch ſhall be the life. It is but a ſmall matter for him that would rule the whole, to giue counſaile that it ſhould be diſtributed into parts. *M. Brutus* in his booke he intituled περὶ καθήκοντος, giueth many precepts both to father and mother, children and brothers, which no man ſhall performe as he ought, except he haue ſome rule whereunto he may haue relation. Let vs propoſe vnto our ſelues a ſcope or ſoueraigne good, at which we ayme, and to which we addreſſe al our thoughts and life, as the Marriners ought to ſhape their courſe vnder the aſpect of ſome certaine ſtarre. Life without a limit is extrauagant: if this limit muſt be propoſed, the rules that ſhew vs the ſame, begin to be neceſſarie. Thou wilt confeſſe this, as I ſuppoſe, that there is nothing more ſhamefull, then to ſee a man that is doubtfull, irreſolute, fearfull, that now ſets forward, and then ſlides backward. This will befall vs in all things, if we doe not rent away that impriſoneth and reſtraineth our vnderſtandings, and that hindereth them from ſtirring at their pleaſure. It is a vſuall thing to teach the manner how to ſerue the gods. We forbid men to light lamps on the Sabboth dayes, becauſe the gods haue no want of light, and men take no pleaſure in ſmoake. We forbid men from doing their reuerences and ſalutations in the morning, and permit no man to ſit at the Temple gates; for humane ambition is baited and caught by theſe offices. He that knoweth God, ſerueth and hononreth him. We forbid men to bring ſheets & bathing-combs

to *Iupiter*, or to hold a glaſſe before *Iuno*. God ſeeketh no Miniſters. Why not? He miniſtereth to mankind. Each where is he readie and addreſſed to helpe all men. Although he heare, how he ought to behaue himſelfe in ſacrifices, and eſtrange himſelfe from curious and troubleſome ſuperſtitions; yet would all this bee nothing to his perfection, except hee haue conceiued in his vnderſtanding a god, ſuch as he ought to apprehend him, namely, ſuch a one as hath all things, that giueth all things, and beſtoweth his benefits gratice. But who inciteth the gods to doe all theſe goods for men? Their nature. He erreth, whoſoeuer thinketh that they will doe hurt. They cannot, neither can they receiue or doe iniurie. For to hurt, and to be hurt, are things conioynt and haue relation the one vnto the other. That ſoueraigne and faire nature aboue all hath exempted thoſe men from dangers, which are not dangerous. Moreouer, the firſt ſeruice due vnto the gods, is to beleeue that they are next to acknowledge their maieſtie and bountie, without which their maieſtie were nothing. To know that they are thoſe that gouerne the world, who temper all things as their owne, who haue all men vnder their protection, and are ſometimes curious of priuate men. Theſe neither giue, nor haue euill, although they chaſtiſe, repreſſe, and afflict, and puniſh likewiſe ſome men at ſometime, vnder appearance of euill. Wilt thou haue the gods fauourable vnto thee? Be a good man. He giueth them ſufficiently that imitateth them. Heere followeth another queſtion, how we ought to vſe and ſerue men. What doe we? What precepts giue we? To ſhed no humane bloud? How ſmall a matter is it not to hurt him, whom thou oughteſt to profit? Truely it is worthie much praiſe for one man to be kinde vnto another. Shall we command him to ſuccour the ſhipwracked, to bring the wanderer into his way, to diuide his bread with the hungry? What need I to ſpecifie all that which it behoueth him to doe or flie, when as in three words I will propoſe a forme of humane offices? All this world, in which all diuine and humane things are incloſed, is but one: we are the members and parcels of this great bodie. Nature hath created vs akin, in forming vs of the ſame elements, and in the ſame encloſure. She hath planted mutuall loue in our hearts, and made vs ſociable. She it is that hath compoſed iuſtice and equity, and by her ordinance it is a more miſerable thing to doe, then to ſuffer iniurie. By her command are his hands addreſſed, that helpeth and comforteth another. Let vs haue this verſe in our hearts, and in our mouthes:

I am a man, and thinke this true to be,
That nothing humane is estrang'd from mee.

Let vs poſſeſſe this common good, that we are borne. Mans ſociety reſembleth a vault of ſtone, which would fall except the ſtones reſiſted one another; ſo that by this meanes it is ſuſtained. After gods and men, let vs behold how we ought to vſe theſe things: vnprofitable ſhould our precepts be, if firſt of all we knew not what opinion we ought to haue of euery thing, as of pouertie, riches, glory, ignominie, our country and baniſhment. Let vs eſteeme euery one of them without reſpect of common apprehenſion, and let vs examine what they be, not what they are called. Let vs paſſe ouer to vertues. Some one would require that we ſhould priſe prudence, that we ſhould reſpect valour, that we ſhould loue temperance, and that (if it might be) we ſhould ioyne our ſelues vnto iuſtice more ſtrictly, then vnto the reſt. But this would be to no purpoſe, if we be ignorant what vertue is, if there be one or many, if they be ſeparated or vnited,

if

if he that poſſeſſeth one of them hath all, and how the one differeth from the other. It is not needfull now for a Smith to enquire what the beginning and vſe of his arte is, nor for a Ieſter to examine what the arte of dancing is. All theſe occupations know themſelues, they want nothing, becauſe they appertaine not to the whole life. But Vertue is the ſcience both of others and of her ſelfe, we muſt learne of her, to the end we may vnderſtand what we ought to will. If the will be not good, the action which proceedeth from the ſame ſhall neuer be. Furthermore, the will ſhall be peruerſe, if the habitude of the ſpirit be not vpright, becauſe that from that the will hath his being; and this habite of minde ſhall not be in the beſt ſtate, if it comprehendeth not all the rules of life (conſidering the iudgement which a man ought to haue of euery thing) and ſhut them all within the circle of truth. The contentment of the ſpirit is a good that befalleth no man, except thoſe that are endowed with a certaine and vnmoueable indgement. The reſt of men ſlip, fall, and ſometimes or other riſe againe, and doe but float betwixt that which they haue omitted, and that which they deſired. The cauſe of this toſſing and ſhaking is, becauſe hauing builded vpon common report, which is a wonderous and vncertaine manner of liuing, they are aſſured and confident in nothing. If thou wilt alwaies haue the ſame will, thou muſt will thoſe things that are true. There is no way to attaine truth without Maximes, for they containe life, good and euill, honeſt and diſhoneſt things, iuſt and vniuſt, pious and impious, vertue and the vſes of vertue, the poſſeſſion of things commodious, exiſtimation and dignitie, health, force, forme, and ſagacitie of the ſences; all theſe require ſuch a one as can iudge of them, and knoweth at what price they ought to be taxed. For thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe, and thinkeſt that ſome things are of greater value then they be, and the more art thou deceiued, in priſing riches, credit, and power (as many other of thy ranke doe) which are not to be accounted worth any thing. Thou ſhalt not know this, if thou reſpecteſt not rule, whereby theſe things are eſtimated amongſt themſelues. Euen as leaues cannot flouriſh by themſelues, but require a bough whereunto they may cleaue, and from whence they may draw iuyce and nouriſhment: ſo theſe precepts decay and vaniſh, if they be alone, they will be affixed and grounded vpon Maximes. Beſides, they vnderſtand not who take away decrees, that they are confirmed by that very meanes, whereby they are extinguiſhed? For what ſay they? that life is ſufficiently addreſſed by precepts: and that the decrees and principall rules of wiſdome are ſuperfluous. But this which they ſay is a decree as true, as if I ſhould now ſay that we ought to giue ouer precepts, and onely rely vpon Maximes, in denying the vſe of precepts, I ſhould recommend the ſame by this precept of mine. Some things there are that content themſelues with a ſimple admonition of Philoſophie, otherſome that would be proued: and ſome there are, that are ſo confuſed, that hardly and without great ſearch a man cannot vnderſtand their true ſence: if proofes be neceſſarie, ſo are decrees likewiſe, which gather the truth by arguments. Some matters are eaſie, other ſome are obſcure. Thoſe are eaſie and open, which are comprehended by ſence and memorie, and thoſe obſcure which are not ſubiect thereunto. But Reaſon contenteth not her ſelfe with things that are manifeſt. The greateſt and moſt beautifull part therof, is grounded on that which is hidden. Thoſe things that are hidden require proofe, proofe is not without decrees; decrees therefore are neceſſarie. The perſwaſion and apprehenſion of certaine things, without which all our thoughts are vncertaine and without ſtay, is that which perfecteth the common ſence, and

maketh it accomplished. Whence it followeth that decrees are necessary, which giue vnto the minde an inflexible iudgement. In briefe, when we exhort any man to esteeme his friend as much as himselfe, let him thinke that his enemie may be made his friend, that he encrease more and more the friendship he beareth vnto the one, and moderate his hatred towards the other; we adde thereunto that it is iust and honest. But this honestie and equitie is comprised, in the reason of our decrees or rules. It is therefore necessarie, without the which the other cannot be. But let vs ioyne the generall rules and precepts together, for both without the root the boughes are vnprofitable, and the rootes themselues are aided by those branches they haue produced. No man can be ignorant what profit the hands haue in them, for they manifestly helpe. That heart whereby the hands liue, from whence they take their forces, by which they are moued, lieth hidden. The same can I say of precepts; they are open, but the decrees of wisdome are hidden. As there are none but such as professe, that know the mysteries of sacred things: so likewise in Philosophie, the secrets of the same are not discouered, but to such persons as are admitted and receiued into her sanctuary: but precepts and such other things, euen those that are prophane know thē *Posidonius* iudgeth, that not only preception (for nothing prohibiteth vs to vse this word) but also perswasion, consolation, & exhortation are necessary. To these he addeth the inquisition of causes, which why should we not be bould to call the character, as wel as the Grammarians, who in their owne right terme themselues the maintainers and keepers of the Latine tongue I see no cause. He saith that the description of euery vertue will be necessary. This doth *Posidonius* call *Ænologia*, the Grecians χαρακτήρισμον, which expresseth the signes and notes of euery vertue and vice, whereby those things that are alike may be discerned the one from the other. This hath the same force as the proposition of precepts. For he that giueth precepts, saith, Thou shalt doe thus, if thou wilt be temperate. He who describeth, saith, The temperate man is he that doth these things, and abstaineth from those. Askest thou me what the difference is? The one giueth precepts of vertue, the other example. I confesse that these descriptions, and to vse the words of the Publicans, ἐκτυπώσεις, that is to say, markes proceed from vse. Let vs propose laudable things, and we shall finde such as will follow them. Thinkest thou that it is profitable to haue instructions giuen thee how to know a generous Horse, lest thou be deceiued, and thou buy a sluggard and a Iade. How much more profitable is this, to know the markes of an excellent minde, whereby thou mayest be able to apply them to thy selfe.

Virg. 3. Geor-gicon.

The goodly coult bred from a noble race
Begins to grow amiddest the spacious fields,
And proudly ouer hill and dale doth pace,
His force vnto no threatning torrent yeelds,
The seas vnknowne he swimmes and neuer feares,
The threatning brookes; his force and courage proud,
To further kindes encrease is daily bent,
No sooner tempts his eare the trumpet loud,
Or clattering armes some future warre present:
But straight he startles beating of the ground
With horny hoofe, his eares are prickt vpright,
He shakes his ioynts, he doth coruet and bound,
He snortes and puffes, with fome his bit is white.

Our

Our *Virgil*, vnder the ſimilitude of a horſe, deſcribeth a man of great minde. For mine owne part, I would not giue any other portraiture of a great perſonage. If I ſhould repreſent *Cato* dreadleſſe, and aſſured amongſt the noices of ciuill warres, being the firſt that charged and skirmiſhed with the companies aireadie approching the Alpes, and running before the ruine of the Common-weale, I would aſſigne him no other countenance, no other habit. Truely no man could engage himſelfe further then he, who at one time made head againſt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and defied them both, and ſhewed that the Common-weale had ſome partakers. For it is a ſmall matter to ſay of *Cato*,

Nor feares rumors falſe.

Why? becauſe he cared not for euident and true conſpiracies. Did he not in deſpight of ten Legions entertained and muſtered from France, and from other forren troopes, intermixed with the Romans, ſpeake freely, and exhort his Citizens to maintaine their libertie, and to trie all meanes, yea to hazard death it ſelfe, rather then to loſe their libertie; it being more honeſt for them to fall into ſeruitude by conſtraint, then by their owne wills to go vnto it. How great vigor and ſpirit was there in him, what confidence when the reſt of the Common-weale was confuſed? He knoweth that the queſtion is not of his eſtate; that it concerneth not him, that the queſtion is not whether *Cato* be free, but whether he be amongſt free-men. Thence groweth it that he diſdaineth dangers and drawne ſwords. In admiration of the inuincible conſtancie of this perſon, confirmed in his conſtancie amiddeſt the ruines of his Country, I will ſay in imitation of *Virgil*, that *Cato* had

A mightie minde, high, ſtout, and generous.

It ſhall doe well, not onely to expreſſe who they are, that haue beene accuſtomed to be good men, and to repreſent ſome counterfeit of them, but alſo to recount and particularly ſet downe that laſt and valourous wound of *Catoes*, through the which libertie it ſelfe loſt her life. Likewiſe the wiſdome of *Lælius*, and the good accord betwixt him and his friend *Scipio*, The braue actions both publike and particular of *Marcus Cato*, ſirnamed *Cenſor*, the Couches of *Tubero* made of plaine wood, ſet in open view, couered with Goats skins, and the veſſels of earth wherein they were ſerued at the table, who banquetted before the Chappell of *Iupiter*: what other thing was this, but to conſecrate pouertie before the Capitol? Had I no other action of *Tuberos*, but this, to rancke him in the number of the *Catoes*. Thinke you this to be a ſmall matter? This was no banquet, but a Cenſure, O how little knew theſe ambitious men what this cenſure is, and how it ought to be deſired! In that day the Roman people beheld many rich aud ſumptuous moueables, but admired none but the vtenſiles of this one man. All their gold and ſiluer hath beene broken and melted a thouſand times, but *Tuberoes* veſſels of earth ſhall endure for euer.

Epist. XCVI.

Against complainers, and that all things ſhould come from Fate and God. Why therefore are we diſpleaſed? Let vs obey them, or rather aſſent vnto them.

WHence proceed theſe deſpights and plaints? Knoweſt thou not that in all the euils of this life, there is but one euill, which is when thou art diſpleaſed, and complaineſt? If thou aske mine aduice, I thinke there is not any miſerie in a man, except he thinke that there is ſomething miſerable in the nature of things. I endure not my ſelfe that day wherein I can ſuffer nothing. Am I ſicke? it is a part of my deſtiny. Is my family afflicted with infirmities? Doth vſury offend me, my houſe cracke ouer me? Am I aſſaulted by dangers, wounds, trauailes, and feares? This happeneth ordinarily, this is a ſmall matter, this ſhould be done, theſe are not caſuall, they are decreed. If thou thinke me to be a true man, when I diſcouer freely vnto thee what I thinke, know that in all accidents which ſeeme aduerſe and hard, I am ſo formed. I obey not God forcibly but freely, I follow him with a free heart, and not enforced. Nothing ſhall euer befall me, that I will entertaine ſorrowfull or with ſad countenance, I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. All thoſe things which we grieue at, for which we feare, are the tributes of life: neither hope thou (my *Lucillius*) neither demand thou an exemption from the furie. A paine of the bladder hath tormented thee. This banquet hath little pleaſure in it; theſe are continuall paſſions. I will come more neere, thou haſt beene put in feare of thy life. But knoweſt thou not that in deſiring to be old, thou deſireſt ſuch incommodities as are ordinarie in a long life; as in a long way we finde duſt, dirt, and raine? But I would liue and feele no diſcommoditie, whatſoeuer. So effeminate a ſpeech becommeth not a man. Conſider how thou wilt entertaine this vow of mine, which I proteſt with a great and generous minde, neuer let the gods and goddeſſes permit, that proſperitie make thee a wanton. Aske thy ſelfe, if (by permiſſion of any god) thou mighteſt haue thy choice which of theſe two thou wouldeſt accept, either to liue in a Shambles, or in an Armie. But our life (my *Lucillius*) is but a warfare. They therefore who are toſſed, that mount and deſcend from rockes and high places, that execute dangerous commiſſions, ought to be reputed valiant men, and chiefeſt in the Armie. But they, who whileſt their companions trauaile, repoſe themſelues at their pleaſures in all delights, are effeminate and nothing worth, who liue at pleaſure to doe wrong vnto other men, and to meet with it themſelues one day.

Epist. XCVII.

That both now and in times past were euill men, he deduceth example from the iudgement of Clodivs, *which he corrupted by bribes and adulteries. After this of the force of conscience, and that by her offences are condemned, and also punished by an internall whip and gnawe.*

THou abusest thy selfe, my *Lucilius*, if thou thinkest that dissolutenesse, and neglect of good manners, and other vices which euery man reproueth in the age wherin he liueth, are the imperfections of our age. It is not the time but the men that are to be blamed for this. No age hath beene free from vice; and if thou beginnest to estimate the libertie and looseneſſe of euery time I am ashamed to say it. Neuer did the world offend more openly then before *Cato*. Can any man beleeue, that mony was stirring in that iudgement, wherein *Clodius* was accused for that adulterie which he had secretly committed with *Cæsars* wife, violating the ceremonies of that sacrifice, which was said to be made for the people, from the sight whereof all men are so much exempted (for onely women are admitted to attend the same) that the very pictures of male beasts were couered likewise. But money was giuen to the Iudges, and (that which is more villainous then all the rest) there were some that exacted in way of salarie, the licence to violate Matrons and young Noblemen. More sinne was there committed in absoluing then acting the crime. He that was guilty of adultery, diuided adulteries; neyther was he secured of his life, before such time, as he had made his Iudges like vnto himselfe. These things were done in that iudgement, wherein *Cato* (if nought else) gaue in testimonie in the cause: I will set downe *Ciceroes* very words, because the thing exceedeth all beleefe; *Hee sent for those persons that were required at his hands, he promised, he intreated, he gaue. But now O good Gods, what wickednesse? Some of the Iudges in ouerplus of their paines, lay with and passed the night with certaine women, and young Noblemen that were brought vnto them.* I haue no minde to enquire how much money they receiued. There was more in that which succeeded. Wilt thou haue the wife of that seuere fellow *Cato?* or of such a one who is rich, that is to say *Crassus*? thou shalt lie with her. When thou hast committed the adultery condemne the crime. That faire lasse which thou desirest shall come vnto thee? I promise thee that she shall accompany thee this night, neyther will I delay thee; I will perform my word within foure and twenty houres. It is more to distribute adulteries, then to commit them. That is to giue summons to all the Matrons, that to delude them. These Iudges of *Clodius* required a guard at the Senates hands, whereof they had no neede except in condemning the faultie, yet was it granted vnto them. By meanes whereof, after they had absolued *Clodius* they were wittily scoffed at by Catvlvs; *To what intent*, said he, *required you a guarde at our hands? Was it for feare lest your money should be taken from you?* Yet amidst all these jests, and before the sentence was giuen, the adulterer remained vnpunished: during the processe this baude maintained himselfe, committing (to the end he might warrantize himselfe from punishment) a more greater wickednesse then the former, for which he should haue beene condemned. Beleeuest thou that any age was more corrupted then that wherein lust could neyther be represſed by pietie nor by iustice? vnder which in the extraordinary inquiry made by decree of the

the Senate, there was more great villany commited, then that which was then in queſtion. The inquiry was, whether after an adultery any man might liue ſecurely in Rome? And it appeared that he could not be ſecure without adultery. This was done betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Cicero* and *Cato*; that *Cato*, I meane, who ſitting by to behold the games, the common people durſt not demand that the common ſports called *Florales* ſhould be giuen them, wherein common and naked ſtrumpets were publiquely preſented. Thinkeſt thou that men haue beene more ſeuere to behold, then to giue ſentence? Such exceſſes haue and will be committed, and the libertie and licentiouſneſſe of Cities (neuer by it ſelfe) but by good lawes and ſharpe puniſhments ſhall be extinguiſhed. Thou art not therefore to beleeue that in theſe dayes onely, the lawes haue little credite, and licentiouſneſſe much. The yonger ſort in this time are not ſo diſordered as in times paſt, when he that was guilty denied the adultery before the Iudges, and the Iudges confeſſe the ſame before him that was faulty, when as in regard of the cauſe that was to be adiudged, whoredomes and villanies were committed, when *Clodius* being well befriended for thoſe Palliardiſes that made him guilty for all allegations furniſhed with harlots to iuſtifie for him. Can any man beleeue this? He that was condemned in one adulterie was abſolued by many. Euery Iudge will affoord vs ſuch as *Clodius*, but not ſuch as *Cato*. All of vs are pliable to the worſt, becauſe therein we ſhall neyther want a guide or companion; and were it we ſhould faile them, the matter of it ſelfe goeth ouer-forward without companion: the way vnto vices is not onely ready but headlong. But the greateſt euill that I ſee, and that maketh men vncurable is, that Artſmen and ſuch as are learned are aſhamed if they happen to erre in the exerciſe of their Arts and profeſſions, where contrariwiſe a wicked man taketh pleaſure in his ſinnes. The Pilot reioyceth not if his Ship be ouerturned, the Phyſitian is ſad if his Patient die, the Orator is penſiue if for want of good pleading his clyent looſe the cauſe; but contrariwiſe, all men take pleaſure in their ſinnes. This man reioyceth in his adultery, eſpecially when he hath compaſſed the ſame with great labour: another taketh pleaſure in his deceit and theft, it is not the ſin that diſpleaſeth him, but the puniſhment he hath had for committing it. See here the fruit of euill cuſtome: Otherwiſe to let thee know, that in conſciences (yea, euen thoſe that are moſt corrupted) there remaineth ſome ſenſe of goodnes, and that ſhame conſiſteth not in the concealing, but the neglect of thoſe that doe euill, there is not one that diſſembleth and couereth it not: and if he chance to obtaine that which he pretendeth, yet would he not be called a whoremonger or thiefe, although he had both committed adulterie and theft. But a good conſcience will appeare and be ſeene. Wickedneſſe is afraid of darkeneſſe it ſelfe. In my minde therefore *Epicurus* hath ſpoken very fitly: *A man that is guilty may hide himſelfe, but he cannot beleeue that he is hidden.* Or if thou thinkeſt that this ſenſe may be better explicated by theſe meanes; *It therefore profiteth not thoſe that ſinne to lie hidden: for although they haue the meanes to hide themſelues, yet haue they no aſſurance.* So it is, iniquities may be concealed, but not aſſured. I ſuppoſe that this is not repugnant to our ſect if it be thus explicated. Why? Becauſe the firſt and greateſt puniſhment of wicked men, is that they haue committed wickedneſſe; neyther is there any hainous crime, though neuer ſo much boulſtred out by humane proſperity, or countenanced and defenced by fortune that remaines vnpuniſhed, becauſe the puniſhment of wickedneſſe is in the wickedneſſe it ſelfe. Meane while, ſhe and her puniſhment are ſeconded and attended by another chaſtiee-

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ment, that is to ſay, with affright and continuall feare, accompanied with a diſtruſt of his owne ſecuritie. Why ſhould I deliuer impietie from this puniſhment? Why ſhould I not leaue her alwayes in ſuſpence. Let vs diſſent from *Epicurus* in this where he ſaith nothing is iuſt by nature, and that crimes are to be auoyded, becauſe the feare may not be eſchued. Herein let vs agree with him, that an euill conſcience ſcourgeth theſe hainous faults, and that ſhe is a terrible torture, being preſſed and beaten continually with perpetual care, becauſe ſhe cannot put truſt in thoſe that would make her beleeue that ſhe is in repoſe. For this is the argument of *Epicurus*, that by nature we abhorre from wickedneſſe, becauſe there is no man how much ſoeuer he be ſecured that feareth not. Fortune deliuereth many men from puniſhment, no man from feare. Why? becauſe there is a certaine hatred infixed in our hearts againſt that thing which nature condemneth. And therefore it is why thoſe who hide themſelues are neuer aſſured in their lurking places, becauſe their conſcience reproueth them, and diſcloſeth themſelues to themſelues. But the propertie of ſuch as are guiltie, is to tremble. It would be ill for vs, becauſe that diuers enormities eſcape the lawe and maieſtrate, and the written puniſhments, if theſe naturall and grieuous puniſhments did not inſtantly pay the wicked, and if feare had not taken place and ſucceeded repentance.

Epist. XCVIII.

That we ought onely to truſt internall goods, and that the reſt com and go. That this is to be meditated vpon, and that all things ought to be conſidered and eſteemed as tranſitory, The minde therefore is to be prepared to the loſſe of ſuch things, and to be confirmed in patience. Why not? Other men haue ſuffered the like. Follow thou their example, nay more, be thou the example thy ſelfe. Aſſuredly this is one amongſt his good and profitable Epiſtles.

NEuer beleeue thou that any man is happy, whoſe felicity is in ſuſpence. He buildeth vpon vncertainties, that reioyceth in caſualties; for the ioy that hath entred will quickly fleete away. But that which proceedeth from it ſelfe is both faithfull and firme, and increaſeth, and proſecuteth euen vnto the end. The reſt, which the common ſort admire, are good for a time. What then? May not they ſerue and giue pleaſure? Who denyeth it? But ſo as they depend on vs, not we on them. All what ſoeuer fortune beholdeth became fruitfull and pleaſant in this ſort, if he that poſſeſſeth them be Maſter of himſelfe likewiſe, and is not ſubiect to that which he hath. For they are deceiued, my *Lucilius*, that think that fortune giueth vs eyther any thing that is good or euill. He giueth vs the matter of goods and euils, and the beginnings of things, which ſhall either haue a happy or vnhappy iſſue with vs. For the minde is ſtronger then any fortune, he conducteth his affaires, eyther right or wrong, he is himſelfe the cauſe of his contented or miſerable life. An euill man conuerteth all things to the worſt, yea, euen thoſe things which happened with appearance of great good. An vpright and good conſcience correcteth the infirmities of fortune, and mollifieth thoſe things which are hard and vntoward by his knowledge how to ſuffer, and the ſame man moſt gratefully and modeſtly entertaineth proſperity, and conſtantly and couragiouſly aduerſitie, who although he be prudent, although he

he doth all things with an exact iudgement, although he attempt nothing aboue his ſtrength, yet that intire good which is ſetled and exempted from the threats of fortune doth not befall him, except he be aſſured againſt whatſoeuer is vncertaine. Whether it be thou wilt obſerue others (for the iudgement is moſt free in other mens affaires) or whether leauing partiality a part, thou wilt beholde thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt both thinke and confeſſe this, that no one of theſe goods which are deſired and priſed is profitable, except thou arme thy ſelfe againſt lightneſſe, and thoſe things that depend on caſualtie, except that oft and without complaint thou ſpeake thus in euery one of thy loſſes. *It is the pleaſure of the gods that it ſhould goe otherwiſe.* Or rather that I may report a ſpeech more ſtrong and iuſt, whereby thy minde may be more enabled, ſay thus when as any thing hath falne out otherwiſe then thou thoughteſt: *The gods ſend better.* Being thus compoſed, nothing ſhall be caſuall: and ſo ſhall he be compoſed, if they ſhall but imagine what the variety of humane affairs may, before he feele it, if he ſo poſſeſſe his children, his wife and patrimony, as if he ſhould not alwaies haue them, and as if he ſhould not be more miſerable for this cauſe, if he ſhould be forced to loſe them. Wretched is that minde that is tormented with that which is to ſucceed, and before miſeries is he miſerable who is carefull, that thoſe things wherein he taketh delight ſhould continue with him to his end: for he ſhall neuer be in quiet, and in expectation of the future, he ſhall loſe the preſent which he might enioy. But the griefe of the thing that is loſt, and the feare of that which is to be loſt, are both equall. Neyther therefore doe I command thee to be negligent. But decline thou from thoſe things that are to be feared, and foreſee all that which prudence may foreſee: conſider and preuent that thing which may offend thee long time before it happen. To this effect thy confidence will ſerue thee greatly, and thy certaine reſolution to ſupport all accidents. He can beware of fortune that can ſuffer fortune: vndoubtedly he neuer ſtormeth in his tranquillity. It is a miſery and extreame folly to be alwayes in feare; what folly is this to goe before a mans euill? In briefe, to let thee know that in a word, which I think I will deſcribe vnto thee, theſe bulie-bodies, and tormenters of themſelues: they are as intemperate in their miſeries as they were before them. He grieueth more then he needeth, that grieueth before he needeth; for by the ſame infirmity he eſtimateth not his griefe, whereby he expecteth it not; with the ſame intemperance he faineth to himſelfe perpetuall felicity, he imagineth that all theſe things that haue befalne him, ſhould not onely endure but increaſe and forgetting that all humane things are both toſſed and changed, which is while he promiſeth himſelfe onely an aſſured eſtate in his caſualties. I finde then that *Metrodorus* ſpake very fitly, when in a letter he ſent vnto his ſiſter to comfort her in the death of her ſonne, which was a childe of great hope, he ſaid that all the goods of mortall men are mortall. Of theſe goods ſpeaketh he which men ſo much affect and flocke after; for the true good periſheth not, wiſedome and vertue are certaine and eternall, theſe onely are the immortall goods that haue befalne mortall men. But men are ſo vnhappy, and ſo farre forgetfull whether they goe, whether euery day draweth them vnto, that they wonder if they loſe any thing, being aſſured one day to loſe all. Whatſoeuer it be that thou art called Maſter of, know that it is not thine, although thou poſſeſſe it. Thou art infirme and mortall there is nothing then in this world that is firme and immortall for thee. It is as neceſſary our goods ſhould periſh as be loſt, and if we take heede it is a great comfort to loſe thoſe goods with a ſetled and reſolute minde, which

muſt periſh. What remedy then ſhall we finde out againſt theſe loſſes? This, that we may keepe in memorie ſuch things as are loſt, neither ſuffer the fruit of them, which we haue gotten by them, to periſh with them. To haue may be taken from vs; to haue had, neuer. Moſt ingratefull is he, who when he hath loſt, oweth nothing for that he hath receiued. Caſualty taketh our ſubſtance from vs, but leaueth the vſe and fruit thereof with vs, which we loſe by the iniquitie of our deſire. Say vnto thy ſelfe; Of theſe things that ſeeme ſo terrible, nothing is inuincible. Many there are that haue ouercome each one of them, *Mutius* the fire, *Regulus* the croſſe, *Socrates* poiſon, *Rutilius* baniſhment. *Cato* death enforced by his owne ſword. Let vs likewiſe get ſome victorie: moreouer, thoſe things which allow & entice the cõmon ſort, vnder appearance of beauty & happines, haue by many & oftentimes bin contemned. *Fabricius* being chiefe of the army, reiected riches, and being Cenſor cõdemned them. *Tubero* iudged pouertie to be worthy both of himſelfe & the Capitol, when as vſing earthen pots in his publike ſupper, he ſhewed that man ought to content himſelfe with that, wherwith the gods diſdained not to be ſometimes ſerued. *Sextius* the Father, a man fit to gouerne the affaires of a Common-weale, refuſed all honourable Offices, and would not accept the dignitie of a Senator, which *Iulius Cæſar* had preſented him, knowing well that whatſoeuer may be giuen, may be taken away. Let vs likewiſe doe ſome of theſe things valiantly. Let vs ranke our ſelues as exemplar men among the reſt. Why are we faint-hearted? Why deſpaire we? Whatſoeuer might be done, can be done. Let vs now purge our mindes, and follow Nature, for he that erreth and ſtrayeth from her muſt of force, deſire, and feare, and be a ſlaue to caſualties. We may returne into the way, we haue libertie to recouer our conſtancie. Let vs be reſtored, that we may endure griefes, in what manner ſoeuer they aſſaile our bodies; and ſay vnto Fortune, *Thou haſt to deale with a man, ſearch out ſome other, a man whom thou mayeſt ouercome.* By theſe ſayings and ſuch like, the force of that vlcer is appeaſed, wherof I deſire either eaſe or recure, or ſtrength to ſupport and waxe old with the ſame. But I am ſecure of him; the queſtion is of our loſſe, whereby a worthy old man is taken from vs. For he is full of life, who deſireth that nothing ſhould be added vnto him for his owne cauſe, but for theirs to whom he is profitable. He doth liberally, becauſe he liueth. Another ere this had finiſhed all theſe troubles: this man thinketh it as foule a thing to ſhunne death, as to ſeeke after death. What then, ſhall he not forſake it, if he be perſwaded thereunto? Why ſhould he not forſake it? If no man now hath any further vſe of him, if hee haue no buſineſſe but to waite vpon paine. This (my *Lucillius*) is to learne Philoſophie in art, and to be exerciſed in the truth, to ſee what minde a prudent man hath againſt death, againſt dolor, when the one approcheth, the other preſſeth him. That which is to be done, is to be learned of him that doth it. Hitherto we haue debated by arguments, whether any man may reſiſt paine, or death likewiſe may humble great mindes, when it aſſaileth them. What need many words? The thing diſcouereth it ſelfe, let vs trauell thereunto: neither doth death make him more ſtronger againſt paine, neither paine confirme him againſt death. hee armeth himſelfe againſt both; neither patiently greeueth he in hope of death, neither dieth he willingly thorow the tediouſneſſe of paine; he endureth the one, hee reſpecteth the other.

Epist. XCIX.

A consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of his sonne, vndoubtedly both wise and eloquent.

I Haue sent thee that Epistle which I wrote vnto *Marulus*, when as he had lost his litle son, and was said to be ouerpassionate and grieued for his losse: wherein I haue not obserued my vsuall custome, neither thought I it fit to handle him gently, when as he was more worthy of reproofe then consolation. For to him that is afflicted and vnable to support a great wound, some little way must be giuen. Let him satisfie himselfe, or at least-wise vpon the first brunt powre out teares abundantly. They that giue libertie to themselues to sorrow and lament, let them forthwith be chastised, and taught, that there are some follies euen in teares. Dost thou expect consolations, receiue reproofes. Doest thou endure thy sonnes death so effeminately? What wouldest thou doe haddest thou lost thy friend. Thy yong infant of vncertaine hope, and very little, is departed: a handfull of time is lost. We seeke out occasions to lament, wee exclaime, although vniustly against Fortune, as though she would not afford vs iust causes of complaint. Truely in esteeme that thou wert alreadie as animated sufficiently against solide and great euils, and consequently against shadowes and appearances of miseries, for which men mourne for custome sake. Hadst thou lost thy friend, which is the greatest losse of all others, thou shouldest endeauour to reioyce more because thou hadst him, then to mourne for that thou hast lost him. But many there are that reckon not what courtesies they haue receiued & comfort they haue conceiued by their friends. Amongst other miseries sorrow hath this, that it is not only superfluous, but vngrateful also. Hauing therfore enioied so good a friend, hast thou lost thy time? So many yeares, so great a vnitie, such familiar societie in studie: are all these vanished without effect: Doest thou burie thy friendship with thy friend? Wherefore mourneſt thou if his presence hath beene so profitable vnto thee? Beleeue, the greater part of those whom we haue loued remaineth with vs, although casualtie hath taken them from vs. The time alreadie passed is ours, neither is there any thing more securely lodged, then that which hath beene. We are vngratefull in regard of those things we haue receiued vnder hope of that to come; as if that which is to come (if so be it proue successefull vnto vs) should not quickely passe into that which is past. To straitly limitteth hee the fruits of humane life, who onely reioyceth in those things that are present. Both those things that are to come, and those things that are past, doe delight the one with expectation, the other in memorie, but that which is to come is in suspence, and may not be done, as touching that which is past, it is vnpossible but that it hath beene. What madnes is it then, to leaue that which is most certaine? Let vs content our selues with that wee haue, prouided that wee haue not drawne with a hollow vnderstanding, which letteth that passe which hee hath already apprehended. There are infinite examples of those, who without teares haue interred their yong children, who vpon their returne from the funerals, haue entered the Senate house, or entertained some publike office, and suddenly occupied themselues about some other businesse, and that vpon good occasion. For first of all it is lost time to grieue, if sorrow profit nothing. Secondly, it is an vniust thing

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to complaine of that which hath befallen one, and muſt befall all thoſe that are to follow after. Moreouer, it is a folly to wiſh, or to lament, when there is ſo little difference betweene death and him that lamenteth the ſame. For the which cauſe we ought to haue the more repoſe in our hearts, becauſe we ſhall follow them whom we haue loſt. Behold with what ſwiftneſſe time poſteth away: thinke vpon this ſhort race whither we runne ſo ſwiftly. Conſider this great company of mankind, which tendeth to the ſame end, conuerſing and liuing together, diſtinguiſhed by ſmall ſpaces, euen then when they ſeeme moſt greateſt. He whom thou thinkeſt dead, is but gone before. But what madnes is it to bewaile him that went before thee, when as thou thy ſelfe muſt trauell the ſame iourney after him? Doth a man bewaile that thing which hee knew ſhould happen? Or if he thought that man ſhould not die, he deceiued himſelfe. Some man bewaileth a thing which he ſaid could not chuſe but be done? Whoſoeuer bewaileth the death of any man, bewaileth that he was a man. All men are tied to one condition, he that happened to be borne, muſt die. By ſpaces we are diſtinguiſhed, by death equalled. That which happeneth betweene our firſt and laſt day, is diuers and vncertaine. If thou eſtimate the troubles, it is ouer-long for a childe: if the ſwiftnes, it is too ſhort for an old man. There is nothing that is not incertaine and deceiuable, and more light then the winde. All things are toſſed, and are transferred into their contrary by the power of Fortune, and in ſo great inconſtancie of humane affaires, there is nothing certaine to any man but his death. Yet all men complaine of that, wherein no man is deceiued. But he died a childe. I ſay not yet, that he is better dealt withall that is dead. Let vs paſſe ouer to him that is old, how ſhort is the time wherein he hath out-ſtripped an infant? Propoſe vnto thy ſelfe this great extent of years, and comprehend all the ages that are paſt, then make compariſon with that which wee call mans life, with that infinitie of yeares, and then ſhalt thou ſee how little a thing all that is which we deſire, and extend. Conſider how much teares, cares, death ſo oftentimes wiſhed for, before it comes, ſickneſſes, feares, fooliſh infancie, wanton youth, and vnprofitable yeares do poſſeſſe, and deuour the portions of our life, we loſe the halfe in ſleeping. Let vs adde hereunto trauels, ſorrowes, and perils, and thou ſhalt ſee that in the moſt longeſt life which a man can obſerue, that which is called liuing, is the ſmalleſt portion of the ſame. But who will not grant thee this, that hee is in better ſtate that may quickly turne to duſt; whoſe iourney is at an end before he be wearie? Life is neither good nor euill, it is the place of good and euill. So hath he loſt nothing but the eye which is more certaine to our harmes then good. He might haue become both modeſt and prudent, he might haue beene formed by thy care and inſtruction to be more vertuous, but (that which may moſt iuſtly be feared) he might haue beene made like to the moſt part of men. Marke me thoſe yong Gentlemen of great houſes, who by their intemperance are brought to that miſerie that they are become fencers. Conſider thoſe others, who lewdly defile both their owne and others bodies, which ouerſlip not a day wherein they are not drunke, or defamed for ſome other notable infamie. Then ſhalt thou ſee that there was more to be feared then hoped for. For which cauſe thou oughteſt not ſummon to thy ſelfe theſe cauſes of ſorrow, nor in vexing thy ſelfe heape vp incommodities, and of light and ſlight ones, as they be, to make them vnſufferable. I counſell thee to reſiſt thy ſorrow, and to vrge it, neither haue I ſo bad an opinion of thee, that thou wouldeſt call to aide all thy vertue againſt thoſe difficulties which preſent themſelues. This is no true griefe, but a ſlight

touching,thou makeſt it true griefe, vndoubtedly Philoſophy hath done thee great ſeruice,if thou bewaylest with a reſolute heart a childe better known vnto his nourſe then to his father. Well then,will I haue thee ſeized of a heart of iron? and is it my minde that thou ſhouldeſt looke vp cheerely in the funerals of thy ſonne? and will I not ſuffer thee to let thy minde relent a little? By no meanes. For this were inhumanity,not vertue, to beholde the dead with the ſame eye that wee doe the liuing, and not to bee moued when as the one is thus ſeperated from the other. Beholde what it is which I forbid. There are things which in a manner are out of our power. Teares fall from the eyes of certaine men that would faine containe them, and theſe teares thus ſhed doe lighten the heart: what is there to bee done in ſuch a caſe? Let vs ſuffer them to fall, but let vs not commaund them. Let them droppe as long as affection commaundeth them to flowe, but not as much as cuſtome and other mens example doth require. But let vs adde nothing vnto ſorrow, neyther let vs augment it by other mens examples. This oſtentation of ſorrow exacteth more then the ſorrow it ſelfe. How few are ſorrowfull to themſelues? If they ſuppoſe that men heare them,they crie out more earneſtly; but being by themſelues,they are quiet,and as ſoone as any other ſaluteth them, then recommence they their ſorrow, then beate they their head with their handes, which they might haue done more freely when no man forbad them; then wiſh they themſelues dead, then toſſe they vpon their pallets: when the beholder is gone,the ſorrow ceaſeth. In this affaire as in others, we are won by an euill cuſtome,we follow the example of our neighbours, and compoſe our ſelues by their example,and not by that which beſt becommeth vs. We neglect nature,and addict our ſelues to the faſhions of the common people, which are both ignorant and corrupt,and who in this as in all other things, is inconſtant of inconſtanteſt. If they ſee any man confident in his calamitie, they call him impious and brutiſh: if they ſee another diſmayde,that reſpecteth nothing but his body,they tearme him a weake and an effeminate man. All things therfore are to be reduced within the liſt of reaſon. But there is no one more greater folly then to get fame by affected ſadneſſe,and to approue it by tears, which I conſider in two kinds in regard of a wiſe-man, the one iſſuing of themſelues, the others permitted to flow. I will ſhew thee what difference there is: Aſſoone as we heare the newes of our deceaſed friend, when as we behold his body, ready to be tranſported to the fire from our embraces, naturall neceſſity extorteth teares,and the ſpirit being impelled by the ſtroke of ſorrow, euen as it ſhaketh the whole body,ſo ſucketh it,and expelleth from the eyes the teares that are at hand. Theſe teares are extorted as they fall, and flow againſt our wills. Some other there are which we giue way to, when as any man maketh mention of thoſe whom they haue loſt. In this heauineſſe there is found ſome ſweetneſſe, when we remember our ſelues of their pleaſant diſcourſe, of their agreeable conuerſation,of their charitable piety,then doe our eyes open and poure forth teares,as it were in ioy. To theſe we giue allowance,by theſe we are ouercome. Reſtraine not therefore,neyther giue libertie to thy teares, by reaſon of thoſe that aſſiſt thee,or attend vpon thee,be it that eyther they are dried vp, or drop downe,there is no ſhame in them,prouided that they be not fained. Let them flow of themſelues, and they may flow in men temperate and well compoſed. Oft-times they haue flowed without any preiudice to a wiſe-mans authority, with ſo much temperance,that there neyther wanted humanity, or were diſallowed in dignity. It is lawfull,ſay I,to obey nature without the blemiſh of grauitie.

uitie. I haue ſeene men that were venerable in the funerals of their children, in whoſe lookes their loue was teſtified towards their dead children, without any vaine oſtentation of grieuing. There was not any thing which teſtified not a ſimple and naturall affection. There is a certaine *decorum*, euen in ſorrow which ought to be obſerued by a wiſe-man. And as in other things, ſo likewiſe in teares there is ſomewhat that is ſufficient: vnwiſe men, as in their ioyes, ſo keepe they no meaſure in their ſorrowes. Accommodate thy ſelfe peaceably vnto neceſſitie. What incredible matter or nouelty hath faine out? How many men are there, whoſe funerals haue beene celebrated, whoſe bodies haue beene embalmed and embowelled, and who weepeth for them? As oftentimes as thou ſhalt remember that thy dead childe was an infant, thinke alſo that hee was a mortall creature, to whom nothing certaine was promiſed, whom fortune was not obliged to bring vp to olde age, but to forſake then when it beſt liked her. But ſpeake of him oftentimes, and celebrate his memory as much as thou canſt, which oftentimes will be refreſhed in thee, if it may ſalute thee without bitterneſſe. For no man willingly conuerſeth with a ſorrowfull man, much leſſe with ſorrow. If thou remember any ſpeeches of his, if thou haſt during his infancy, heard any jeſts of his to thy contentment, repeate them often, and conſtantly affirme that he might haue fulfilled thoſe hopes which thy fatherly minde had conceiued of him. It is the act of an vnnaturall minde to forget a mans friends, and to bury their memories with their bodies, and to weepe for them abundantly, and to remember them ſlenderly. So birds and beaſts loue their young ones with a violent and enraged affection, but with the loſſe of them it is wholly extinguiſhed. This becommeth not a wiſe-man: let him continue his remembrance, forbeare his mourning. This doe I no wayes allow of, which *Metrodorus* ſaith that there is a certaine ioy that is allied to ſorrow, and that this ſhould be affected at this time. I haue ſet downe *Metrodorus* owne words, of which I doubt not what cenſure thou wilt yeeld; for what is more abſurd then in ſorrow to affect pleaſure, nay more, by ſorrow and teares to ſeeke that which may comfort? Theſe are they that obiect againſt vs our too much rigour, and defame our precepts for their hardneſſe, becauſe wee ſay that ſorrow is eyther not to be admitted into the minde, or quickly to be expelled out of it. But whether of theſe two is more incredible and inhumane, eyther not to feele any ſorrow for the loſſe of our friend, or to ſearch pleaſure in ſorrow? But that which we teach is honeſt, when as our affection hath powred forth any teares, and (if I may ſo ſpeake it) hath skummed them, that we ought not abandon our ſelues wholly vnto ſorrow. What ſayeſt thou? That we mixe pleaſure and ſorrow together. So ſtill we our children by giuing them bread, ſo pacifie we our infants by powring in milke. Touching thy ſelfe at ſuch time as thy ſonne burneth, or thy friend expireth thou canſt not permit thy leaſure to ceaſe, but wilt tickle and flatter ſorrow it ſelfe: whether of both is more fitting, eyther to heale the ſoule of all griefe, or to mixe griefe and ioy together, I ſay not onely to mixe, but to take occaſion of pleaſure out of his ſorrow. So farre is it that ſorrow is accompanied with any pleaſure, as *Metrodorus* thinketh. This is lawfull for vs to ſay but vnlawfull for you: you acknowledge but one good, which is pleaſure, and one euill, which is paine. What alliance may there be betweene good and euill? But ſuppoſe there be; now eſpecially muſt we finde the ſame, and now it is that we muſt ſee whether paine be enuironed with any ioy or pleaſure. Certaine remedies there are which applied to ſome partes of the bodie are wholſome, but by reaſon of their loathſomneſſe and indecency cannot

be applied to others, and that in one place may profite without touch of modeſtie, is diſhoneſt in another part, where the wound moſt appeareth. Art thou not aſhamed to heale ſorrow with pleaſure? This wound muſt be handled with more ſeuerity, rather proue that the dead can feele no euill; for if ſo it were, he ſhould not be dead. Nothing, ſay I, hurteth him that is nothing. He liueth if he be hurt. Whether thinkeſt thou him to be in bad caſe who is no man, or him that as yet is ſome body? But in as much as he is not any more, there is not any torment that may offend him; for who can feele it that is not? neyther in as much as he is, can he be endamaged; for he is deliuered from the greateſt danger, which is death, by being no more. This likewiſe let vs ſay to him that bewayleth and wanteth his childe, rauiſhed from him in his young yeares. If thou make a compariſon of the ſhortneſſe of all mens liues, with the length of time which is paſt ſince the beginning of the world, both young and olde ſhall finde themſelues equall. For both the one and the other of vs poſſeſſe as little as nothing of that length and extent of time. A little is yet ſomthing, but our life and nothing are almoſt al one, notwithſtanding we ſtretch it out as much as we may, ſuch is our follies. I haue written theſe things to thee, not becauſe thou ſhouldeſt attend from me a remedie, which cometh too late; for I ſuppoſe that thou haſt tolde thy ſelfe all that which is contained in my letters. But that I might chaſtiſe that little delay, wherein thou haſt departed from thy ſelfe, and in concluſion might exhort thee to arme thy ſelfe hereafter againſt aduerſities, and to foreſee all fortunes aſſaults, not as they might, but as they ought ſuddenly to afflict thee.

Epist. C.

His iudgement of Papirivs Fabianvs *the Philoſopher, and of his writings.*

THou writeſt to me that thou haſt very diligently read ouer thoſe books of *Fabianus Papirius*, intituled of things *Ciuill*, but that they anſwered not thine expectation. And afterwards, forgetting thy ſelfe that the queſtion was of a Philoſopher, thou accuſeſt his compoſition. But put caſe it be ſo as thou ſayeſt, that in ſtead of well couching his words, he ſaith all that commeth to memorie: firſt of all, this diſcourſe hath his grace, and it the proper ornament of a ſtile, little faultie: for I think there is a great difference whether it eſcapeth or floweth. Now in this alſo which I am to ſpeake, there is a great difference: *Fabianus* ſeemeth not to me to ſpeake much, but to ſpeake to the purpoſe. To ſpeake truth his ſtile is fluent, but not inforced, although it be currant enough. He confeſſeth openly, and letteth vs ſee that it is not an affected and laboured ſtile, but ſuch a one as a man may know it was *Fabianus* writing. He pretended not to confront his diſcourſe, but to reforme manners: he laboured not to tickle the eare, but to teach & inſtruct the minde. Furthermore, at ſuch time as he diſcourſed thou ſhouldeſt not haue leaſure to conſider the parts of his diſcourſe, ſo much would the ſummary of the whole rauiſh and detaine thee. And ordinarily that which is pleaſing to vs, being pronounced *Viua voce* readily and preſently, is not ſo pleaſing vnto vs, being couched in writing. But this alſo is a great matter, to ſettle and occupie the ſight vpon a book, although a diligent contemplation might find out matter worthy reprehenſion. If thou aſk my opinion, more great is he that rauiſheth our iudgement then he that deſerueth it. Such a one is more aſſured, and if I erre not, may

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more boldly promiſe his writings perpetuitie. A laboured diſcourſe becomes not a Philoſopher. What ſhall becom of a generous and reſolute heart? when ſhall hee make proofe of himſelfe, if hee be afraid of wordes? *Fabianus* was not negligent in his diſcourſe, but ſecure. Thou ſhalt finde nothing in him that is baſe and impertinent. The wordes are choſen but not affected, neither couched according to the cuſtome of this time, or diſordered. They are words that haue their weight, that haue an honeſt and magnificent ſenſe, although they be ordinary & vulgar, they are neither conſtrained nor doubtfull in a ſentence, but graue & profound. We ſhall neither ſee any thing that is curtalled & ſhortned, nor any ſtructure vnfit, nothing that is not poliſhed, as the eloquence of this time requireth. Examine this diſcourſe euery way, and when thou haſt beheld it on euery ſide, thou ſhalt finde no ſtraights emptie. Although it haue no Marbles of diuers colours, nor diuiding or currents of waters running thorow chambers, nor little cloſſers of ſparing and abſtinence, nor whatſoeuer elſe diſſolutenes, not contenting himſelfe with a ſimple & conuenient decency, hath inuented and mixed together, yet is the houſe well builded. Let vs now ſpeake of ſtructure and compoſition, for all men are not of accord herein. Some of harſh will haue it ſmooth, ſome are ſo much affected to raſhneſſe & auſterity, that if a clauſe do happily end in a pleaſing cadence, they purpoſely diſſipate the ſame, and interrupt the clauſes expreſly, leſt they ſhould be anſwerable to expectation. Read *Cicero*, his compoſition is one, he obſerueth his foot, his ſpeech is poliſhed, ſmooth & not effeminate Contrariwiſe, *Aſinius Pollio's* diſcourſe is vneuen and skipping, and ſuch as will leaue thee when thou leaſt expecteſt it. To conclude, in *Cicero* all things end, in *Pollio* they fail, except a few which are tyed to one certaine kind of cuſtom and example. Beſides, in thine opinion thou ſayeſt, that all things in his diſcourſe are humble & ſcarce vpright, of which vice in my iudgement he is freed: for they are not humble but pleaſing, and are formed in an equall and compoſed manner, not tied together but vnited, they want this rhetoricall vigour nor thoſe points, and ſudden darted ſentences. But examine the whole body, although it be not farded it is honeſt and wel faſhioned. His ſpeech hath no grace: bring me one whom thou mayeſt prefer before *Fabianus*. If thou produceſt *Cicero*, who hath almoſt written as many books in Philophy as *Fabianus*, I will giue place; yet is not that preſently little that is leſſe then the greateſt. Say that it is *Aſinius Pollio*, I will yeelde; but to returne thee an anſwere: To be after theſe two, is too very high when the queſtion is of eloquence. Name me *Liuie* beſide theſe, for he alſo hath written Dialogus, which a man may as wel cal Philoſophical as Hiſtorical: other books likewiſe, wherin he treateth expreſly of Philoſophie; to him likewiſe will I giue place, yet conſider how many he exceedeth, who is ouercome by three, & they the three moſt eloquent. But he performeth not al, his ſpeech is not ſtrong, although alate; it is not violent nor headlong, although abundant in words; it is not perſpicuous but pure. Thou deſireſt a ſharpe declamation againſt vices, a confident diſcourſe againſt dangers, a bould ſpeech againſt aduerſitie, an inuectiue againſt ambition. I will haue wickedneſſe chidden, luſt traduced, impatience bridled. Let the termes of an Orator bee ſtinging, of a tragique Poet ſtately, of a Comicke familar and plaine. Wilt thou haue him countenance a ſmall matter with words? He hath addicted himſelfe to the gentleneſſe of things, he drawes our eloquence, and makes it follow after him, as the ſhadow doth the bodie. Vndoubtedly all his words ſhall not be well placed and exactly couched together; neither in euery clauſe ſhall there bee a part that may quicken and awaken

waken men. I dare promiſe that diuers periods ſhall eſcape him to no purpoſe, and that ſomtimes his diſcourſe ſhal ſlip away without mouing, but in al places his wordes ſhall be agreeable, neyther ſhall there be any pauſe that will be diſpleaſant. In a word, he will make thee know that he beleeued whatſoeuer he wrote. Thou ſhalt ſee that his intention was to make thee know what he approued, and not to flatter thee: he demandeth nothing but thy good, and ſearcheth for nought elſe but to ſee thee endowed with a good conſcience. It is not applauſe which he deſireth. I doubt not but his writings are ſuch, and though I remember not their intents in generall, yet haue I before mine eyes ſome paſſages of the ſame, not in that I haue read them ouer lately, but for that I haue ſeene them in times paſt, and long ſince. At ſuch time as I heard him, his wordes in my iudgement were ſuch, not ſolid but full and natural, which might allure a young and well diſpoſed man to vertue, and giue him hope to attaine the true end; which manner of teaching in my opinion, is more effectuall then any other, for that of another kind maketh the auditors to loſe their harts, and taketh away their hope, which impreſſeth no other deſire in them, but to imitate and follow the ſame. In briefe, *Fabianus* abounded in wordes without the commendation of euery ſeuerall part; but all his diſcourſe in generall was exquiſit and magnificent.

Epist. CI.

Of the ſudden death of one of his acquaintance, and by occaſion that we are to truſt or promiſe nothing to our ſelues. That all things are vncertaine, and therefore good life is not to be deferred, neyther long life to be deſired: in concluſion, he controlleth Mecaenas *his abſurd vow.*

EVery day, euery houre ſheweth vs how vaine and nought worth we be, and by ſome new argument admoniſheth vs that are forgetfull of our frailty, when as it compelleth vs (who meditate vpon eternitie) to looke backe vnto death. Askeſt thou me what this induction meaneth? Thou kneweſt *Cornelius Senecio* a Romane Knight, a man both rich, liberall, and courteous, who from a ſlender eſtate beginning, had raiſed his fortunes, and had attained the ſpeedy meanes already to compaſſe the reſt. For dignity doth more eaſily increaſe then begin. Mony alſo maketh the longeſt ſtay about pouerty, whilſt ſhe creepeth out of it. This *Senecio* aſpired vnto riches, whereunto there were two very effectuall meanes that conducted him, that is to ſay, the knowledge of getting, and the meanes of keeping, whereof the one is ſufficient to make a man rich. This man being wonderfully frugall, no leſſe carefull of his patrimony then of his bodie, when as according to his cuſtome he had ſeene me in the morning, when as from morning to night he had ſitten by his friend that was grieuouſly ſicke, and lay deſperate without hope, after he had ſupped merrily, was ſeized with a ſudden ſickneſſe, that is to ſay, with the *Squinancy*, which ſtrangled him, and ſet his ſoule at libertie. He departed therefore within a few houres after he had performed all the offices of an able and healthfull man. He that traded with his money both by Sea and Land, that had publique profits alſo, and left no kinde of profit vnſought after, in the very height of his ſucceſſull fortunes, when as money rained on euery ſide into his coffers, was taken out of this life.

Now

Now MAELIBEVS *graſt thy peares againe,*
And plant thy vines vpon the pleaſant plaine.

How fond a thing it is to promiſe our ſelues long life, whereas we are ſcarcely Lords and Maſters of to morrow. O how mad are they that feede on fained hopes, and long enterpriſes? I will buy, I will build, I will lend, I will recouer my debts, I will haue ſuch and ſuch eſtates, and then when I am fully ſatisfied, I will paſſe my full and weary age in repoſe and quiet. But truſt me, all things are vncertaine, yea euen vnto thoſe that thinke themſelues moſt aſſured. No man ought to promiſe himſelfe any thing of that which is to come. That alſo which we haue ſureſt hold-faſt of, ſlippeth thorow our fingers, and caſualtie cuts that very cord in ſunder whereon we haue greateſt hold-faſt. There is a prefixed ordinance in the reuolutions of the world, although they are marueilouſly obſcured. But what concerneth it me, whether that be certaine to nature, which is vncertaine to me? We purpoſe & intend great voyages by Sea, wherin we ſhall ſee many forraine parts, & reſolue not to return again into our country of a long time: we muſt to the warres, and be richly recompenced after we haue paſſed thorow al the degrees of armes, & haue had commiſſions & honorable charges, more and more, the one after the other, when as in the meane while death ſtandeth by our ſides, and becauſe we neuer caſt our eyes on that which is ours, but only vpon that which is anothers, from time to time the examples of our frailty appeare vnto vs, whereon we neuer thinke, but at ſuch time as they ſtay before our eyes. But what is more fooliſh then to wonder to ſee that done in any day, which may be done in euery day. It is a thing moſt aſſured, that the ſcope of our life is limitted by the inexorable neceſſitie of deſtinie, but no man knoweth how neere it is. Let vs therefore ſo diſpoſe our mindes, as if this preſent time were our laſt houre. Let vs deferre nothing. Let vs daily make euen with life. It is the greateſt errour in life, that it is alwayes imperfect, and that ſome part thereof likewiſe is deferred. Hee that hath euery day laid the laſt hand on his life, needeth not time. But from this indigence proceedeth feare, and a deſire of the future deuouring and eating our mindes. There is nothing more miſerable then the doubt of things to come, why they happen. The ſoule that debateth what it is that remaineth, or of what kind is agirated with an inexplicable feare. How ſhall we auoid this perplexitie? By this one, if we prolong not our life in vaine diſcourſe, but gather it into it ſelfe. For he to whom the preſent time is vnprofitable, cannot haue any repoſe, in regard of the future. But whereas whatſoeuer is due by me vnto my ſelfe, is reſtored to my ſelfe, whereas the confirmed minde knoweth that there is no difference betweene a day and an age: ſhe beholdeth, as it were, from an high tower, all the dayes and affaires that hereafter are to come, and with much laughter thinketh on the ſequele of times. For what ſhould the varietie and mutabilitie of fortunes trouble thee, if thou be aſſured againſt incertainties? Make haſt therefore (my *Lucillius*) to liue, and thinke euery ſeuerall day, a ſeuerall life. Whoſoeuer ordereth himſelfe thus, he that maketh euery day his whole life, is ſecure. They that liue in hope, haue neuer any time of reſt, they are alwayes deſiring and coueting: and the apprehenſion of death a thing moſt miſerable, and which maketh all things moſt miſerable neuer forſaketh them. From thence proceeded that diſhoneſt wiſh of *Mæcenas*, who contented himſelfe to be weake, deformed, and tormented with grieuous and ſharpe ſickneſſe, prouided he might prolong his life amiddeſt the maſſe of theſe miſeries.

Make

Make me weake in thigh and hand,
Make my feet infirme to ſtand,
Shake my teeth, and make them cracke,
Stoope my ſhoulders, bend my backe;
So my life remaine, I care not,
Threaten torture, come and ſpare not.

This is to wiſh an extreame miſery, if it ſhould haue happened, and the length of the puniſhment is deſired, as if it were ſome life. I ſhould repute him a contemptible fellow, if he would liue vntill ſuch time as hee were tied to the gallowes. Yet this man ſaith, weaken me, prouided that my ſoule may remaine in my craſed and vnprofitable bodie: diſfigure mee, if this counterfeit and monſtrous bodie of mine may lengthen my life ſome dayes. Torture and crucifie me, if ſo be by that meanes I may liue. It is a ſtrange matter in him to hide his wounds thus, and to be content to remaine hanged and ſtretched vpon a gibbet, vpon condition that death, which is the end of all puniſhment, and the ſoueraigne remedie againſt all euils, ſhould be deferred in his behalfe. See heere a wondrous thing, I would haue a ſoule to die without dying. What wouldeſt thou wiſh for, O *Mæcenas*, but that the gods ſhould haue pitie on thee? Whereto tendeth the villany of this verſe, proceeding from an effeminate mind? What meaneth this couenant inuented by ſenſeleſſe and madde feare? And to what purpoſe is this ſhamefull begging of loathſome life. Thinke you that *Virgil* euer recited this verſe vnto him,

To leaue this life, is it a thing ſo wretched?

He wiſheth the worſt of euils, and thoſe things that are moſt grieuous to be ſuffered, hee deſireth to be grieuouſly tortured and hanged vp: and why, or for what recompence, for ſooth, for a longer life. But what is this mans life? to die long. Is there any man found, who had rather parch himſelfe vp amiddeſt tortures, and to loſe one member after another, and to die ſo oftentimes amiddeſt defluxions, as to die at one time? Was there euer any man that had rather wiſh to lie couched all at his length vpon a miſerable bed languiſhing, deformed, crooked both before and behind, that beſides his violent ſickneſſes, had other more mortall, that deſireth to retaine a ſoule being tortured and rent in peeces by ſo many torments? Say now that the neceſſitie of death is not a great gift of Nature. Many as yet are readie to vow farre worſe, yea euen to betray their friends that they may liue longer, and to deliuer their children to be deflowred with their owne hands, that they might prolong their life, being guiltie of ſo much wickednеſſe. We muſt ſhake off this deſire of life, and learne this, that it skils not when thou ſuffereſt any thing, which thou muſt ſuffer ſometimes: that all in all is to liue well, without taking care how long, and that oftentimes alſo this well liuing conſiſteth in a life which is not long.

Epist. CII.

He ſpeaketh ſomewhat of the immortalitie of the ſoule, and then annexeth a queſtion, Whether renowne doth vs any good after death. Firſt he diſputeth ſlenderly and Scholaſtically, then about the end more effectually, and leadeth our mindes to God and celeſtiall things. He approueth that this our bodie is our burthen and couer, that it ought to be deſpiſed and ſhaken off, when God and time ſummon vs thereunto.

EVen as he is troubleſome that awakeneth another man, that is ſeazed with ſome pleaſant dreames, although it be fained, for he taketh away the pleaſure, yea ſuch notwithſtanding as hath the effect of truth. So thy Epiſtle hath done me iniurie, for it hath recalled me from a thought and meditation, into which I was ſufficiently entered to the purpoſe, and had engaged my ſelfe further, had I not by this meanes beene diſturbed. I tooke pleaſure to debate vpon the eternitie of ſoules, nay more, I was fully reſolued therein. For I eaſily beleeued the opinions of great men, rather promiſing then approuing ſo gratefull a matter. I gaue my ſelfe ouer to this ſo great hope, and now grow hatefull vnto my ſelfe, and now contemned the reliques of my broken yeares, being readie to be transferred into that immeaſurable time, and poſſeſſion of that infinite eternitie, when as ſuddenly I was awakened by thy letter, which made me diſmiſſe ſo ſweete a dreame, which hereafter I will reuiue and redeeme againe, as ſoone as I haue ſatisfied thy expectation. Thou ſayeſt that in my former letter I did not ſufficiently anſwere that queſtion, wherein I laboured to proue that which they of our ſect doe approue, that the praiſe which a man obtaineth after death is a great good. That I haue not anſwered that queſtion which is oppoſed againſt vs. Of goods that are diſtant (ſay they) there is none good; but this is a thing diſtant and farre off. That which thou propoſeſt (my *Lucillius*) is a part of the queſtion, yet ſuch a part as ought to be debated vpon in another place: and therefore I neither would touch that, neither other things that were dependent thereupon. For ſome Morall queſtions as thou knoweſt are intermixed with the Naturall. And therefore I entreated onely of that part which wholly concerneth manners. That is to ſay, whether it be a fooliſh and ſuperfluous thing to tranſport our thoughts beyond the latter end of this life; whether our goods periſh with vs, and nothing remaineth of his, who is nothing; whether we ſhall feele any fruit of that which ſhall be (what ſoeuer it may be) before we may enioy it. But all theſe queſtions pertaine vnto manners, and therefore are they ranked in their proper place. But thoſe things which are ſpoken by the Logicians againſt this opinion, are to be ſeuered, and therefore are they ſet apart. But now, ſince thou requireſt at this time a reaſon of all, I will examine that which they ſay, and afterwards anſwere their obiections. If I propoſe not ſomething firſt, a man cannot vnderſtand the refutations. What is it that I would foretell? That there are ſome continued bodies, as a man: ſome compound as a ſhip, a houſe, and all other things whoſe diuers parts are vnited together in one. Some likewiſe that conſiſt of diſtant parts, whoſe members are as yet ſeparate, as an Armie, a People, a Senate. For they of whom this bodie is compoſed, are vnited together either by law or ductie, but by nature they are diſtinct, and each one ſeuerall. What is it likewiſe that now I will foretell? That we ſuppoſe that nothing is good, which is compoſed of things diſtant. For one

good

good muſt be maintained and gouerned by one ſpirit, and that there is but one principall of one good. This is approued by it ſelfe, if thou requireſt it to bee proued, and in the mean while it was to be ſet downe, to the end it might be the ground of our diſcourſe. Thou wilt ſay, you other Stoicks maintaine that no good is compoſed of things diſtant. But this glorie whereof wee entreate, is a fauourable opinion of good men. For as a good fame is not one mans words, neither infamie one mans miſ-report: ſo is it not praiſe to pleaſe one good man, many famous and worthy men muſt conſent herein to make it glorie. But this conſiſteth in diuers mens iudgements, and namely thoſe that are diſtant, therefore it is not good, glory (ſaith he) is a commendation giuen by good men to a good man: commendation is a ſpeech, a ſpeech is a voice that ſignifieth ſomething. But the voice, although it be a good mans voice, is not goodneſſe. For whatſoeuer a good man doth, is not alwayes good. For he clappeth his hands and hiſſeth. But neither will any man ſay that his clapping or hiſſing is good, although he applaud and admire all whatſoeuer is his, no more then he will do his ſneezing or coughing. Therefore glory is not good. In a word, tell vs whether this good concerneth the praiſer, or him that is praiſed? If the praiſer, it is as much as if thou ſhouldeſt ſay, that another mans good health is mine, but to praiſe thoſe that are worthy is an honeſt action, therefore this good concerneth the praiſer, from whom this action commeth not from vs that are praiſed. But this is that which is in queſtion. I anſwere briefely to theſe obiections. Firſt the queſtion is at this day, whether any good may be compoſed of thoſe things that are diſtant; and both parties haue their reaſons. Secondly, praiſe deſireth not many ſuffrages: for it may be contented with one good mans iudgement, who onely is a competent Iudge, to ſay that all they who reſemble him are good. What then (ſaith he) ſhal fame depend vpon the eſtimate of one man, and infamie tied to the miſ-report of another man? Glory alſo (ſaith he) as I vnderſtand, is ſpread more largely. For it requireth the conſent of many men. The condition of theſe, and of this are different. Why? Becauſe if a good man haue a good opinion of me, I am in the ſame eſtate that I ſhould be, when as all good men ſhould haue like thought of me. For if all of them knew me, they would iumpe in the opinion of this one man. They haue but one and the ſame iudgement, and they that cannot differ, doe neceſſarily agree in their opinions. Therfore, that which one thinketh importeth as much, as if all of them had ſpoken becauſe they cannot be of any other opinion. The opinion of one man (ſaith he) ſufficeth not to giue glory and renowne vnto another. To this I anſwere, that herein the opinion of one auaileth as much as of all, for if euery one of them be demanded, they will anſwere alike. In this place the iudgements of thoſe that diſagree are diuers, the affections different. Thou ſhalt finde all things in this world doubtfull, light, and ſuſpected. Thinkeſt thou that all mens mindes are alike? Vndoubtedly the ſame man is not of the ſame opinion alwayes. Truth is pleaſing to the good, and this truth neither changeth his vigor or colour. Amongſt the wicked there are falſities wherein they accord, but there is nothing but inconſtancie, repugnancie and diſcord in a lie. But praiſe (ſaith he) is but a voice ſpread in the aire, and that a word meriteth not the name of good; when as they ſay that praiſe is the commendation of good men, deliuered by good men; now referre it not to the words but to the ſentence For although a good man hold his peace, and yet iudgeth any man worthy of commendation, by this is hee commended. Beſides, there is a difference betwixt theſe two words, *Praiſe*, and *Praiſing*, which requireth explication. Deliuering a

funerall

funerall Oration, we vſe not this word praiſe but prayſing, which conſiſteth in wordes. But ſaying that ſome one is worthy of praiſe, we vnderſtand by this word the iuſt iudgements of men, rather then their ſpeeches. So then praiſe ſhall be the right opinion of him who without ſpeaking, priſeth in himſelfe any good man. Furthermore as I haue ſaid, praiſe hath relation to the thought, not vnto the words, which expreſſe the praiſe which is conceiued inwardly, and vttered to the knowledge of many men. He praiſeth who iudgeth that he ought to praiſe, when as the Tragique Poet ſaith, *That it is a magnificent thing to be praiſed by a praiſe-worthy man:* he meaneth that this praiſe-worthy man is worthy of praiſe. And when another Poet of the ſame time ſaith that praiſe nouriſheth arts, he ſpeaketh not of a flatterie which corrupteth arts. For there is nothing that hath ſo much ſoiled eloquence, and all other ſtudies addicted to the eare, as the applauſe of the people. Fame would be publiſhed and bruited, praiſe would not, for ſhe reſpecteth not wordes, but contenteth her ſelfe with iudgement; ſhe is accompliſhed, not onely amongſt thoſe that are ſilent, but likewiſe amongſt thoſe that oppoſe themſelues againſt her. Now will I declare what difference there is betweene praiſe and glorie; Glory conſiſteth on many mens iudgments, Praiſe on good mens. To whom returneth the good of praiſe (ſaith he) eyther to him that is praiſed, or to the praiſer? Both to the one & to the other. It is a great good for me to be praiſed, for nature hath created me a louer of all men: I reioyce that I haue done well, & one of my contentments is to haue met with men which take pleaſure in thoſe vertuous acts which I might haue done. That many are thus diſpoſed is a good which they enioy, but I haue my part in it alſo, being of that mind that I think other mens good be mine, eſpecially thoſe men to whom I am the cauſe of this good which proceeds from vertue. But euery occaſion of vertue is good, which they could not enioy if I were not vertuous. So then a true praiſe is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed, as certainly as a iuſt ſentence is the good and honour both of the Iudge and the partie who obtaineth profit by the cauſe. Doubteſt thou that juſtice is not a good both to the debtor and creditor? It is iuſtice and equity to praiſe a man that meriteth praiſe, and conſequently is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed: we haue ſufficiently anſwered theſe cauillers. But this ſhould not be our purpoſe to ſow ſubtilties, and to draw Philoſophie from her majeſtie into theſe ſtraights: how farre better is it to goe the open and direct way, then to finde out by-pathes and looſe our ſelues therein, and be conſtrained to returne backe, to our great trouble and preiudice? For theſe diſputations are nought elſe but the paſtimes of men that would cunningly beguile one another. Rather tell mee how naturall a thing it is to extend the minde to infinitie. A great and generous thing is mans mind, it endureth not to be circumſcribed by any limits, but thoſe which are common to him with God. Firſt of all, he acknowledgeth not himſelfe to be naturally bred in any region or land whatſoeuer, as in *Epheſus* or *Alexandria*, or in any other countrey of the greateſt extent, or moſt peopled. All whatſoeuer is inuironed by the continent of heauen is his countrey, that is to ſay, his round, compoſed of Seas and Lands mixed together, within which the extent of the ayre ſeperateth and vniteth things celeſtiall and terreſtriall, in which ſo many gods diſpoſed in due order are intentiue to execute their commiſſions: ſecondly, ſhe endureth not to be circumſcribed by yeares: all years (ſaith he) are mine, no age is locked vp to great wits, there is no time thorow which humane thought hath not pierced. When that day which muſt make a ſeperation betwixt

twixt the bodie and ſoule thus vnited, as you ſee I will leaue this body, where I found it, and will reſtore my ſelfe vnto the gods; neyther am I now without them, but in ſuch ſort, as I feele my ſelfe detained in this heauie and earthly priſon. By theſe delayes of mortall life we make an entrance to that better and longer life. Euen as our mothers wombe containeth vs nine monthes, and prepareth vs not to remaine therein alwaies, but for another place for which it ſeemeth we ſtriue both hand and foot, as ſoone as we are readie to breathe and liue in the aire; ſo by the meanes of this ſpace of time, which is betwixt our infancy and age, we aſpire vnto another birth of nature. Another originall, another eſtate of things attendeth vs. We cannot as yet ſuffer the heauen, but by means of this great extent which is betweene them and vs: for which cauſe beholde thou with a ſetled eye that determined houre which is not the laſt vnto the ſoule, but onely to the body. Whatſoeuer goods of this world thou beholdeſt about thee, look on them as if they were the baggage and moueables of an Inne. We muſt paſſe further; nature leaueth vs as naked at the iſſue of this world, as we were vpon the entry: thou haſt brought nothing with thee, neyther ſhalt thou carry away any thing with thee; nay more, thou muſt leaue in the world a great part of that which thou haſt brought with thee. Thou ſhalt be ſpoyled of that skin that incloſed thee, and the laſt cloth that couered thee; thou ſhalt leaue thy fleſh and bloud, which is diſperſed thorow thy whole body; thy bones and nerues ſhall be taken from thee, which were the ſupporters of ſo many fraile and fleeting things. This day which thou feareſt ſo much, and which thou calleſt thy laſt, is the birth day of an eternity. Lay aſide thy burthen. Why delayeſt thou? Is it ſo long ſince that thou forſookeſt a body, that is to ſay thy mothers womb where thou wert hidden, to enter into this world? Why ſtrigueſt thou, and dallieſt thou? Thy mother when thou wert borne laboured hardly to be deliuered of thee. Thou ſigheſt, thou weepeſt, and this is that which the infant doth as ſoone as he is borne. But then wert thou to be pardoned, becauſe as then thou wert but new born, and without the knowledge of any thing. Being iſſued from this hote and ſoft couch of thy mothers entrailes, thou haſt breathed a more freer aire; then feeling thy ſelfe touched with a hand ſomewhat more hard, thou that wert ſoft and tender, couldeſt not endure it without crying: and it is not to be wondered at that thou remainedſt aſtoniſhed and daunted amongſt ſo many things, which were vnſeene before, conſidering that thou neither haddeſt knowledge nor apprehenſion of any thing. Let it not be a new thing now vnto thee to be ſeperated from that, wherof before time thou haſt beene ſome portion: acquit thy ſelfe willingly of theſe members which are now ſuperfectleſſe, and lay aſide this body, wherein thou haſt inhabited ſo long time. It ſhall be cut in pieces, deuoured and brought to nothing. Why art thou agrieued? So goes the world. The caules which infolde the infants in their mothers wombe ſhall be broken and rotten. Why loueſt thou earthly goods, as if they were thine? Theſe are but the foulds that wrap thee in. A day will come that will vnfould them, and will draw thee out of the company of this villenous and ſtinking wombe. Fly now out of this world with a forward courage, eſtrange thy ſelfe from all things, yea, of thoſe things that be neceſſarie. That done, meditate on ſomewhat more high and ſublime. One day the ſecrets of nature ſhall be diſcouered vnto thee, this obſcuritie ſhall be cleared, and a ſhining light ſhall reflect vpon thee on euery ſide. Thinke with thy ſelfe how great this brightneſſe is of ſo many celeſtiall bodies, which mixe their lights together. So faire a cleere ſhall neuer be obſcured by

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any darkeneſſe: the heauen ſhall be as glorious in one part as in another. Day and night are the reuolutions of the regions of the ayre. Thou wilt confeſſe that thou haſt liued in darkneſſe, when as thou ſhalt freely ſee the whole light, which now thou beholdeſt obſcurely thorow theſe narrow circles of thine eyes, and from a farre, yet not without aſtoniſhment. What wilt thou ſay of the diuine light, when thou ſhalt ſee it in his place? Such a thought as this will not ſuffer our ſoules to gather ruſt or durt, it hindereth vs eyther from humbling our hearts too low, or raiſing them too high. Shee maintaineth that the gods are witneſſes of all things, and will that we be approued by them, that we depend on their will, that we haue the day of eternitie alwayes before our eyes. Whoſoeuer hath any apprehenſion hereof in his ſoule, he hath no feare of Armies, the Trumpet amazeth him nothing, there is no threat that may make him feare. He that expecteth death, can he be without feare? whereas the other (who eſteemeth that the ſoule remaineth and ſubſiſteth during his aboad in the priſon of the bodie, in departing from which ſhe is diſſipated) ceaſeth not to demeane himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that after his death he pretendeth to ſerue thoſe that ſuruiue in ſom other ſort: for althogh he be taken from our ſight, yet

The mans great vertue, and his countries glorie,
And wondrous value come to memorie.

Thinke how much good examples profite vs, and thou ſhalt finde that the memorie of worthy perſonages is no leſſe profitable for vs then their preſence.

Epist. CIII.

The malice and treaſons of men amongſt themſelues, yet doe not thou ſo, but lay them apart; and be thou curteous and willing to doe good vnto all men.

WHy regardeſt thou on euery ſide thoſe things that may befall thee, and happily may not chance vnto thee? I meane fire or ruine, and other inconueniences which happen vnto vs, but lay not in waite for vs. Rather conſider and auoyde thou the dangers which attend and ſurpriſe vs. Theſe caſualties are rare, although they be grieuous, to ſuffer ſhip-wrack, to be ouerturned out of a Coach. But from a man daily a man expecteth the moſt danger, prepare thy ſelfe againſt this euill, and contemplate it with open eyes. For there is no euill more frequent, more obſtinate, neyther any one more flattering. The tempeſt threatneth before it riſeth: the houſes cracke before they fall: the ſmoake foretelleth that the fire is a kindling. But the miſchiefe that a man doth is ſudden, and the neerer the euill is, the more ſecretly is it hidden. Thou art deceiued if thou truſt their looks that meete thee: they haue the faces of men, but the hearts of ſauage beaſts, but that the firſt aſſault of beaſts is moſt violent, which they cannot auoyde: for nothing but neceſſitie moueth them to hurt; either by hunger or feare they are enforced to fight, but a man taketh pleaſure to deſtroy a man. But thinke thou ſo that the danger is by a man, to the end thou mayeſt thinke what the office of a man is. Conſider the one, to the end thou be not offended, and the other, to the end thou offend not. Reioyce at euery mans profit, and be ſorie for their harmes, and bethinke thy ſelfe what thou oughteſt to performe, and what to auoyde.

uoid. By liuing thus, what getteſt thou? Thou mayeſt alwayes auoide that men doe thee no outrage, but thou canſt not chuſe but be deceiued by them. Eſpecially endeuour thy ſelfe to take thy retreat to Philoſophie, ſhee will defend thee in her boſome. In her Sanctuarie either ſhalt thou be ſafe, or ſafer. Men ioſtle not one another, except they walke in the ſame way. But of al things beware to boaſt of thy Philoſophie. Many men by too proudly boaſting, and vainely vaunting thereof, haue periſhed. Let it ſuffice thee that ſhee ſpoileth thee of thy vices, that ſhe reprocheth not other men of theirs, that ſhe abhorre not from publike manners, that ſhe behaue her ſelfe modeſtly, without cauſing men thinke of her, that ſhe condemneth all that which ſhee doth not her ſelfe. A man may be wiſe without making ſhew thereof, and without enuying any man.

Epist. CIIII.

Of his ſickneſſe and the cure, and the charitie his wife had of him. That he had changed his abode for recreation ſake, and hereupon an excellent diſcourſe vpon trauaile. That it is not profitable of it ſelfe, except it be made ſo by the minde. Let that be amended, and the affections cut off, and that then euery ſtation and eſtate will be pleaſing. That there is likewiſe another kinde of trauaile, to haue recourſe vnto ancient and great men, to behold them in our thoughts, and to imitate them. This rooteth out vices, that planteth vertues, and to this inuiteth he Lvcillivs.

I Fled into my Grange at Momentanum: but why thinkeſt thou? to ſhun the Citie? No, the feuor which began to ſeaze vpon me. And now alreadie ſhe had laid hold on me. Forthwith therefore I commanded my Coach to be made readie, although my wife *Paulina* were againſt it: My Phyſitian hauing touched my pulſe, and finding the arterie beating incertainly and contrary to nature, ſaid that it was the beginning of a feuor. Yet notwithſtanding I reſolued my ſelfe to ſet forward; remembring me of a ſpeech of *Gallio*, my Lord and Maſter, who being in Achaia, and feeling himſelfe ſurpriſed with a feuor, forthwith embarked himſelfe, crying out that this ſickneſſe of his proceeded from the aire of the Country, and not from his bodie. This tould I to my *Paulina*, who recommended my health vnto me. For whereas I know that her ſoule is tranſlated and liueth in mine, for her content ſake I begin to haue a care of my health. But although that old age hath fortified me againſt diuers difficulties, yet at this preſent begin I to loſe this benefit of age. I thought that in this old man there was a yong man, that was ouer much tendered. So then, becauſe I cannot require that my wife ſhould loue me more entirely then ſhe doth, ſhe hath begged ſo much at my hands, that now I cheriſh my ſelfe more tenderly then I otherwiſe did. For we muſt giue way vnto honeſt affections, and ſometimes alſo, if vrgent cauſes require it, our ſoule in honor of our friends is to be recalled, though it be to our torment, and retained betwixt our teeth, becauſe a vertuous man is bound to liue, not as long as he liketh, but as long as he muſt. He that without reſpect of his wife and friends, laboureth for nought elſe but to end his life, but demaundeth death is ouer delicate. Let the ſoule haue this commandement ouer her ſelfe, (when the profit of thoſe, to whom ſhe is obliged, requireth the ſame) to ſhunne death, not onely for her owne cauſe, but likewiſe when ſhee is

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vpon the point to diſlodge and leaue the bodie, to reenter againe, to the end ſhe may be enabled to doe her friends ſeruice. It is the argument of a great minde to returne vnto life for another mans good, as diuers great perſonages haue many times done. And this alſo eſteeme I to be a great humanitie, to maintaine old age more intentiuely, (the faireſt fruit whereof conſiſteth in maintenance of her health, and in liuing more orderly then he was accuſtomed) if thou knew that to be a thing either pleaſant, profitable, or wiſhed for of any of thy friends. Moreouer, there is a great ioy and profit therein. For what greater contentment may there be, then to be ſo dearely beloued by a mans wife, that for that cauſe thou ſhouldeſt become more louing to thy ſelfe? My *Paulina* therfore cannot only impute her feare vnto me, but mine alſo. Demandeſt thou therfore what ſucceſſe my determination had in going into the country? As ſoone as I had gotten out of the foggie aire of Rome, and from the ſtinck of the ſmookie chimneyes thereof, which being ſtirred, power forth whatſoeuer peſtilent vapours they held incloſed in them, I felt an alteration of my diſpoſition. How much, thinkeſt thou, was my ſtrength encreaſed when I came vnto my Grange? No ſooner entered I the meads, but I beganne to ruſh vpon my meate with a ſtrong appetite. Thus therefore for the preſent haue I recouered my ſelfe, this leanneſſe of bodie which hath no ſecuritie of health, and which beginneth to decline, is vaniſhed from me, and I beginne to ſtudie diligently. The place yeelds little furtherance thereunto, if the minde be not aſſiſtant to it ſelfe, for if he liſt amidſt all affaires and troubles he may haue a place of retirement. But he that maketh choice of the place, and idleth it vainly, ſhall euery where finde a nooke wherein to reſtraine himſelfe. For it is reported that *Socrates* (hearing a certaine man complaine that he had loſt his time in trauelling heere and there) returned this anſwere: not without cauſe hath this befallen thee, for thou trauelledſt with thy ſelfe. O how happie would diuers men be, if they could wander from themſelues. But they are the firſt that ſollicite, corrupt, and terrifie themſelues. What auaileth it to paſſe the ſeas, and to change Cities? If thou wilt flie theſe things wherewith thou art vrged, thou needeſt not be in another place, but become another man. Put caſe thou wert come to Athens, or to Rhodes; chuſe what Citie thou pleaſeſt. What skilleth it what manners they haue? Thou ſhalt carry thither thine owne. Thinkeſt thou that riches make men happie? Pouertie (yea the appearance and preſumption thereof, which is a lamentable opinion) ſhall inceſſantly torture thee. For although thou poſſeſſeſt much, yet becauſe another man hath more, thou ſhalt ſeeme vnto thy ſelfe by ſo much the poorer, by how much the other is more rich. Suppoſeſt thou that honours are good? It ſhall grieue thee that ſuch a man is made Conſul, and that ſuch a one hath twice enioyed the Office, it ſhal vex thee when thou ſhalt finde in the publike regiſters any mans name oftener then thine owne. So great ſhall the furie of thy ambition be, that if any one ſhall outſtrip thee, thou wilt not thinke that any marcheth behind thee. Wilt thou ſuppoſe death to be an extreame euill? When as there is nothing euill in it, but the feare which is before it, not only the dangers, but the ſuſpitions wil terrifie thee. Thou ſhalt inceſſantly be tormented with dreames and ſhadowes. For what ſhall it profit thee that thou haſt eſcaped ſo many Cities of Greece, and made thy way by flight thorow the middeſt of thine enemies? Peace it ſelfe ſhall affright thee. Thou ſhalt no wayes truſt thoſe things that are moſt aſſured, as ſoone as thy minde ſhall be ſhaken. For as ſoone as ſhe hath gotten a cuſtome to entertaine improuident feare, thou art no more diſpoſed to entertaine any

repoſe or contentment in thy ſelfe. For ſhe ſhunneth not, but flieth from the ſtroake, but if we turne our backes to afflictions, they haue greater holdfaſt on vs. Thou wilt iudge it a grieuous euill to loſe any of thoſe friends thou haſt loued, whereas meane while it is as great folly to bewaile them, as to weepe, becauſe the leaues of thy faire ſhadowing trees, which adorne thy houſe, are fallen and ſhaken to the ground. As much flouriſheth the one, as the other which delighteth thee. Death will ſhake downe the one to day, the other to morrow. But as wee ſuffer patiently the fall and loſſe of the leaues of our trees, becauſe they will ſpring againe: ſo oughteſt thou to endure the loſſe of thy friends, whom thou conceiteſt to be the ioyes of thy life, becauſe they ſhall be reſtored, although they be not now borne. But they ſhall not be ſuch as they were whileſt they remained in this world. Neither ſhalt thou thy ſelfe be the ſame. Euery day, euery houre changeth thee, but in others the nouriſhment appeareth more eaſily, heere it lieth hidden, becauſe it is not done openly. Some are carried away; but wee our ſelues are ſecretly ſtolne away. Wilt thou thinke of none of theſe things. Wilt thou apply no remedies to theſe wounds, but ſend vnto thy ſelfe the cauſes of thy cares, by hoping ſomething and deſpairing other? If thou beeſt wiſe, mixe the one with the other, neither hope thou without deſperation, neither deſpaire without hope. What can trauell profit any man of it ſelfe? It tempereth not pleaſures, it bridleth not deſires, it pacifieth not diſpleaſures, it breaketh not the vntamed aſſaults of loue. To conclude, it disburtheneth the minde of no euill, neither gineth iudgement, nor ſhaketh off error, but detaineth the minde for a ſhort time, and entertaineth it with noueltie of things, as we ſee children ſtand at gaze, when they behold any thing which they haue not ſeene. To conclude, this going and comming doth no more but make the inconſtant thought more light and ſtirring, which in the height of his euill, prouoketh and altereth it ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that they who moſt earneſtly trauelled into any countrey, depart from thence more haſtily, and after the manner of skipping birds, flie thence more ſwiftly, then they came thither. Trauell will giue thee knowledge of Nations, will ſhew thee the new formes of Mountaines, the ſpacious and vnaccuſtomed plaines, the Valleyes watered vvith running Riuers, ſome floud that hath a certaine notable propertie, as Nilus, vvhich encreaſeth in Sommer, or Tygris, vvhich looſeth it ſelfe, then hauing made a long circuit vnder the earth reentereth his channell, and reneweth his ſwift and ſpacious courſe as before, or hovv *Meander* (the exerciſe and play of all Poets) maketh an infinite vvindlas of turnes and retures, that oftentimes diſcharging her ſelfe from her owne channell ſtreameth along the bedde of her neighbour flouds, and ſo returneth. But ſuch voyages will neither make thee more healthie, or more vviſe. We muſt conuerſe amongſt ſtudies, and amongſt the authors of wiſdome, that wee may learne that which wee deſire to know, and ſeeke out that which is as yet vnfound. By this meanes muſt the minde bee redeemed from miſerable ſeruitude, and ſet at libertie. As long as thou ſhalt bee ignorant of that vvhich thou ſhouldeſt flie or follovv, of that vvhich is neceſſarie and ſuperfluous, of that vvhich is iuſt and honeſt, this may not bee ſaid a trauaile, but an errour. This turmoyle vvill comfort thee nothing, for thou wandereſt accompanied by thy affections, and thy euils follow thee. Would to God they might follow thee and were further off from thee: now thou beareſt them on thy back, thou leadeſt them not. For which cauſe they euery way weigh thee downe, and feare thee with equall incommodities. The ſicke man

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muſt ſeeke out for a good medicine, not for a new country. Hath any one broken his leg, or put a member out of ioynt? He gets not to his coach, he embarkes not in his ſhip, but calleth for a Phyſitian, to the end he may vnite that which was broken, and ſet the ioynt in his place that was diſlocated. To what end then thinkeſt thou, that by changing thy country, thou mayeſt heale thy bruiſed and broken minde in ſo many places? This euill is more great then to be cured by being carried hither and thither. Trauell neither maketh a Phyſitian nor an Orator. There is neither art nor ſcience that is learned by changing place in this ſort. What then, is not wiſdome which is the greateſt treaſure of all others learned in trauels? Truſt mee, there is no iourney that may retire thee apart from thy deſires, thy diſpleaſures, and thy feares, or if there were any, all mankind by troopes would trauell and flocke thither. So long will theſe euils preſſe thee and macerate thee whileſt thou wandereſt by land and ſea; as long as thou beareſt the cauſes of thine euils in thee. Wondereſt thou at this, that thy flight profiteth thee nothing. Why man, the things thou flieſt are with thee. Mend thy ſelfe therefore, ſhake off thy burthens, and at leaſt-wiſe containe thy deſires within compaſſe. Roote all wickedneſſe out of thy minde, if thou wilt haue thy trauels delightfull, heale thy companion. Auarice will cling vnto thee as long as thou liueſt with a couetous and baſe companion. Pride will cleaue vnto thee, as long as thou conuerſeſt with a proud man. Thou wilt neuer lay aſide thy crueltie in a Hang-mans company. The fellowſhip of adulterers will enkindle thy luſts. If thou wilt be diſcharged of vices, thou muſt retire thy ſelfe a farre off from all euill examples. Auarice, diſſolution, crueltie, fraud (ſuch enemies that approaching thee, will wound thee grieuouſly) are within thee. Acquaint thy ſelfe with the better ſort, liue with ſuch as *Cato*, *Lælius*, and *Tubero* were: and if thou take a liking to liue among the Grecians, conuerſe with *Socrates* and with *Zeno*: The one will teach thee how to die, if it be needfull, the other how to die before it be needfull. Liue with *Chryſippus* and *Poſidonius*: Theſe will teach thee the knowledge of diuine and humane things. Theſe will command thee to put in practiſe that which thou haſt learned, and not to content thy ſelfe with a poliſhed tongue, which tickleth the eares of the hearers, but to fortifie thy heart, and to confirme it to confront caſualtie. For the only port of this troubled and turbulent life is to contemne thoſe things that may happen, to remaine reſolute to oppoſe a naked boſome againſt all the darts of aduerſitie, without playing the coward, or ſeeking ſtarting holes. Nature hath created vs valiant, and as to ſome creatures ſhe hath giuen a feirce, to ſome a ſubtill, to otherſome a fearefull: ſo hath ſhe giuen vs a glorious and high ſpirit, that ſeeketh where he may liue moſt honeſtly, not moſt ſecurely; reſembling the world, which in as much as humane abilitie will giue him leaue, hee followeth and counterfeiteth. He ſeeketh nothing but praiſe, and deſireth to be ſeene. He is the loue of all things, and aboue all things. Hee therefore ſubmitteth himſelfe to nothing, nothing ſeemeth heauie vnto him, nothing that may make a man ſtoope.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Nothing ſo, if a man might behold them clearely, and breake thorow the darkneſſe. Many things that haue beene eſteemed dreadfull by night, haue proued trifles and ieſting ſports by day.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Worthily wrote our *Virgil*, he ſaith that they were not terrible indeed, but in ſemblance, that is, they ſeeme ſo to be, but are not. What is there, ſay I, in theſe ſo dreadfull as fame hath reported them? What is there I pray thee (my *Lucilius*) that a man ſhould feare either labour or death? Yet meete I with thoſe men, that thinke all that impoſſible which they cannot doe, and ſay that wee ſpeake greater matters then humane nature may ſuſtaine or effect. But how farre better opinion haue I of them? They alſo can doe theſe things, but they will not. To conclude, whom haue euer theſe precepts failed that haue dained to make vſe of them, who found them not more ealie in action then in inſtruction? It is not becauſe they are difficult, that we dare not; but becauſe we dare not, they are difficult. Yet if you require an example, behold *Socrates*, that moſt patient man, toſſed in ſo many dangers; inuincible in pouertie, which his domeſtique burthens made more grieuous and cumberſome, inuincible in thoſe labours he ſuffered in warre, and wherewith at home he was daily exerciſed: whether you reſpect his wife fierce in manners, and froward in tongues; or his rebellious and diſobedient children, more like their mother then their father. So for the moſt part he either was in warre, or in tyrannie, or in libertie, more cruell then warres or tyrannies. Seuen and twentie yeares he bare armes, and hauing laid them aſide, he ſaw his Citie enthralled vnder thirtie Tyrants, of which the moſt part of them were his enemies. The laſt of theſe is his condemnation vrged againſt him for moſt hainous crimes. The violating of Religion is obiected againſt him, and the corruption of youth, which he was ſaid to enforce againſt the gods, againſt parents, and his Common-weale. After all this, his priſon and poiſon. So farre were theſe things from mouing *Socrates* minde, that they neuer moued his countenance. He maintained that his wonderfull and ſingular praiſe vntill his dying day. No man ſaw *Socrates* either more merrie or more ſad, he continued equall in ſo great inequalitie of fortune. Wilt thou haue another example? Take me that *Cato* of Vtica, with whom Fortune dealt more cruelly, and more obſtinately. Againſt which, whileſt in all places he had made head; and laſt of all in his death: yet approued he that a confident and valiant man may liue and die in ſpite of Fortune. All his lifetime was ſpent in ciuill warre. And although thou ſay that this man, no leſſe then *Socrates*, ſpent his life in ſeruitude: except a man may happily thinke that *Cneus Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus*, were confederates to maintaine libertie. There was no man that euer ſaw *Cato* changed in a Common-weale ſo oftentimes changed, in all occurrences he ſhewed himſelfe one. In his Pretorſhip, in his repulſe, in his accuſation, in his prouince, in his ſpeeches in the Armie, in his death; finally, in that garboyle of the Common-weale, when as on the one ſide *Cæſar* had truſted his fortunes to ten valiant legions, on that ſide to the forces of ſo many forren Nations, and *Pompey* to his owne forces; when ſome enclined vnto *Cæſar*, other ſome vnto *Pompey*. *Cato* onely maintained leuied armes for common libertie. If thou wouldeſt imagine in thy mind the Image of that time, thou ſhalt ſee on the one ſide the people with liſtening eare, harkening after nothing but noueltie; on the otherſide the Senators and Knights and whatſoeuer was either holy and choſen in the Citie: two onely left in the middeſt, the Common-weale and *Cato*. Thou wilt wonder, ſay I, if thou ſhalt obſerue.

ATRIDES *graue, and* PRIAMVS *the olde,*
And Troians greatest feare, ACHILLES *bolde.*

For he condemneth both, and disarmeth both; and this is his opinion of both: he saith, that if *Cæsar* preuaile, he will die: if *Pompey*, he will be banished; what had he to feare which had decreed that against himselfe, eyther if he hapned to be eyther conquerour or conquered, which might haue beene decreed by his most bitter enemies; he died therfore by his owne decree. Seest thou that men can suffer iabours? He led his armie on foote thorow the midst of the deserts of Africa. Seest thou that they may endure thirst? Leading the remainder of his conquered Armie along the desert hills, without any baggage, he suffered the want of drink, being soultered in his armor, and as often as occasion offered him water he was the last that drunke. Seest thou that honour and authority may be contemned? The same day he was repulsed from the office he stood for, the same day played he at the ball in the market-place. Seest thou that great mens power may not be feared? He opposed himself against *Pompey* and *Cæsar* at one time; the one of which no man durst offend, except it were to win the fauour of the other. Seest thou that death may be as well contemned as banishment? He both pronounced exile and death against himselfe, & in the Interim warre. We may then haue the same resolution against all accidents, prouided, that we take a pleasure to discharge our necks of the yoake. First of all therefore pleasures are to be despised, for they weaken, disable, and demaund much, and much is to be required at fortunes hands. After these riches are to be despised, which are the recompences of seruitude. Let golde and siluer, and what else soeuer loadeth happie houses be left: libertie is not bought for nothing, if thou highly prise her, thou must mispriſe and neglect all the rest.

EPIST. CV.

Short and profitable precepts, tending to securitie. Reade them, and make vse of them.

THOU shalt know of me what those things are which thou art to obserue, to the end thou mayest liue more secure: yet so heare these precepts I aduise thee, as if I should counsaile thee how to maintaine thy good health in the bad aire of *Adiatinum*. Consider what things they be that prouoke one man to seeke another mans ruine, and thou shalt finde that they are hope, enuy, hatred, feare, and contempt; of all these contempt is the lightest, insomuch as many haue lien hidden therein for the safeguard of their liues. Whomsoeuer a man contemneth, he kicketh at him, but passeth by him. No man purposely hurteth a contemned person, no man diligently. Euen he that is prostrate on the earth in a conflict, is ouerslipped where he that standeth is assaulted. Thou shalt frustrate the hope of the wicked if thou hast nothing that may prouoke another mans wicked desire, if thou possesse nothing that is worthy the hauing. For those things that are of the greatest price, are most desired although they be least knowne. So therefore shalt thou flie enuy if thou makest no shew, if thou boast not of thy fortunes, if thou knowest how to enioy them to thy selfe. But as touching

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An idle queſtion, taken out of Chrysippvs, *Whether good be a body. In the concluſion ſomewhat againſt ſubtilties.*

A Little too late I anſwere thy Letters, not becauſe I am troubled with much buſineſſe, for beware thou except not this excuſe; I am at leiſure, and all they that will are at leiſure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke buſineſſe to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cauſe that I did not preſently write backe vnto thee, and anſwer thy queſtion? It was a matter incident to my diſcourſe; for thou knoweſt that I am determined to intreate of morall Philoſo-

Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another; and if any shall occurre of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science therof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question, Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it acteth. That which acteth is a body; good agitateth the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body. It must needes be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is cholor, loue, and sadnesse, (lest in this place I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question) if thou doubtest, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not paleneſse: what then? Thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sickenesses of the minde, such as are auarice and crueltie, such as are obstinate and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good, first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same offects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour seueritie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? *For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie*, as the Poet *Lucretius* saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pusheth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restraine vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and restraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, what soeuer we doe, we doe it eyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou willedst me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plainenesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as we in all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Euen as we are trauailed with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

EPIST.

Epist. CVII.

He comforteth Lvcilivs, *and animateth him vpon the flight of his ſeruants. That theſe and ſuch like are incident vnto life, and therefore not to be reputed as ſudden. Suffer that therefore which thou doeſt not mend. A good and wiſe Epiſtle.*

WHat is become of thy wiſedome? Where is thy ſubtiltie in conceiuing things? Where is thy magnanimitie? Art thou trauelled with ſuch trifles? Thy ſeruants thought that thy occupations were the occaſions of thy flight. If thy friends ſhould deceiue thee (for let them haue that name which *Epicurus* gaue vnto them & be ſo called, what damage ſhouldſt thou receiue? Thou wanteſt them who both interrupted thy good actions, and made thee troubleſome vnto others. There is no noueltie or vnexpected euent herein. It is as ridiculous a thing to be offended hereat, as to complaine that thou art eyther wet with water, or ſprinckled with dirt as thou walkeſt in the ſtreets. The ſame is our condition in this life, as if we were in a bath, amongſt a multitude of people, or in a great high-way, ſome things will be intermitted, ſome things will befall. It is no delicate thing to liue. Thou art entered into a long way, wherein perforce thou muſt ſlip, thou muſt iuſtle, thou muſt fall, thou muſt be wearied, and thou muſt exclaime, O death! that is, thou lieſt. In one place thou ſhalt leaue thy companion, in another thou ſhalt burie him, in another thou ſhall feare him; with ſuch like inconueniences wee muſt performe and tread this troubleſome iourney. Will he haue me die? Let our mindes be prepared againſt all accidents, let them know that they are come hether,

Where ſorrowes and reuengefull cares doe ſleepe,
Where ſickeneſſe pale and weary age doe keepe.

In the company of theſe muſt life be led; thou canſt not eſcape theſe, thou mayeſt contemne them. And thou ſhalt contemne them, if thou oftentimes bethink thee on that which is to come, and ſuppoſe it preſent. Whoſoeuer hath of a long time prepared himſelfe vnto any thing, he performeth the ſame with greater courage; and if he hath premeditated any aduerſities, he maketh head againſt them afterwards. Contrariwiſe, the man which is vnprepared ſtarteth backe for feare vpon the leaſt danger that preſenteth it ſelfe. Let vs take order that nothing may befall vs, which may moue vs to ſay, I had not thought it. And becauſe that noueltes are moſt diſtaſtfull, ſuch continuall thought will bring to paſſe, that thou ſhalt not be apprentice to any aduerſitie. Haue thy ſeruants forſaken thee? They haue robbed one, accuſed another, killed this man, betrayed that, trampled vnder their feete and poiſoned that man, and borne falſe witneſſe againſt another. All thoſe miſchiefes which thou canſt call to memorie haue befalne diuers, and will hereafter happen. The arrowes that are ſhot againſt vs are diuers and great in number. Some are ſticking in vs, otherſome are darted at vs, and approch vs neerely, and otherſome there are which are ſhot at our neighbours, which doe no leſſe grieue vs then if they were leuelled againſt our ſelues. Let vs not wonder at any accident whatſoeuer, we are borne thereunto, there is no man that hath occaſion to complaine himſelfe, becauſe that all men haue their parts, yea their equall portion, for if any man hath eſcaped from

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an inconuenience, he might haue felt it. But an ordinance is equall vnto all thoſe to whom it is propoſed, although all men make not vſe thereof. Let vs command our ſoule to continue in her entire, and let vs pay thoſe tributes which we owe vnto Nature without murmure. The Winter bringeth on froſts, wee be cold, the Sommer bringeth heats with her, we ſhall ſweat for heate, the intemperature of the ayre trieth our bodies; we ſhall be ſicke. We ſhall meete in one place with a ſauage beaſt, or a roarer worſe then all beaſtes whatſoeuer. The one ſhall be drowned, the other brought to aſhes. We cannot alter this condition of things. That which we may is to haue a reſolute heart, and worthy of a good man, by meanes whereof we endure all accidents conſtantly, and content our ſelues with the order of Nature, which in this preſent gouernment cauſeth thoſe reuolutions which thou now obſerueſt. After raine comes faire weather, after ſtormes and tempeſts ſucceed calmes and faire ſeaſons. The winds blow the one after the other. We ſee one part of the heauens, and the other is hidden from vs. The world is compoſed of contrary elements. Let vs apply our ſoules vnto this law, let her follow and obey the ſame: let him thinke that all that which happeneth muſt happen, let her beware in any ſort to taske Nature: it is good for thee to endure that which thou canſt not amend, and to follow that great God without murmure or complaint, by whoſe prouidence all things come to paſſe. The Souldier is not good that vnwillingly followeth his Captaine. And therefore let vs obey her readily and willingly, without intercepting the courſe of ſo faire a life, as mans life is, in which is interlaced, all the euill which we ſuffer: and in concluſion, let vs ſpeake vnto God, by whoſe ordinance and direction all this round orbe is gouerned in the ſame termes, as our *Cleanthes* doth in elegant verſe, which I will preſume to tranſlate into our tongue in imitation of *Cicero*, that thrice eloquent Orator. If they pleaſe thee, it ſhall content me; if they diſtaſte thee, know that herein I am conformable vnto *Cicero*. Heare then that which *Cleanthes* ſaith;

O ſoueraigne Father, and eternall Lord
Of higheſt heauens, conduct me at thy pleaſure,
Vnto thy powerfull will I ſtraight accord,
Make me not will, yet mourning without meaſure.
Ile waite vpon thee, and in being bad
Suffer all that, which if my minde were iuſt,
I might endure with all the ſtrength I had,
Whither thou wilt, O God, I will and muſt:
I flie delayes, both heart and feete are willing,
The Fates conduct, the forward draw the willing.

Let vs liue thus, let vs ſpeake thus, let the deſtinies finde vs alwayes addreſſed and willing. This courage that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greateſt in all kindes. Contrariwiſe, that man is both faint and recreant that ſtarteth backe, that complaineth him of the gouernment of the world, and that had rather cenſure the gods then himſelfe.

Epist. CVIII.

How are the Philosophers either to be read or heard with iudgement, and those things in especiall are to be chosen out of them, and put to memorie, which animate vs to good life. They that seeke delights studie in vaine; studie thou thy amendment. Neither is this hard to be done, for Nature her selfe inciteth vs vnto honestie, for the seedes and incitements thereof are in our mindes, they grow and encrease, when a learned teacher and animater doth aide. This proueth he by his owne example, when he was Attalvs *his scholler. Afterwards he sheweth that we come with diuers ends and mindes to reade Authors, and that we Philosophers should doe the like. Let vs obey him: both reade and heare you that are louers of learning.*

THat whereof thou enquirest, is of the number of those things which it behoueth thee only to know, to the end that a man may say that thou knowest it; yet notwithstanding, since it is pertinent for thee to know it, and thou pressest mee so instantly, and wilt not attend those books which I will shortly finish, that containe in good order all the part of Morall Philosophie, I will presently resolue thee, yet first of all will I write vnto thee how this desire of learning, wherewith I see thee thus transported, should be gouerned, for feare lest it hinder it selfe. Thou must neither ouer-runne, nor greedily inuade all Sciences; by parts we attaine the whole. The burthen must be fitted to the strength, neither ought we to embrace more then we are able to containe. Draw not as much as thou wilt, but as much thou mayest hold. Only haue thou a good courage, and thou shalt comprehend as much as thou pleasest. The more the minde receiueth, the more it is enlarged and greatned. These things, as I remember, our Master *Attalus* taught vs, when as we besieged his Schoole, and came first, and departed last, and prouoked him, whilest he walked, to some disputes; not only addressed to informe those that learned of him, but to meete with them vnprouoked. He that teacheth (saith he) and he that learneth should haue one and the same intention, the one to instruct, the other to profit. He that commeth vnto the Philosophers Schooles, must daily carrie away some good thing with him; either returne more wise vnto his home, or better disposed to wisedome. But he shall returne: for such is the power of Philosophie, that shee not onely helpeth those that studie the same, but those also which frequent her. He that commeth into the Sunne, shall be Sunne-burnt, although he came not to that end. They that sit downe in a perfumers shop, and haue staued a while therein, beare away with them the odour of such a place: and they that haue conuersed with a Philosopher, must needs draw somewhat, that might profit euen those that are negligent: marke what I say, negligent, but not repugnant. What then? Know we not some men that for many yeares haue conuersed and frequented with a Philosopher, without receiuing any tincture thereof? Why should I not know them? yea and such as were most industrious and diligent, whom I rather call the hostes, then the disciples of Philosophers. Some come to heare, not to learne, as we are drawne into the Theater for our pleasures sake, to delight our eares with Orations, Musick, or Comedies. Thou shalt see a great part of the auditors that make the Philosophers Schoole the Inne of their idlenesse. Their intention is not in that place to dispossesse themselues of some vices, or to receiue some instruction, or rule of life, whereby they might reforme their manners,

manners, but to enioy ſome delight that tickleth their eares. Some other there are that come to their tables, not to coate downe matter, but words, which they learne as well without other mens profit, as they heard them without their owne. Some rowſe themſelues when they heare any magnificent ſpeeches, and are affectioned no leſſe then the ſpeakers themſelues, cheerefull both in lookes and minde: neither are they otherwiſe moued, then thoſe effeminate French are wont to be, that hand and foote it according to the Phrygian ſtraine; theſe men are rauiſhed and prouoked by the beautie of things, not by the ſound of vaine words. If any thing be ſpoken bitterly againſt death, if ought be vrged proudly againſt Fortune, thou art forthwith addreſſed to doe that which thou heareſt. They are affected, and let them be ſuch as they are commanded, if that forme remaine in the minde, and if the people, which diſſwadeth all honeſt things, doe not forthwith extinguiſh this worthy forwardneſſe. Few are they that could bring home with them that minde they had conceiued. It is an eaſie matter to ſtirre vp a hearer to the deſire of that which is right. For Nature hath giuen vnto all men the foundations and ſeeds of vertue, all of vs are borne vnto all theſe things, when as a prouoker inciteth our mindes, then are thoſe goods of the minde, which were in a manner laid aſleepe, awakened and reuiued. Seeſt thou not how the Theaters ring as often as ſome things are repeated, which we publikely acknowledge, and teſtifie to be true by conſent.

Pouertie wanteth many things, auarice all things,
The couetous man is good to no man, and worſt to himſelfe.

The baſeſt Broaker will applaud theſe vices, and is glad to heare his owne vices blamed. How much greater waight ſhould theſe things haue, being ſpoken by a Philoſopher, when as verſes are interlaced with holeſome counſels: thinkeſt thou not that they will more effectually worke in the minds of the vnlettered. For (as *Cleanthes* ſaid) euen as our breath yeeldeth a more cleare ſound, when as the trumpet, after it hath driuen the ſame thorow the ſtraits of a long pipe, doth at laſt giue him a larger vent at the end thereof, ſo the ſtrict neceſſitie of a vice maketh our ſences more cleare. Thoſe things are heard more negligently, and perſwade leſſe powerfully, as long as they are deliuered in proſe and ordinary diſcourſe, but when as they are ſhut vp in numbers and good ſence, be incloſed in certaine feet and cadences, that very ſentence is darted and deliuered as it were an arrow from a ſtrong arme. Many things are ſpoken in contempt of money, and in long orations we are taught this, that men ſhould thinke that their riches are in their mindes, and not in their patrimonies, and that he is rich who fitteth himſelfe to his pouertie, and maketh himſelfe rich of a little. Yet are our mindes more moued, when ſuch like things are ſpoken in verſe.

He that coueteth little, hath not need of much,
He hath that which he would, who can wiſh as much as he would.

When we heare theſe or ſuch like things, we are conſtrained to acknowledge the truth. For they to whom nothing is enough, admire, applaud, and publiſh their hatred to many. When as thou ſeeſt this affection of theirs vrge the ſame, preſſe and proſecute this laying aſide all ambiguitie, ſyllogiſmes, cauils, and other vaine ſubtilties of a fruitleſſe braine, ſpeake againſt auarice, inueigh againſt diſſoluteneſſe, and when thou perceiueſt that thou haſt profited, and moued

the hearts of thine auditorie, profecute it with vehemencie. It is impoſſible that ſuch a diſcourſe, tending vnto remedie, and intirely intended for the good of the aſſembly, ſhould be other then profitable. For thoſe minds that are not as yet obdurate may be eaſily induced to loue right and vertue. If truth finde a fit and conuenient aduocate, ſhe eaſily ſeizeth on thoſe that are willing to learne, and leſſe peruerted. For mine owne part, when as I heard *Attalus* declaime againſt vices, errors, and the miſchiefes of this life, I oftentimes deplored the miſeries of mankinde, and haue beleeued that he was exalted and raiſed aboue all other men. He ſaid likewiſe that he was a King, but I thought him ſomewhat more, by reaſon that it was lawfull for him to cenſure Kings. But when he began to praiſe pouertie, and to ſhewe that all that which exceedeth neceſſary vſe is a ſuperfluous burthen, and grieuous to him that beareth the ſame, I oftentimes wiſhed to depart poore out of his ſchoole. When he began to traduce our pleaſures, to praiſe a chaſte bodie, a ſober table, a pure mind, not onely exempted from vnlawful pleaſures, but alſo ſuperfluous, I required no more but to temper my appetite, and gouerne my belly. From thence I gathered ſome good inſtructions my *Lucillius*: for with earneſt affection I attempted all things, and being afterwards drawne vnto a Cittizens life, I haue conſerued ſome few of thoſe faire and good beginnings. From thence it came that for all my life time I renounced oie-ſores & muſhromes: for theſe are no meates, but entertain the appetite, and conſtraine thoſe that are full to eate more, which is very pleaſing to thoſe that are gluttons, who deſire no more but to fill their panches with ſuch things which eaſily enter, & are as eaſily vttered. I haue abſtained alſo euer ſince from oyntments and perfumes, becauſe the beſt odour in our bodie is none at all. Thereupon haue I refrained wine, and during all my life time fled from bathing, ſuppoſing it to be an vnprofitable and nice cuſtome to ſeethe the body and conſume it with ſweating. Theſe other cuſtomes in life, which I had giuen ouer, are brought in requeſt, yet ſo, that I keepe a meaſure in theſe from which I had abſtained, and vſe them very little and with difficulty, becauſe there are certaine things more eaſie to cut off wholly, then to gouerne well. Becauſe I haue begun to declare vnto thee with how much more greater courage I came to Philoſophy being a young man, then now when I am elde, I will not be aſhamed to confeſſe vnto thee what loue *Sotion* ingrafted in me in regard of *Pithagoras*; he taught me why he and *Sextius* after him abſtained from eating fleſh. Each one of theſe had a different cauſe, but both of them were magnificent. The one ſuppoſed that man had ſufficiency to feede vpon without bloud, and that a cuſtome of crueltie began, when tearing of fleſh was drawne to be a pleaſure. Hereunto he added, that the matter of diſſolution ſhould be contracted and gathered, that multiplicity of meats were contrary to mans health, and nothing healthfull to our bodies. But *Pithagoras* held that there was a communion and conſanguinitie of all things, with the one and the other, and that the one is changed into the other, in ſuch ſort that (if a man will beleeue him) no ſoule periſheth neither ceaſeth but for a ſmall time whilſt it is infuſed into another bodie. We ſhall ſee by what reuolutions of ſeaſons, and after how many aboades in diuers bodies, the ſoule ſhall reenter into a man, meane while this opinion hath made men fearfull, for they haue beene afraid to become murtherers and paricides becauſe that in eating of a beaſt they might as well ſeize on their fathers ſoule, and with knife or tooth offend a thing wherein the ſoule of any one of their kindred might be lodged. *Sotion* hauing propoſed and confirmed this by his arguments, added hereunto, Dooſt thou not beleeue, ſaith he,

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that ſoules are diſtributed from one body to another, and that which we call death is no other thing but a paſſage from one body into another? Dooſt thou not beleeue that in theſe tame or ſauage beaſts eyther killed or drowned, there ſuruiueth ſomtimes the ſoule of a man? wilt thou denie that nothing periſheth in the world, but doth but onely change ayre and countrey, and that not onely the heauens turne, but that liuing creatures and ſoules likewiſe haue their reuolutions? Diuers great perſonages haue beleeued theſe things, and therefore holde thou thine opinion in ſuſpence, yet keepe thou all things intire vnto thy ſelfe. If theſe things be true it is innocence to abſtaine from liuing creatures: if they be falſe it is frugalitie; what damage receiueth thy crüeltie hereby? I take from thee the meate of Lions and Vultures. Perſwaded thus by theſe arguments, I began to abſtaine from fleſh, and ere a yeare was finiſhed, the cuſtom was not onely eaſie vnto me but pleaſing. I thought my ſpirit more free then it was before; neyther can I at this time iuſtifie vnto thee whether it were ſo or no. Dooſt thou aske me how I haue diſcontinued this manner of life? It was in my yonger dayes, at ſuch time as *Tiberius* was Emperour, when as the Religions of ſtrangers were baniſhed out of Rome, and to proue the ſuperſtitions of the ſame, they alleadged that they abſtained from touching the fleſh of ſome creatures. So then vpon my fathers requeſt who feared not reproach, but hated Philoſophie I returned to my former cuſtome: neyther was it a hard matter for him to perſwade me to begin to ſup better. *Attalus* was wont to praiſe a hard bed, and ſuch as reſiſteth the body: ſuch a one vſe I now in mine olde dayes, wherein you cannot diſcouer any print where I haue lien. Theſe things haue I related vnto thee, to let thee know how vehement the firſt apprehenſions of yong children be, & how inclined vnto all good things, if any man exhort them or egge them forward. But in ſome kinde the teachers are deficient, who teach vs to diſpute, and not to liue: in ſome ſort the learners who bring vnto their Maſters a purpoſe not to rectifie their iudgments, but poliſh their tongues; ſo that which was Philoſophie is made Philologie. But it is very pertinent to the matter to examin with what purpoſe thou addreſſeſt thy ſelfe to any thing. He that examineth *Virgil* to that intent he may become a Grammarian: he readeth not with this intent that worthy verſe of his,

Time flies and neuer is to be recald againe.

You muſt watch: except we make haſt we are forſaken. The day that ſwiftly fleeteth from vs, driueth vs forward and is driuen away. We are rauiſhed before we know it. We diſpoſe of all things as if we were to liue long time, and midſt ſo many dangers we are ſluggards. But to obſerue that as often as *Virgil* writeth of the ſwiftneſſe of time, he vſeth this word flyeth,

The better dayes of wretched mortall life,
Firſt flie then ſickeneſſe raignes, and irkſome age,
And tedious labour rules and waxeth rife,
And laſtly death ſweepes all with mortall rage.

He that truely addicteth himſelfe vnto Philoſophie, applieth ſuch ſentences as befitteth him: neuer, ſaith he, that the dayes goe, but that they flie, which is the moſt ſwifteſt kinde of running, and that the better times are rauiſhed from vs firſt. Why therefore ceaſe we to ſpur on our idleneſſe, to the end we might outſtrip the time which fleeteth away ſo ſwiftly. The better dayes flie away,

the worse succede. Euen as out of a vessell the purest floweth out first, and that which is most heauy and troubled setleth in the bottome, so that which is first in our life is the best. We rather suffer others to draw out the purest, to the intent to reserue the dregges vnto our selues. Let this sentence be imprinted in our mindes, and please vs as much as if it were an Oracle sent from heauen,

The best daies of wretched mortall life,
Fly first ——— ——— ———

Why the best? Because that which remaineth is vncertaine. Why the best? Because being young we may learne, and conuert, and addict our tender mindes, and pliable to the better, vnto the best: because this time is fit for labour, fit to exercise our wits in studie, and our bodies with labour: That which remaineth is more slowe and faultie, and neerer to the end. Let vs therfore wholly apply our selues thereunto, and laying aside all these speculations, whereby we haue beene seduced, let vs apply our selues to one onely thing; for feare left at last we learne ouer-late to our confusion, that it is impossible to stay and recouer the time that fleeteth away so fast, without hope of returne. Let euery first day please vs as if it were the best, and let vs reckon it properly ours, and let vs preuent that which ensueth. This doth not he thinke that reades this verse with a Grammarians eye; that therefore euery first day is the best, because sickenesses succeed, olde age presseth and pearcheth ouer the head of those, who as yet thinke themselues young; but saith, that *Virgil* alwayes vnited sicknesses and olde age together, and in truth not without cause, for olde age is an incurable disease. Besides, saith he, the Poet sirnamed olde age, irksome:

Then sickenesse raignes, and irksome age.

Wonder not that from the same matter euery man gathered that which is agreeable to his conceit. In the same field the Oxe seeketh his grasse, the Dog his Hare, and the Storke his Lizard: when those bookes which *Cicero* wrote of a Common-weale, fall into the hands of him that would know all things, and of a Grammarian, & of a Philosopher, euery one of these three hath his proper and peculiar election & thought. The Philosopher wondereth that so many things may be spoken against iustice. When this loue-prattle comes to the same reading, he noteth this, that there are Romane Kings, whereof the one had no father, and the other no mother: for each man doubteth which was *Seruius* mother, and *Ancus* father, who was reputed *Numaes* Nephew, is not to be found. Besides, he obserueth that he whom we call *Dictator*, and is so intituled in Histories, was by those in former times called the Master of the people, as it manifestly appeareth at this day in the bookes of the Augurs, and that he whom we call the master of the knights, hath taken his name from thence. He noteth likewise that *Romulus* died during the Eclips of the Sun, that there was an appeale from the Kings vnto the people, as also *Fenestella* holdeth that it is contained in the Registers of the Bishops. When a Grammarian explicateth the same books, he first of all noteth in his Commentarie that *Cicero* vsed this word *Reapse* for *Reipsa*, that is to say, indeed, and *Sepse* likewise for *Seipse*, that is to say, himselfe. Then passeth he ouer to those things which the custom of the age hath changed, such are those which *Cicero* vsed, *Because we are recalled by his importunity from the calce hereof*, that is, frō the end of the course: for that which now we cal limits, those in

times

times paſt called *Calcem*, that is to ſay, the heele or end of the foote. After this he gathereth *Ennius* verſes, and eſpecially thoſe which were written by *Scipio* the African,

To whom no friend or enemy in field,
Could lend that helpe which he to them did yeeld.

Hereby he ſaith that he meaneth that this word *opera*, that is to ſay labour in times paſt ſignified *Auxilium*, that is to ſay, ayde and ſuccour: for he ſaith that there was not one eyther Cittizen or enemie could render *Scipio* the reward of his labour. Furthermore, he eſteemeth himſelfe happie to haue found out this why it pleaſed *Virgil* to ſay,

Ore whom the mightie gate of heauen did thunder.

He ſaith that *Ennius* ſtole this from *Homer*, and *Virgil* from *Ennius*. We reade in the ſame bookes of *Cicero* this Epigram of *Ennius*,

If it be free for any one t' aſcend the heauenly throne,
The greateſt gate of higheſt heauen is ope to me alone.

But for feare leaſt I my ſelfe in thinking on other matters ſhould my ſelfe become a humaniſt or *Pedant*, I ſay vnto thee that we ought to referre that which we heare ſpoken by the Philoſophers, and that which we reade in their bookes to this end, that we become vertuous, and not to affect olde and fained words, nor to affect extrauagant and vnaccuſtomed manners of ſpeaking, but let vs ſearch out thoſe precepts, which may profit vs, and ſuch magnificent and manly ſentences, which may be ſuddenly effected. So let vs apply theſe things, that thoſe things which were wordes may be workes. But I thinke that no men doe worſe deſerue of mortall men, then they who haue learned Philoſophy as it were ſome mercinarie occupation, who liue otherwiſe then they inſtruct other men to liue: for they themſelues carrie about themſelues, as examples of vnprofitable doctrine, being otherwiſe ſlaues to euery ſort of vice which poſſeſſeth them. Such a Maſter can as little profite me as a Pilot that is Sea-ſicke in the midſt of a tempeſt: when the billowes are increaſed the helme muſt be ſteered; we muſt ſtriue with the Sea, and ſtrike and hale in ſaile: what can a Maſter of a Ship helpe me that is aſtoniſhed and vomiteth? With how more greater tempeſt thinkeſt thou is humane life toſſed more then any ſhip? We are not to ſpeake, but to gouerne. All that which they ſay, all that which they boaſt of before the common ſort is to no purpoſe. *Plato*, *Zeno*, *Chryſippus*, *Poſidonius*, and an armie of ſuch Philoſophers haue ſaid and reſaid it often. I will ſhew thee how they may approue theſe things to be their owne; let them act that which they ſaid. Becauſe I haue ſpoken thoſe things which I would haue carried vnto thee, I will now ſatisfie thy deſire, and I will referre the whole of that which thou requireſt at my hands to another Epiſtle, leſt hauing thy head wearied, thou bend thy attentiue and curious eare to heare a difficult matter.

Epist. CIX.

A short question: Whether a wise-man may profite a wise-man, and how? The cause of doubt is, because that all things are high in a wise-man; neyther may any thing be added to him: yet answereth he that he doth profite, and distinctly approueth it. In the end he detesteth vnprofitable subtilties.

THou desirest to know whether a wise-man may be profitable to a wise-man: we say that a wiseman is repleniſhed with all goodneſſe, and hath attained to the fulneſſe of perfection. The queſtion is how a man may profite him that hath attained the chiefeſt good. Good men profite one another; for they exerciſe vertue and contayne wiſedome in her eſtate, both of theſe require ſome man with whom he may conferre, with whom he may debate; vſe exerciſeth thoſe who are cunning in wraſtling, and warneth the Muſitian who hath learned vniſons. A wiſe-man likewiſe hath neede to haue his vertues ſtirred, ſo that euen as hee moueth himſelfe, ſo is he moued by another wiſe-man. What can a wiſe-man profite a wiſe-man? He will animate him, and ſhew him occaſions of honeſt actions. Beſides theſe, he will diſcouer ſome of his own thoughts, and will teach thoſe things which he hath inuented. For there will be alwayes ſomewhat remayning for a wiſe-man to finde out, and whereon his minde may be employed and occupied. An euill man hurteth an euil man, he maketh him worſe by inciting wrath or feare, by aſſenting to ſadneſſe, by praiſing pleaſures; and euen then are euill men moſt trauailed and troubled, when they haue made a mixture of many vices, and wickedneſſe becommeth compleate. Therfore on the contrary ſide, a good man may profite a good man. But how ſayeſt thou? He will bring him ioy, he will confirme his confidence, and both of their ioyes ſhall encreaſe by beholding their mutuall tranquilitie. Beſides, he ſhall deliuer him the notice of ſome things: for a wiſe-man knoweth not all things; and although he knew them, yet may ſome man inuent more compendious wayes in things, and teach the ſame by which more eaſily the whole worke is compaſſed. A wiſeman ſhall be profitable to a wiſe-man, not onely in regard of his owne forces, but in reſpect of his alſo whom he helpeth. And he himſelfe likewiſe being left vnto himſelfe can expreſſe his owne parts. Let him make vſe of his owne ſwiftneſſe, yet notwithſtanding he helpeth him alſo that encourageth him that runneth. A wiſe-man is not onely profitable to a wiſe-man but to himſelfe. To this thou wilt obiect, Take from him his proper forces, and he doth nothing. In this ſort thou mayſt ſay that there is no ſweetneſſe in honey: for he that eateth the ſame muſt be apt both in tong and pallat to entertain this taſte, that he may be delighted and not offended with the ſauor thereof: for ſome there are to whom honey ſeemeth bitter in regard of their ſickeneſſe. Both of them muſt be ſuch, that both the one may teach, and the other be diſpoſed to receiue inſtructions. It were in vaine, ſaith he, to warme him more that hath beene hote to the extremitie, and as vaine is it to better him that hath attained the fulneſſe of goodnes. Doth a huſbandman that is his crafts-maſter in tillage, ſeeke inſtructions from another? Doth a ſouldier that is ſufficiently armed to enter the field deſire any further defence? Therfore not a wiſeman: for he is ſufficiently inſtructed and armed for life. He that is in the height of heat, had no need of heat to warme him: further, heat it ſelfe, ſaith he, containeth it ſelfe; To this I anſwer,

first

first of all, there is a great difference betwixt these things which thou compa-reſt. For heate is one, but to profit is diuers. Againe, heate is not encreaſed in heate by the adiection of heate. A wiſe-man cannot ſtand in the habit of his minde, except hee admit ſome friends like himſelfe, with whom he may communicate his vertues. Furthermore, adde hereunto that there is a certaine friendſhip betweene all vertues. He therefore profiteth that loueth any mans vertues that are equall with his, and giueth order alſo that his may be beloued. Thoſe things that are alike doe delight, eſpecially if they be honeſt, and know how to approue and to be approued. It is true, no other man but a wiſe man can cunningly moue a wiſe-mans minde, euen as no man may reaſonably moue a man, except he be a man. Euen as therefore there needeth reaſon to helpe reaſon, ſo to moue perfect reaſon, there needeth perfect reaſon. They are ſaid to profit vs that giue vs meanes, as money, grace, health, and other things which are neceſſarie and deere to the vſe of humane life, in theſe euen a foole ſhall be ſaid to profit a wiſe-man. But to profit and aide another is to moue his thought by his vertue, and according to Nature, or by the vertue of him that ſhall be moued. And this alſo cannot be done without his good that profiteth; for in exerciſing another mans vertue, hee muſt needs exerciſe his owne. But that thou mayſt remoue theſe things, which either are the chiefeſt goods, or the efficients of the chiefeſt: yet notwithſtanding wiſe-men may profit amongſt themſelues. For it is a thing that of it ſelfe meriteth to be deſired by a wiſe-man, to meete with another wiſe man, becauſe that naturally a good thing is deſired of his like, and a vertuous man acquainteth himſelfe with another vertuous man, as willingly as with himſelf. I muſt needs for argument ſake paſſe ouer from this queſtion to another. For it is demanded whether a wiſe-man will deliberate, or demand counſaile of another man, which is neceſſarie for him to do, when he will entreat of ciuil or domeſtical matters, or to ſpeak more rightly, of mortal things. In this caſe he hath need of anothers coũſell, as of a Phyſitian, a maſter of a ſhip, an aduocate & proctor. A wiſe-man ſometimes may be profitable to a wiſeman, for he will perſwade him. But in thoſe great and diuine things alſo, as we haue ſaid, he ſhall be profitable by ordinarily intreating of honeſt things, and by intermixing both their minds and thoughts. Beſides, it is according to Nature, both to embrace friends, and to conceiue as much ioy of a friends good action, as of his owne. For if we doe not thus, vertue ſhall not remaine in vs, which in exerciſing her ſelfe taketh luſtre by vſe. But vertue perſwadeth vs to diſpoſe well of the preſent, to bethinke on that which is to come, to deliberate and intend the minde, and more eaſily ſhall he intend and explicate the ſame, who taketh and entertaineth another vnto him. He ſeeketh therefore either a perfect man, or one that profiteth, or is neere vnto perfection. But that perfect man will profit, if by common prudence the one helpeth the others counſaile. They ſay that men ſee more in other mens buſineſſe then in their owne, and this befalleth thoſe men whom ſelfe-loue blindeth, and to thoſe alſo, whom feare of danger driueth from all conſideration of profit. The man that is aſſured and deliuered from feare, will recouer his courage and become wiſe. Yet notwithſtanding there are ſome things, which euen they who are the wiſeſt doe more diligently diſcouer in others then in themſelues. Moreouer, that which is moſt ſweeteſt and honeſteſt, a wiſe-man will procure a wiſe-man to will and nill the ſame which hee doth. They ſhall beare together a worthie charge; I haue performed that which thou requiredſt at my hands, although it were couched in the order of thoſe things, which we haue compriſed in our bookes of morall

Philo-

Philosophie. Bethinke thee of that which I haue tould thee often, that we doe but exercise and whet our wits vpon these questions: for oft-times returne I thither. What doth this thing profit me? will it make mee stronger, iuster, or more temperate? I haue yet no leasure to exercise my selfe, I stand in need of a Physitian. Why teachest thou me an vnprofitable Science? Thou hast promised me great matter, but I see little. Thou saidst I should be dreadlesse, yea although swords glistered about me, although the point were readie to pierce my throate: thou saidst I should be secure, although I saw fires flaming about me, although a sudden whirle-winde should rauish and beare away my Barke thorow the whole Ocean. Doe thou thus much for me, that I may contemne pleasure and glorie, then shalt thou afterwards teach me how to resolue difficulties, distinguish ambiguities, and prie into those things that are obscure, now teach me those things that are necessarie.

Epist. CX.

That each one of vs haue our Genii, *which he hath fauourable vnto him, whosoeuer hath a good minde. That the vowes and iudgements of those men are wicked, who estimate not things according to their value. That vaine things are wished for, and vaine things feared, and that the remedie of both is from Philosophie, whereunto he summoneth vs, hauing shaken off superfluities. In conclusion, he discouereth excesse, and reproueth it by* Attalvs *worthie speech.*

I Salute thee from my house at Nomentanum, and will thee to haue a good minde, that is, all the gods propitious vnto thee, who are fauourable and well affected towards him, whosoeuer is reconciled vnto himselfe. Lay apart for this present, the opinions of some men, that euery one of vs hath giuen him a Pedagogue or God, not of the ordinary, but those of the inferiour note, and of the number of those whom *Ouid* nameth popular gods. Yet so would I haue thee lay these things apart, that thou remember thy selfe that our predecessours, who haue beleeued these things, were Stoickes, for they attributed vnto euerie one his *Genius*, and goddesse *Iuno*. Hereafter we will examine whether the gods haue so much leisure to procure and prouide for particular mens affaires. In the meane while know thou this, that whether we are reigned to a seuerall *Genius*, or else neglected and giuen ouer vnto Fortune, that thou canst wish no man a greater mischiefe, then if thou shouldest desire that hee may bee his owne enemie. Neither needest thou wish any man, whom thou thinkest worthy punishment, to haue the gods displeased with him; for I tell thee they are auerse, although his life seemeth to prosper and flourish vnder their care and fauour. Consider and examine thou diligently what humane affaires be, not what they are called, and thou shalt know that more euils befall vs by our selues, then through the hand of casualtie. For how oft-times hath that which is called calamitie beene the cause and beginning of our felicitie. How oftentimes hath a thing entertained with great applause, builded it selfe a degree from whence it may fall head-long, and hath raised some one high, that was alreadie eminent, as if he should as yet continue in this place, from whence he might safely fall? yet that falling, if thou consider the end, beyond which Nature directeth no man, hath not any euill in it selfe. The end of all things is at hand, it is at hand I say,

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as well that from whence a happie man is driuen by violence, as that from whence a miſerable man is happily deliuered. Both theſe enlarge we, and make them long by feare and hope. But if thou beeſt wiſe, meaſure all things by humane condition, and reſtraine the occaſions that may make thee ioy, or make thee feare. It were better haue no ioy that endureth long, and not to haue a feare likewiſe that endureth long. But why do I thus reſtraine this euill? Thinke not that there is any thing that thou ſhouldeſt feare. Theſe are but vaine things which moue and aſtoniſh vs, none of vs hath as yet examined the truth thereof, but each one hath taught the other to feare. No man hath dared to approch that which procured his feare, or know the nature and good of his own affright. And therefore it is, that a thing ſo fallacious and vaine is yet redoubled, becauſe no man diſproueth or diſcouereth the ſame. Let vs onely bethinke our ſelues to open our eyes, and it ſhall preſently appeare how ſhort, incertaine, and ſecure things are feared. Such is the confuſion of our mindes, as *Lucretius* deſcribeth it.

For euen as in the blinde and darkeſt night,
Yong children quake for feare, and ſhake with fright,
So feare we likewiſe in the cleareſt light.

What then? are not we more fooliſh then children that feare at noone dayes? But this is falſe, *Lucretius*, wee feare not in the light, wee haue made all things darkneſſe to our ſelues: we ſee nothing, neither that which hurteth vs, nor that which helpeth vs; all our life-time we runne, and wander heere and there, yet for all this we neuer make ſtop, nor conſider at any time where we fix our feete. And yet thou ſeeſt how furious a thing it is to run head-long in the darke, yet vndoubtedly we doe thus, to the end we may be recalled from a further off, and whereas we are ignorant whither we are carried, yet perſeuere we to run ſwiftly thither, whither we intended. But if we wil that the day may breake, yet but after one manner, that is, if a man receiue the knowledge of theſe humane and diuine things, if inſtead of meerely ſprinkling himſelf therewith, he taketh the tincture thereof, if although he know the ſame, he often debateth thereupon; and relateth it oftentimes to himſelfe. If he haue ſought what things are good and euill, and what things doe vnworthily challenge this title, if hee enquire what things are honeſt or diſhoneſt, and what is prouidence: neither within theſe bounds is the quickneſſe of humane vnderſtanding circumſcribed. She taketh pleaſure to caſt her eye beyond the world, to examine whither it is carried, whence it came, to what period ſo great a ſwiftnes of things haſteneth. From this ſo high contemplation haue we drawne our mindes into the conſideration of ſordide and baſe things, for to be ſlaues to auarice, ſo as ouer-ſlipping the earth and the bounds thereof, and the gods which gouerne and diſpoſe all things, we haue employed the ſame in conſideration of embowelling the earth, and not content with the goods which were offered, to ſearch out what euill might be diggen out of it. Whatſoeuer is for our good, our good God and Father hath laid by vs. He expected not our inquiſition, he gaue it freely, and buried thoſe things that were hurtfull for vs in the boſome of the earth. Wee haue cauſe to complaine of none other but our ſelues. We in ſpite of Nature, and when ſhe had cloſely hidden them, haue brought thoſe things to light, which are the inſtruments of our ruine. We haue dedicated our mindes vnto pleaſures, the entertainment and allowance whereof is the beginning of all our miſchiefes. We

haue

haue giuen it ouer to ambition and fame, and other things as vaine and fruitleſſe as theſe. What therefore now doe I exhort thee to doe? No new thing, for we ſeek no remedies for new euils, but this, eſpecially to conſider in thy ſelfe, what thing is neceſſarie, and what ſuperfluous. That which is neceſſarie, thou ſhalt finde euery where before thee, but as touching thoſe that are ſuperfluous, thou muſt alwaies runne after them, and thou ſhalt hardly finde them. Neither haſt thou cauſe to praiſe thy ſelfe too much, if thou contemneſt golden beds, and houſhold-ſtuffe garniſhed with precious ſtones. For what vertue is it to contemne ſuperfluities? Then admire thou thy ſelfe, when thou contemneſt neceſſarie things. Thou doeſt no great thing, when as thou canſt liue without Kingly entertainment, when thou deſireſt not wilde boares of a thouſand pounds waight, nor the tongues of Phenicopteres, nor ſuch other monſters of gluttonie, which this day taketh no delight in whole beaſts, but deſireth and longeth after the leg of one, and the wing of another, and ſuch and ſuch members of another. Then ſhall I admire thee when thou contemneſt not the browneſt bread: if thou perſwade thy ſelfe that herbes when neceſſitie requireth, do not only grow for the vſe of beaſts, but for the nouriſhment of man. If thou knoweſt that the buds of trees are ſufficient to fill the belly, into which we gather ſo many precious things, as if it were a ſtore-houſe to conſerue them in, we muſt fill the ſame without loathing. For what skilleth it what it receiueth, ſince it muſt loſe whatſoeuer it hath receiued. Thou takeſt pleaſure to ſee a ranke of platters charged with fowle and fiſh. There are meates which pleaſe thine appetite, becauſe they are yong and tender: contrariwiſe there are others leſſe ſauourie vnto thee, if they be not ſo thicke and fat as they melt in their greaſe. The very artificiall ſmell of theſe delighteth thee. But vndoubtedly theſe meats ſo carefully ſought out, and ſo cunningly ſauced, being ſwallowed downe into the belly, conuert themſelues into ordure of the ſame colour, and ſtincke. Wilt thou contemne the voluptuouſneſſe of meates, looke vpon them in thy cloſe-ſtoole. I remember that ATTALVS, not without the admiration of all men, was wont to ſay this: Riches, ſaid he, haue oftentimes deceiued me, when I ſaw any peece of them ſhine heere or there, I ſtood in admiration to behold them. I thought that thoſe which were hidden, were like thoſe which were ſhowen. But in a certaine Circenſian ſhow I ſaw all the riches of the Citie emboliſhed with gold and ſiluer, and thoſe things which exceeded either gold or ſiluer in price, exquiſite colours, and garments that were brought not onely from ouer vttermoſt territories, but beyond the furtheſt confines of our enemies. On this ſide the troopes of children, ſeemely both in their habite and forme: on that ſide of women, and other things, which the fortune of the greateſt Empire hauing ſought out her greateſt riches, had brought forth. What other thing is this (ſaid he) then to irritate the luſts and deſires of men that are too forward of themſelues? What meaneth this pompe of money? We are aſſembled together to learne auarice. But vndoubtedly I carrie hence leſſe couetouſneſſe then I brought with me. I contemned riches, not by reaſon they were ſuperfluous, but becauſe they were things of a ſmall value. Seeſt thou not in how ſmall a time this ſo mightie ſhow paſſed ouer, although they marched but ſlowly, and were rancked orderly? Shall this which could not fill the ſpace of an houre, occupie our whole life? He likewiſe added this. They ſeemed vnto me as ſuperfluous to thoſe that had them, as thoſe that beheld them. I therefore ſay thus to my ſelf, as oftentimes as any ſuch thing encountreth mine eyes, as often as I ſee a rich and ſumptuous houſe, a rich guard of ſeruants, a Litter

carried

carried by goodly Lackeyes. Why wondereſt thou? why art thou amaſed? it is but pompe. Theſe things are ſhowne, not poſſeſſed; and whilſt they pleaſe they paſſe by. Rather conuert thy ſelfe vnto true riches, learne to be content with a little, and with a great and manly minde exclaime thus; *Let vs haue water, let vs haue barley ſteeped in water, and let vs contend with* IVPITER *himſelfe for felicitie.* Let vs, I pray thee, doe thus although theſe things be wanting. It is a baſe thing to build a bleſſed life, eyther on golde or ſiluer, and as baſe to found it on water and ſteeped barley; what ſhall I therefore do if theſe things be miſſing? Dooſt thou aske me what remedie there is againſt need? hunger endeth hunger, otherwiſe what importeth it if the things that make thee a ſlaue be great or little? What matters it how much it be that fortune may denie thee? This very water and ſteeped barley is at another mans command, but he is the free man, not ouer whom fortune hath the leaſt power, but he ouer whom ſhe hath no power at all. It is ſo. Thou muſt deſire nothing if thou wilt prouoke *Iupiter* that deſireth nothing. Theſe things ſpake *Attalus* vnto vs, but nature crieth it in all mens eares, which if thou wilt oftentimes thinke vpon, thou ſhalt make thy ſelfe really, not ſeemingly happie, and in effect ſeeme ſuch vnto thy ſelfe, and not vnto others.

EPIST. CXI.

He proueth that cauils are but a vaine and baſe kinde of Philoſophie, and that that part which concerneth manners is true, ſirme, and ſublimed. Counſailing vs to retire to that ſtudie.

THOu haſt enquired of me what thoſe things are called in Latine, which the Grecians call *Sophiſmata*, many men haue endeuoured to expreſſe the ſame, but no man hath performed it; and the reaſon is, becauſe the thing it ſelfe was not receiued by vs; neyther had in vſe, and therfore likewiſe was the name of no account: yet that in my iudgement was the moſt fitteſt which *Cicero* vſed, who called them *Cauillationes*, that is to ſay Cauils; to which whoſoeuer addicteth himſelfe, he forgeth ſubtile queſtions, yet doe they profite him nothing vnto life, neyther is he made the ſtronger, more temperate, or more lifted vp. But he that hath exerciſed Philoſophy for his owne remedie ſake is made mighty in mind, ful of confidence inuincible, and more great the neerer he approcheth the ſame. That which falleth out in the greateſt mountains, whoſe height appears leaſt to thoſe that behold them from a farre, and the neerer you approach them, the more manifeſtly appeareth it what their immeaſurable height is: ſuch, my *Lucilius*, is a true and no counterfeit Philoſopher; he ſtandeth in a high place, admirable, vpright, and truely great. He raiſeth not himſelfe on his feete, neyther walketh on his tiptoes, after the manner of thoſe that helpe their height by ſhift, and would ſeeme longer then they be, he contenteth himſelfe with his greatneſſe. Why ſhould he not content himſelfe, ſince he is growne ſo farre, as fortune reacheth not her hand vnto him, and therefore is he aboue all humane things. He is alwayes like himſelfe in all things that may happen, whether the Nauigation of his life floateth vnder a proſperous winde, or be toſſed by ſtormes and aduerſe dangers. This conſtancy theſe cauils (of which I haue ſpoken a little before) cannot affect. The minde dallieth with theſe, but profiteth not: he caſteth

eth Philoſophy from her throne, and bringeth her vnto the plaine; neyther would I forbid thee to practiſe theſe things ſometimes, yet let it be then when thou wouldeſt doe nothing, yet haue they this one curſed qualitie in them, they leaue a certaine touch of delight behinde them, and poſſeſſe and arreſt the mind that is induced by the appearance of ſubtiltie; mean while, infinite and important affaires remaine behinde, and ſcarcely may our whole life ſuffice to learne this one thing, which is how to contemne life. What to gouerne it ſayeſt thou? This is the ſecond worke: for no man euer well ruled it except hee contemned it.

Epist. CXII.

He deſpaireth the reformation of his friend, olde in yeares and vices.

VNdoubtedly I deſire that thy friend according to thy wiſh ſhould be both formed and inſtructed; but he is held ouer-hard, or rather (which is more troubleſome) he is held ouer tender, and broken by euill and daily cuſtomes. I will yeeld thee an example out of the huſbandry I profeſſe: It is not euery Vine that is fit for grafting; if it be olde and worme-eaten, if it be weake and ſlender, eyther it receiueth not the young plant, or nouriſheth it not, or it will not ioyne with it, neyther wil communicate his qualitie and nature to the ſame. We therefore are accuſtomed to cut it aboue the ground, to the end that if it faile, a man may aſſay another experiment, and ſet him once more into the earth. This man of whom thou writeſt, and whom thou recommendeſt, hath no forces. He hath beene in ſuch ſort addicted vnto vices, that he is both dryed and indurate. He cannot receiue or nouriſh reaſon, yet is he deſirous. Beleeue him not: I ſay not that he lieth vnto thee, he thinketh he deſireth. He is angry with the exceſſe he hath made, yet will he ſhortly fall in league with it againe. But he ſaith that he is offended with his life. I will not denie it; for who is not offended? men both loue and hate their liues. Then therefore will we giue our iudgement of him, when he hath approued vnto vs that his exceſſe is hateſull vnto him; but now they are greatly at oddes.

Epist. CXIII.

He queſtioneth whether vertues be liuing creatures. He ſtoically affirmeth that the vices and affections are no leſſe. Then preferred he a diſpute, that were ridiculous in theſe dayes. He diſſwadeth vs from ſuch like, and ſummoneth vs to thoſe things that are profitable to life.

THou deſireſt me to write vnto thee what I thinke of this queſtion ſo much canuaſſed amongſt Stoicks, whether juſtice, fortitude, prudence, and the reſt of the vertues are liuing creatures. By this ſubtilty, my deereſt *Lucilius*, we giue occaſion to ſome to thinke that we whet our wits about vnprofitable things, and that we loſe our time in ſuch diſputes as ſerue to no purpoſe. Yet will I do that which thou deſireſt, and expreſſe vnto thee what the opinion of our Stoicks is; yet proteſt

I that I am of another opinion. I thinke there are ſome things that become thoſe that weare the hat and cloke amongſt the Grecians. I will therefore tell thee what the reaſons were which moued antiquitie. It appeareth that the ſoule is a liuing creature, conſidering ſhe is the efficient cauſe whereby we are animated: and for that liuing creatures haue deriued this name from her. But vertue is nought elſe then a ſoule poſſeſſing her ſelfe in ſome ſort, it is therefore an animall. Againe, vertue doth ſomething, but nothing can be done without motion; if ſhe haue motion, which none hath except it be a liuing creature, ſhe is a liuing creature: and if ſhe be a liuing creature, then vertue containeth vertue in her ſelfe, why not? ſhe hath her ſelfe. Euen as a wiſe-man doth all things by the aſſiſtance of vertue, ſo doth vertue by her ſelfe: & therfore ſaith he, all Arts, and all thoſe things which we thinke, and whatſoeuer we comprehend in our mindes are animals. It followeth therefore that in thoſe narrow breaſts of ours there inhabiteth diuers thouſands of animals, and that euery one of vs are many animals, or containe many animals in our ſelues. Askeſt thou me what is anſwered hereunto? Each one of theſe things ſhall be an animall, and not diuers. The reaſon? I will tell it thee, if thou wilt heare me patiently & attentiuely: all animals ought to haue each of them a proper ſubſtance: all animals haue one ſoule; they cannot therefore ſubſiſt euery one, neyther can they be diuers. I am an animall, and a man, thou wilt not therefore ſay that I am two. Why? To make them two, they ought to be ſeuered the one from the other. Euery one of diuers ſorts hath but one nature, and therefore is but one. My ſoule is an animall, and I my ſelfe am one alſo; yet for all this are we not two. Why? By reaſon that my ſoule is a part of me. Then ſhall any thing be numbred by it ſelfe, when it conſiſteth by it ſelfe, but when it is a part and member of another, it cannot ſeeme to be another thing. And why? I will tell thee. Becauſe that which is another muſt be his own, and properly his owne, and wholly his owne, and abſolute within it ſelfe. I haue declared that I was of another opinion: for not only ſhall vertues be animals if this be admitted, but thoſe vices and affections which are oppoſite vnto them likewiſe, ſuch as are wrath, feare, ſorrow and ſuſpition. And yet this thing ſhall proceed further, all ſentences, all thoughts ſhall be animals, which muſt in no ſort be admitted. For euery thing that a man doth is not a man; what is juſtice, ſaith he? A ſoule that poſſeſſeth her ſelfe in ſome ſort: if therefore the ſoule be an animall, juſtice is an animall. Nothing ſo: for this is a habite and certain power of the ſoule. The ſame ſoule is conuerted into diuers figures, and yet is not the ſoule an animall, ſo oftentimes as it changeth thus; neither is that which the ſoule doth an animall. If juſtice, magnanimity and thoſe other vertues be animals, I demaund of thee if ſometimes they ceaſe to be, or if they begin againe, or if they be alwayes? Vertues cannot ceaſe to be vertues, therfore many liuing creatures are animals, nay, more innumerable animals are in this ſoule. There are not many (ſaith he) but this is but one ſoule aſſembled of diuers, which are the members and parts of one. By this reckoning we repreſent vnto our ſelues ſuch a forme as the Hydra, which hath diuers heads, each one of which fighteth and hurteth by it ſelfe. But none of thoſe heads is an animall but the head of an animall, yet is ſhe but one animall. No man ſaid that in Chimera the Lion was an animall, or the Dragon; theſe are the parts of him, but the partes are not animals. Where dooſt thou gather that juſtice is an animall? It acteth, ſaith he, ſomewhat and profiteth. But that which doth ſomewhat and profiteth, and hath force and motion, *Ergo*, that which hath force and motion is an animall. True it is, if it haue his

owne force and motion, but it hath not his owne force and motion, but that of the ſoule. Euery Animal vntill it die is that which it began to be. A man vntill he die is a man, ſo likewiſe a horſe and a dogge, for they cannot paſſe into another forme and ſubſtance. Iuſtice that is the ſoule which poſſeſſeth it ſelfe in any ſort, is an Animal. Let vs beleeue it. Moreouer, Magnanimitie, that is to ſay, the ſoule in any ſort miſtris of her ſelfe, is an Animal. What ſoule is that? That which euen now was Iuſtice, is incloſed in the firſt Animal, and cannot paſſe into another Animal, but muſt remaine in him where ſhe began to be. Furthermore, one ſoule cannot be in two liuing creatures together, much leſſe in many. If Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and thoſe other vertues be Animals. How can they haue but one ſoule, it muſt needs fall out that euery one hath his own, elſe cannot they be Animals. One body cannot be the body of diuers Animals. What is, ſaith he, the bodie of Iuſtice, the ſoule, and of magnanimitie alſo; but one bodie cannot be the bodie of two Animals. But ſome one will ſay, that one and the ſame ſoule hath taken the habitude of Iuſtice, magnanimitie and temperance. This might be, if at ſuch time as Iuſtice was in vigor, magnanimitie was not, and when value was, temperance was not. But all vertues are together. How ſhould theſe be different Animals, ſince there is but one ſoule, which can make but one Animal. Furthermore, no Animal is a part of another Animal. But Iuſtice is a part of the ſoule, it is not therefore an Animal. Truely in my iudgement, it is but loſt time to conteſt vpon a matter that is granted, wee ſhould rather be angry thereat, then diſpute thereupon. No Animal is a part of another. Conſider all mens bodies, and there is not one of them but hath his particular colour, forme, and proportion. Amidſt other miracles, which make the wiſdome of God the Creator admirable, I eſteeme this to be one, that amidſt ſo many things that are created, the one reſembleth not the other, and as touching thoſe that are like one another, yet will there be ſome difference found, if thou curiouſly obſerue the ſame. He hath made infinite ſorts of leaues diſtinguiſhed the one from the other by ſome ſpeciall marke. Infinite and different Animals, yea euen thoſe which are of the ſame kinde, doe not in euerie part reſemble one another. The Creator hath required and obtained this of himſelfe, that theſe Animals of different kindes ſhould not reſemble one another, either in forme or proportion. Thou ſayeſt that all the Vertues are like one another, and therefore they are not Animals. There is not any Animal but doth ſomething of it ſelfe. But Vertue doth nothing by her ſelfe, but with a man. All liuing creatures are either endowed with reaſon, as men and gods, or depriued of reaſon as beaſts are. Vertues are endowed with reaſon, and yet for all that, they are neither gods nor men, and conſequently they are not Animals. Euery reaſonable liuing creature doth nothing, except it be firſt incited and puſhed forward in regard and conſideration of ſomething: this ſtirreth the ſame, and then conſent ſtirreth this motion. As touching Conſent, ſee heere what it is. I muſt walke out, I ſet forward, after I am commanded ſo to do, and hauing found it good. I muſt ſit downe, and then I ſit. This Conſent is not in Vertue. Preſuppoſe that Prudence is a liuing creature, how ſhould ſhe conſent? I muſt of neceſſitie ſet forward, Nature oppoſeth her ſelfe againſt this point, for Prudence prouideth not for her ſelfe, but for him that is endowed with her, which cannot go nor ſit downe, and therefore hath no conſent. That which is depriued of iudgement and conſent, is not a liuing creature endowed with reaſon. If Vertue be a liuing creature, ſhe is a reaſonable liuing creature. But ſhe is a reaſonable liuing creature: *Ergo*, no liuing creature. If Vertue be a liuing creature,

creature, and vertue be a good thing, euery good thing is a liuing creature. The Stoickes auow this. It is a good thing for a man to ſaue his fathers life, to ſpeake materially and to the purpoſe, his opinion in publique aſſembly, to giue a ſentence according to the lawes, by this reckoning to ſaue a mans father, ſhall be a liuing creature, and to thinke and debate well, another. In briefe, this Paradox will ſeeme ſo great in the end, that a man cannot containe himſelfe from laughter. To know how to hold a mans peace in time and place, to ſup well is a good thing, and therefore to hold a mans peace, and to ſup well, are liuing creatures. I will not ceaſe to tickle my ſelfe, and make me pleaſure by theſe follies. Truly if Iuſtice and Magnanimitie be liuing creatures, they are terreſtriall, euery terreſtriall liuing creature ſuffereth cold, hunger and thirſt. So Iuſtice hath a cold, Magnanimitie is hungry, and Clemencie drie. Moreouer, I would willingly aske of theſe Doctors, if theſe liuing creatures haue the figure of a man, of a horſe, or of a ſauage beaſt. If they attribute vnto them a round forme, as they doe vnto God, I would aske of them, whether couetouſneſſe, riot, and folly are round? For theſe likewiſe are Animals, if they be round. I would deſire them further to let me know, if to walke diſcreetly be a liuing creature or no? They muſt of neceſſitie confeſſe that it is a liuing creature of a round forme. But to the end thou mayeſt know that I ſpeake by my booke, and that it is not my priuate opinion which I heere doe publiſh. *Cleanthes* and his ſcholler *Chryſippus* are not one in opinion, as touching this walking. *Cleanthes* ſaith, that it is an agitation diſperſed from the head vnto the feete. *Chryſippus* is of another opinion: why then according to *Chryſippus* example cannot any man maintaine that which he ſhall iudge to be the beſt, and laugh at the number of theſe Animals, ſo great, as the world would be too little to containe them. The Stoicks ſay that Vertues are not diuers Animals, and yet notwithſtanding that they are Animals, euen as one man is an Orator and Poet, ſo are Vertues Animals, and not diuers liuing creatures, but one onely. The ſoule that is iuſt, prudent, and couragious, is one and the ſame, being in ſome ſort in poſſeſſion of her ſelfe, in euery one of the vertues. The diſpute ceaſeth, we are agreed, for I confeſſe that the ſoule is a liuing creature, referring it to another place to ſpeake my opinion as touching the ſame. I deny that the actions of the ſoule are liuing creatures, otherwiſe all the words, and euery Poets verſes ſhould be liuing creatures. For if a word well ſpoken be a good thing, and euery good thing be a liuing creature, the word ſhall be a liuing creature. A verſe that is well made is good, that which is good is called an Animal, and conſequently a verſe ſhall be an Animal: and ſo

Arma virumque cano,

Is an Animal, which cannot for all that be round, becauſe it is a verſe of ſix feet. All this is but meere Sophiſtrie, which being well examined makes me readie to ſwound with laughing, when I remember that a Soleciſme, a Barbariſme, and a Syllogiſme is an Animal, and I depaint euery one of them ſuch a forme as beſt liketh me. Theſe things diſpute we with loftie lookes and bended browes. I cannot in this place refraine to exclaime in this ſort with *Lucilius*, O hatefull follies. They are ridiculous. But why manage we not rather ſome matters that may make vs better! Why ſearch we not out the meanes to attaine vnto vertue, and the way that may leade vs thereunto? Breake not my braines in teaching me whether Magnanimitie be a liuing creature, but learne me that in this world there is not any liuing creature found that is happie, except hee bee

magnanimous, except he be resolute against all accidents, if in his thought hee hath not ouercome all aduersities before he felt them. Magnanimitie is the impregnable fortresse of humane infirmitie, whosoeuer is inclosed therein, he remaineth assured in this beleagring of life. For he vseth his owne strength and his owne weapons. In this place I will set downe vnto thee the notable saying of the Stoick POSIDONIVS, *Neuer thinke thy selfe assured with the armes of Fortune, combate against her with thine owne. Casualties doe not arme vs.* They therefore that are armed against their enemies, are disarmed against aduersitie. *Alexander* spoiled and put to flight the Persians, the Hircanians, the Indians, and all those Nations that inhabit the extent of the East Countries vnto the sea. Notwithstanding he himselfe hauing slaine one friend and lost another, lay groueling in a darke chamber detesting his wickednesse, deploring his losse, and this conquerour of so many Kings and Nations, was ouercome by choler and sorrow. For all his endeuours were aimed to this end, to master all other things except himselfe. O how blinde are men, who desire to make their Scepters passe beyond the seas, who thinke themselues happy if they conquer diuers countries and Prouinces by their souldiers, and ioyne new to the old, not knowing that the greatest Empire, and that which is wholly conquered, is to command a mans selfe. Let them teach mee how sacred a thing Iustice is, that it is a vertue that is carefull of another mans good; that seeketh not commodities or aduantages to her selfe. That she hath no alliance with ambition and vaine-glorie, but pleaseth her selfe. Before all things let euery one perswade himselfe this. It behoueth me to be a good man, without hope or desire of recompence. This is a small matter, let him adde more: I am commanded to employ my selfe wholly and freely in the studie of vertue, in such sort as all my thought is as much as in me lieth, to be driuen from the consideration of my priuate profit. Studie thou not whether the reward of vertue, is more great then vertue it selfe. Fix thou that likewise in thy minde, which I haue touched heretofore, it skilleth not whether thy vertue be knowne to few men, or to many. He that wil haue his vertue published, laboureth not for vertue, but for glory. Wilt thou not be iust without glory? But vndoubtedly thou must be iust with infamie, and then, if thou art wise, an euill opinion well gotten doth delight.

EPIST. CXIIII.

He teacheth that eloquence is otherwise different, and pleasing, euen as publike manners are seuere, dissolute and broken. He proueth that they take that colour from the mind, and that by MAECENAS *example, and therefore that that is to be cured and formed, from whence proceedeth sence, and consequently direct words. By the way he argueth against dissoluteneſſe..*

THOu askest mee why and whence it commeth to passe, that the speech is corrupted in some times, and why mens minds are inclined to certaine vices, so as sometimes a swelling discourse was applauded, some other times sounding & deliuered after the maner of a song. Why other whiles men tooke pleasure in long & continued periods, other whiles in abrupt sentences & suspitious, in which more is to be vnderstood then heard. Why then was some age that immodestly vsed a figuratiue discourse. The reason is this which thou hast commonly heard, and the Greekes haue made their prouerb, of such is mens speech as is their life. But as euery mans actiō is answerable to his speech, so somtimes the kind of discourse imitateth

imitateth publike manners. If the diſcipline of the Common-wealth hath been depraued, the effeminate manner of language is an argument of the diſſolution of all eſtates: I ſpeake of that language which is vſuall amongſt all men, and not of that which ſome one or two vſe. The ſoule and vnderſtanding cannot be of two colours. If the ſoule be whole, compoſed, graue, and well tempered, the vnderſtanding alſo is ſober and moderate. If the one be corrupted, the other is affected. Seeſt thou not, that if the mind languiſh, the members are weakened, and the feet hardly moued? And if it be effeminate, how the infirmitie thereof appeareth euen in the walking? How if it be watchfull and forward, the body doubleth his pace, and if it be furious, or (that which is next to furie) be angry, how all the body trembleth, and how they go not, but are tranſported? How much more befalleth the vnderſtanding thinkeſt thou, which is wholly intermixed with the ſoule, which formeth the ſame, bringeth it in action, and giueth it a law? In what ſort *Mæcenas* liued, it is better knowne, then that it needed to be expreſſed at this time, how he walked, how daintie he was, how deſirous to be ſeene, how vnwilling that his vices ſhould be vndiſcouered. What then, was not his diſcourſe as diſſolute as his life? Had he not as much affectation and vanitie in his ſpeech, as in his equipage, then in his traine, then in his houſe, then in his wife? He was a man of great vnderſtanding, had he not tracted a worſer way, had he not affected obſcuritie, had he not ouerflowed in his diſcourſe. Thou ſhalt therefore ſee the eloquence of a drunken man enfolded, extrauagant and full of libertie. Behold *Mæcenas* in his manner of ſpeech. *Quid turpius amne ſiluiſq́; ripa comantibus? Vide vt alueum lintribus arent, verſoq́; vadore mittant hortos. Quid ſi quis fœmina cirro criſpata & labris columellatur? Incipitq́; ſuſpirans vt ceruice laxa feriatur. Nemo tirãni irremediabilis factio rimantur, epulis lagenaq́; tentant domos & ſæpe mortem exigunt. Genium feſto vix ſuo teſtem tenuis cerei fila & crepacem molam,... Iocum mater & vxor inueſtiunt.* Wilt thou not ſuddenly remember, as ſoone as thou readeſt this, that this is the ſpeech of ſuch a man, who alwayes trauerſed Rome ſtreets in his looſe-gowne. For euen then when in *Cæſars* abſence he executed his office, hee deliuered the watch-word in this habit. Thinke that it is the ſame man, that in the Pallace, in the Tribunall during the time of Orations, in all aſſemblies of theſe people alwaies preſented himſelfe, hauing his face muffeled in his cloake, without diſcouering any thing but his eares, as they are accuſtomed to doe, who flie and will not be knowne, according as they are repreſented in Comedies. Hee it is that in the greateſt height of ciuill warres, at ſuch time as Rome was in armes and in feare, marched thorow the ſtreetes, attended by two Eunuches, yet more men then himſelfe. He it is that hath had but one wife, and notwithſtanding hath been maried a thouſand times. Theſe words aboue written ſo badly builded, ſo negligently diſpoſed, ſo repugnant to the manner of all mens writings, ſhew that his manners were no leſſe new, then particular and depraued. Hee hath beene highly priſed for the ſweetneſſe of his nature, in that hee neuer bare armes, or euer tooke pleaſure in ſhedding bloud, or did any thing, except that which the libertie of the time or his credit might permit him. But all this good reputation of his hath beene ſoyled by the affectations of this his monſtrous manner of language: for in this it manifeſtly appeareth that hee was rather a milke-ſoppe then mercifull. Theſe obſcurities in his compoſition, theſe ouerthwart vvords, theſe conceits oftentimes: loftie, but without pith, diſcouer vnto him that will obſerue the ſame, that too much felicitie had troubled his head, a vice which is ſometimes found in the man, ſometimes in the

time. When as repoſe and felicitie produceth and ſoweth diſſolution on euery ſide. Firſt of all, a man beginneth more carefully to dreſſe and adorne his bodie. Afterwards his ſtudie is to haue rich moueables; conſequently he bethinketh himſelfe of ſtately buildings, to make them more large, to enrich the walls with Marbles fetched from beyond ſeas, to embroiſh the roofes with gold, that the beautie of the pauement be anſwerable to the richneſſe of many beames. Then transferreth he his daintineſſe to the magnificence of his table, and there ſearcheth he glorie in noueltie, and changing the accuſtomed faſhions amongſt our predeceſſors, ſo that thoſe things which were wont to bee ſerued in laſt at ſupper, are brought in firſt, and thoſe things that were preſented to thoſe that entered to the feaſt, are giuen to thoſe that depart from it. After that mans minde was accuſtomed to loath that which was in vſe, and things that are ordinarie were accounted contemptible: he goes and ſeekes out a new language, reuiuing and renuing vnuſuall and forgotten words, then forgeth he new, and regrateth the vnknowne: that which is but newly found out is reputed elegant, and figuratiue tranſlations are audacious and frequent. Some thinke to credit themſelues by ſpeaking to the halfes, and abbreuiating their ſpeech in ſuch ſort, as he that heareth knoweth not what to thinke. Other there are that delate and draw them out, ſome there are that draw not vnto the vice (for he muſt needs, that vndertaketh any great thing to doe the ſame) yet ſuch as loue the ſame. Whereſoeuer therefore thou ſeeſt that men take delight in an obſcure and corrupt ſpeech, hold thy ſelfe aſſured that their manners are depraued. Euen as exceſſiue banquets and ſuperfluous rayments are witneſſes that the Commonweale is ſicke, ſo this libertie in coyning new tearmes and words (if ſo be the cuſtome be continued) ſheweth that the ſpirits of thoſe that ſpeake thus, are entangled and loſt. Wonder thou not in any ſort, that this corruption is as pleaſing to the mightieſt, as to the meaner ſort, for the greateſt and the pooreſt differ not in iudgements, but in their pompe and eſtate. Rather wonder thou that men praiſe the effects of vices, and the vices themſelues. For this hath beene alwaies done: there was no pleaſing wit that had not his pardon. Giue me whatſoeuer man thou wilt of greateſt name, and I will tell thee wherein the age wherein he liued pardoned him, and what they willingly diſſembled in him. I will reckon thee vp many, whoſe vices harmed them not, and ſome, whoſe errors profited them. I will, I ſay, let thee ſee ſome of great renowne, and reputed moſt excellent men, whom if a man will cenſure, he confoundeth them. For ſo are their vertues intermixed with their vices, that the one do neceſſarily draw the other after them. Adde hereunto that language hath no certaine rule. The publike cuſtome which changeth it inceſſantly, altereth it from yeare to yeare. Some men borrow words from another age. They vſe the ſtile of the Lawes written in the twelue tables. *Gracchus*, *Craſſus*, and *Curio* are ouer new for them, they returne as farre as *Appius* and *Coruncanus*. Some other contrariwiſe, that will haue nothing which is not vulgar and triuiall, ſpeake very barelie. Both of them are corrupted in a diuers manner ſo much certainlie, as if they would vſe pompous wel-ſounding and poeticall words, and flie thoſe that are neceſſarie and in vſe: I will ſay that as well the one as the other doth amiſſe. The one eſteemeth thẽſelues more then is neceſſary, the other miſpriſeth thẽſelues ouer much; the one pull the haire frõ their legs, the other not from their arme pits. Let vs paſſe ouer to cõpoſition, how many defaults may I diſcouer to thee? The one allow of a crabbed and harſh diſcourſe, they diſturbe a ſmooth and pleaſing ſtile: no period is pleaſing to them, if it be not harſh and rough:

they

they repute that manly and strong which affecteth the eare with inequalitie. The other in stead of speaking, seeme to sing, so flattering and so fluent is the structure of their wordes. What will you say of that where the words are deferred, and after we haue attended them long time, hardly returne they vnto their clauses? What shall I say of that which in the issue is moderate (as is that of *Ciceroes*) and falling and ending afterwards sweetly, and answerable to the fashion, and hath his ending answerable to the manner and foot. There is not onely an errour in the kind of sentences, if eyther they are too weake and childish, and more proude and bolde then modestie will permit, but they are too flourishing and sweet, if they be deliuered in vaine and without any effect, they doe no more but sound. These vices some one man bringeth in, whose eloquence in that time is applauded, the rest doe imitate him, and the one deliuereth it to the other. So when *Salust* was in request, the sentences were curtalled, and wordes had their vnexpected cadence, and obscure breuitie with the rest was reputed elegancie. *Aruncius* a man of rare frugalitie, who wrote the Historie of the Carthaginian warres, was a Salustian, and an excellent man in that kinde. There is in SALVST, *Exercitum argento fecit*: that is to say, he made an armie with siluer; that is, he assembled an armie with money. This did *Aruncius*, he planted it in euery page: he saith in a certaine place, *Fugam nostri fecere*, that is to say, our men made a flight: and in another place *Hiero* King of Syracusa, *Bellum facit*, maketh warre: and likewise in another place, *Quæ audita Panormitanos dedere Romanis fecere*, that is to say, which things being heard, they made that the Inhabitants of Panormus rendred themselues to the Romanes. I thought good to giue thee a little taste. All this whole booke is composed of words. Those wordes that were rare in *Salust* are vsuall in him, and almost continued: and not without cause; for the one lighted on them by chance, the other sought for them. But thou seest what followeth him that taketh an errour for an example: *Salust* said, *Aquis hiemantibus*, whilst the waters wintered. *Aruncius* in his first booke of the Carthaginian warre, saith, *Repente hiemauit tempestas*, that is to say, the tempest suddenly wintered. And in another place, when he would say that the yeare was colde, he saith, *Totus hiemauit annus*, that is, the whole yeare wintered. And in another place, *Inde sexaginta onerarias leues praeter militem, & necessarios nautarum hiemante aquilone misit*, that is, whilst the *Aquilon* wintered, he sent from that place sixtie ships of small burthen, besides the Souldiers and necessarie Marriners. He neuer giueth ouer in all places to foist in this word. In a certaine place *Salust* saith, *Inter arma ciuilia aequi boni famas petit*, that is, amidst ciuill armes he sought the renowne of a man good and iust. *Aruntius* tempered not himselfe, but presently in his first booke he inserted this, *Ingentes esse famas de* REGVLO, that is, that the renownes of *Regulus* were great. This therefore and such like vices, which imitation hath impressed into any tokens of dissolution, or a corrupt minde. For they must be proper and conceiued by the vnderstanding, by which thou oughtest to estimate any mans effects. The speech of a cholericke man is hastie, and violent of a man that is moued to much stirring, of a delicate and ciuill man smooth and pleasant, which thou seest those men follow that eyther pull and trim their beards, that cause their mustachios to be cut short, that shaue their vpper lips very neere, and suffer the rest to be as long as is possible, that weare their cloakes of an euill colour, and gownes of pure stuffe, who will doe nothing but that which is seene publiquely, although they offend and displease the whole world. But they care not to be reproued, prouided, that they be beheld. Such is *Mecænas* discourse and all

all others elſe, which erre not caſually but willingly. This errour proceedeth from an euill conſcience. Euen as in drunkenneſſe the tongue faltereth not, except reaſon be obſcured or betrayed: ſo this maner of ſpeech (which is a meere drunkeneſſe of the ſpirit) is tedious to nō man, except the vnderſtanding of him that ſpeaketh be ſhaken. Therefore we ought to heale the ſame, for from it the diſcourſe, the words, the countenance, the regard, the marching is deriued; if it be whole and ſtrong. The language is robuſt, ſtrong and manly: contrariwiſe, if it be deiected all the reſt grow to wracke,

The King in health then all mens mindes are one,
The King once loſt then all mens faith is gone.

Our minde is our King if it be ſafe, the reſt continue in their duetie, they obey and are gouerned, if he be neuer ſo little ſhaken, they droope with him. But when he giueth place to pleaſure, his Arts and his actions alſo doe decay, and all his forces are feeble and fraile. Becauſe I haue vſed this ſimilitude I will perſeuer. Our minde is now a King, now a Tyrant: a King when he beholdeth and aimeth at honeſtie, maintaineth the health of the bodie committed to his charge, and commandeth no filthy or ſordid thing: but when he is chollericke, couetous and delicate, he aſſumeth a deteſtable and direfull name, and is called Tyrant. Then doe impotent affections lay holde of him, and ſollicite him inceſſantly, and in the beginning of thoſe that moſt preſſe him ſeeme to yeelde him pleaſure; ſuch as the people is accuſtomed to reioyce at when a tyrant maketh them any larges to intrap them: but this abundance is vaine vnto the vnderſtanding, which manageth that which he cannot diſ-geſt, when the ſickeneſſe hath conſumed his vigor more and more, and delights haue ſtolne into his nerues and marrow, the vnderſtanding being ioyfull to behold theſe things (the vſe whereof is vnprofitable to him, becauſe he hath ouer-earneſtly deſired them) for the ſatisfaction of his delights, he enioyeth the ſight of this or that, he is witneſſe and vnderſeruant of other mens luſts, being depriued of all delights of the ſame, becauſe he is ouer-plunged therein: in briefe, the abundance of worldly pleaſures in ſtead of conceiting him conſumeth him, when he ſees himſelfe depriued of the meanes to let downe by his throate into his belly all the pleaſant morſels he beholdeth, and to tumble himſelfe baſely amidſt the troop of baudes and harlots, he wonderfully grieueth becauſe he is faine from the greateſt part of his felicitie, hauing ſo ſtraight receipt in a bodie ſo little. Is not this a true furie, my *Lucilius*, that none of vs thinketh that he is mortall? That we are inſenſible euery way of our infirmity? yea, that each one ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be more then one. Behold our Kitchins, and our Cookes trauerſing from one fire to another; wouldeſt thou thinke that for the refection of one only belly ſo much ſtirre ſhould be made? Behold our Caues and Cellers repleniſhed with the vintages of many ages; thinkeſt thou that it is for one belly that the wines of ſo many Conſuls and Countries are ſtored vp? Behold in how many places the earth is turned vp, how many thouſands of huſbandmen plough and digge the ſame; thinkeſt thou that it may ſeeme to be for one belly that Sicily and Africa are ſowed? We ſhall be healthfull and deſire little, if euery one of vs numbreth himſelfe, and meaſure his body likewiſe, and know that it neyther can receiue much, nor containe it long; yet is there nothing that will teach thee better to keepe a meaſure in all things, then an ordinarie meditation of the ſhortnes and vncertainty of this life, whenſoeuer thou dooſt look backe vnto death.

Epist. CXV.

He argueth againſt thoſe that are too curious in their diſcourſe and ſtile, and ſaith it is a token of a weake minde; alleaging that we ought to ſpeake and write confidently without affectation of ornament, and rather expreſſe in our minde. O what a one is he when vertues haue adorned him? He will draw all men into admiration of him, if he might be ſeene. But this externall beautie is eyther falſe or nothing worth: as likewiſe golde and money are, which wee ſo much admire. Theſe make not men happy or ſecure, nay, rather miſerable and to be pitied.

I Will not haue thee too curious, eyther in thy wordes or compoſition, my *Lucilius*, I haue greater matters for thee to care for, and thinke vpon. Seeke what thou ſhouldeſt write, and not how; and in ſtead of buſying thy ſelfe about wordes, cauſe thy ſelfe to haue a feeling of the ſubſtance thereof in thy heart, to the end thou mayeſt apply the ſame more and more, and as it were ſeale it in thy ſelfe. Whomſoeuer thou ſeeſt that vſeth an affected and laboured kinde of ſpeech, thinke that he hath his ſpirit occupied about vaine things. A vertuous man ſpeaketh more remiſſely, but more ſecurely: whatſoeuer he ſaith, hath more confidence in it then curioſitie. Thou knoweſt diuers young men well barbed and frizeled, who ſeeme as if they newly came out of a boxe; expect thou nothing eyther firme or generous from ſuch kinde of men. The ſpeech is the Image of the minde: if a man mince it, diſguiſe and poliſh it ouer curiouſly, it is a ſigne that he which ſpeaketh it, is an hypocrite, and little worth. It is no manly ornament to ſpeake affectedly. If it were lawfull for vs to prie into the ſoule of a good man, O the faire, O the holy, O the magnificent, gratious, and ſhining face which we ſhould beholde! their iuſtice, their fortitude, their temperance, their prudence giue luſtre on euery ſide. Furthermore, frugalitie, continence, patience, libertie and courteſie, and that rare, and as it were incredible ornament in a man, that is to ſay humanity, would reflect their light vpon them. Furthermore, how much grace, grauity, authority, diſcretion and magnanimitie (which is the higheſt of all other vertues) would annex themſelues vnto the reſt. No man would count him amiable that would not terme him venerable, if any one had ſeene this face more heauenly and reſplendent then mortall eyes are accuſtomed to behold, would he not ſtep backe, being ſtroken with aſtoniſhment, as if he had met with ſome God? Would he not pray in his heart that he might contemplate the ſame? Then approching more neere, allured by the ſweeteneſſe of his eyes, would he not humbly kneele downe before her. And hauing aduiſedly conſidered it, how farre more excellent it were and incomparable aboue ours, with a gratious regard, yet ſparkling and filled with liuing light, wholly rauiſhed with zeale and amaſe, would he not crie out with *Virgil*,

O by what ſtile faire Virgin ſhall I ſtriue
To ſet thee forth? for thine vnequal'd eyes
Are mere then mortall, and thy words reuiue
Farre more then humane eloquence implies,
Liue happy, and vouchſafe vs of thy grace,
And end thoſe toyles which haue our life in chace.

Shee will aſſiſt and comfort vs, if we will honour her, but ſhe is not honoured or ſerued

ſerued by the offerings of fat ſlaughtered and ſacrificed Bulls, nor by golde, or ſiluer hung vp in the Temple, or by preſents caſt into her treaſure; but by a right and holy affection. There is not any man, as I haue ſaid, that would not be inflamed with her loue, if we could attaine to ſee her. For now there are manie things that hinder and dim our eyes, and dull them by their brightneſſe, or detaine them in obſcuritie. But euen as certaine medicines doe clenſe and ſharpen the ſight; ſo likewiſe if we will take away thoſe impediments that darken the eyes of our ſoules, we may behold vertue, although couered with a body, although pouertie, baſe condition, and infamie be as many couerts to conceale her from vs; although this beautie be clouded by an obſcure thing, yet ſhall we eſpie it. Contrariwiſe, we ſhall diſcouer from a farre the malice and ſtupiditie of a miſerable ſoule, although that riches doe abundantly ſhine and muſter about her, and that in regarding her we haue our eyes dazeled with the falſe light of power and honours, Then may wee learne that which wee admire is contemptible in all ſorts, and that we reſemble little children, that thinke euery trifle of great value; for they preferre their little bracelets, ſcarce worth a peny, before their fathers, mothers, or brothers. What difference then is there betwixt vs and them, ſaith *Ariſton*, but that we are madding after pictures and ſtatues more coſtly fooliſh? They are delighted with little partie coloured ſtones, that haue ſome varietie in them, which are found vpon the Sea ſhore, and we with pillars of Iaſpe and Porphirie, brought from the ſands of Ægypt, or the deſerts of Africa, to ſuſtaine ſom porch or ſom dyning chamber to feaſt the Commons in. We wonder at the walls that are couered with thin marble, and yet we know what that is which is hidden, and we couſen our owne eyes. And when we guild all the roofs of our houſes, what other thing reioice we in but in counterfeit? For we know that worme-eaten wood lyeth hidden vnder that golde: neyther is it onely on our walls and houſe-beames that we beſtow this light ornament, but remember thy ſelfe alſo that the felicitie of all theſe great men whom thou ſeeſt march ſo proudly, is but a felicitie guilded on the out-ſide, and a ſimple leaſe. Obſerue and thou ſhalt ſee, that vnder this thin skin of humane greatneſſe, there is abundance of miſerie and filthineſſe. Thoſe riches which at this day raiſe men to greateſt magiſtracy & place of juſtice, haue bewitched the hearts and ſenſes of the ſame men; and ſince mony hath growne in requeſt, the true honour of things is made no reckoning of: and being become buyers and ſellers both at once, we aske no more what this is, but of what worth this is? In this traffique we are ſometimes good, and ſometimes euill. As long as there is any hope of profite about vertue wee follow her: if vice promiſe vs better aduantage we runne after it, and are for thoſe will giue vs moſt. Our fathers and mothers haue made vs admire golde and ſiluer; this couetouſneſſe being ſowed in our tender ſoules, hath taken deepe roote, and is growne with vs. Againe, all men that in all other things are of different opinions, accord in this point of auarice, euery one embraceth the ſame, deſireth that his may haue a part, & pretending to ſhew himſelfe gratefull to the gods, hee preſenteth them with ſiluer and golde, as the moſt excellent thing in the world. Finally, mans life is brought to that paſſe, that pouertie is held for a hatefull thing, and full of contempt, neglected by the rich, hatefull to the poore. Then haue the Poets annexed their inuentions, which are as it were matches to kindle our affections in prayſing riches as the onely honour and ornament of this life, and that the immortall gods ſeeme to haue nothing better, neyther can giue any thing more exquiſite. One of them ſpeaking of the Pallace of the Sunne, ſaith

The

The Pallace of the Sunne, moſt ſeemely to behold,
Was rais'd on pillars of the pureſt gold.

Behold how he deſcribes his Chariot.

The axeltree, the beame, the outward bends,
That arme the wheele, were all of burniſht gold,
The ſpoakes of ſiluer.———

To conclude, they call that the golden age, which they would haue reputed for the beſt. Amongſt the Tragique Poets, there are ſome that preferre profit before innocence, health, and good opinion.

Let me haue wealth and riches to be giuing,
Account thou me the wretcheſt miſer liuing;
All men enquire, if he be rich or no,
But no man learnes what goodneſſe he doth owe.
They aske not why, or whence, but what thou haſt,
And onely that, ſo each man is reputed
As he is landed, monied, and ſuted.
Ask'ſt thou me what is loathſome to poſſeſſe,
Nothing; for getting doth diſgrace redreſſe.
I either wiſh to liue in rich eſtate,
Or die in pouertie, contempt, and hate:
Full well dies he, that dying getteth gaine,
Mony the greateſt good of humane ſtraine:
The mothers comfort, and the infants pleaſure,
The ſacred parents are but toyes to pleaſures,
In VENVS *face nothing ſo ſweetly ſhines*
As mony doth, nothing her power confines;
The gods themſelues are by her preſents mou'd,
And mortall men her ſight haue euer lou'd.

When theſe laſt verſes of *Euripides* Tragedie were pronounced, all the people aroſe with great tumult, to fling out both the Actor and the Author, till *Euripides* himſelfe ſtepped forth into the middeſt of them, beſeeching them to haue patience, and they ſhould ſee what end he had that ſo much admired gold. In this Tragedie *Belerophon* receiued the chaſtiſement, which euery one receiueth in himſelfe. For no auarice is without puniſhment, although ſhee her ſelfe be puniſhment enough of her ſelfe. O how many teares and toyles exacteth ſhee at their hands that ſerue her, how miſerable ſhee is both to thoſe that gape after her, and to thoſe that haue got her. Adde hereunto the continuall cares which torment euery man, according to the meaſure of that he hath: mony is poſſeſt with greater torment then ſought. What bitter ſighes are vented from the hearts of couetous men, if they haue any loſſes, which ſometimes are great, and ſeeme alſo to be greater. Finally, although Fortune take nothing from them, yet all that which eſcapeth their fingers, is as much as loſt vnto them. But men ſay ſuch a one is happie and rich, and deſire to haue as much goods as hee. I confeſſe it. What then? Thinkeſt thou that any are in worſe caſe then thoſe which

which haue both miſerie and enuie. I could wiſh that they who deſire riches, ſhould conſult and take counſell of rich men. I could wiſh that they who affect honors, ſhould confer with ambitious men, and ſuch as haue gotten the height of dignitie, they ſhould vndoubtedly change their vowes, which they doe alſo making new wiſhes, and conſequently condemning their former wiſhes. For there is no one man that contenteth himſelfe with his felicitie, although ſhee poſted forward to finde him. They complaine themſelues of their deſignes and ſucceſſe, and had rather haue that which they left behinde. But Philoſophie will giue thee content, which is the moſt great good thou canſt imagine, thou ſhalt neuer repent thy ſelfe. To this ſo ſolide felicitie which no tempeſt may ſhake, apt and choſen words, neither a ſweete and flowing ſtile will bring thee. Let words paſſe as they may, prouided that thy ſoule be in his entire, that it be great, and deliuered from errors, pleaſing vnto it ſelfe, by reaſon of thoſe things that are diſpleaſing vnto others. Who eſtimateth his aduancement by his action, and iudgeth that hee knoweth ſo much, as he neither deſireth nor feareth.

Epist. CXVI.

Againſt the Peripatetickes, that affections are to be cut off, not tempered, neither that they are induced by Nature. That the aduerſe opinion proceedeth from effeminateneſſe.

IT hath oftentimes beene demanded, whether it be better to haue moderate affections, or none at all. The Stoicks expell them which are tempered and moderated by Peripateticks. For mine owne part I ſee now how a ſickneſſe may be moderate, healthfull or profitable. Feare thou not, for I will haue none of thoſe things taken from thee, which thou wilt not haue denied thy ſelfe. I will make my ſelfe facile and indulgent to thoſe things which thou pretendeſt, and that either thou eſteemeſt neceſſarie, profitable, or pleaſing to thy ſelfe. I will only take from thee the vice. For when I forbid thee to deſire, I permitte thee to will, to the end that reſolutely and aduiſedly thou mayeſt doe what thou pleaſeſt, and that thou mayeſt taſte the ſweetnes thereof the more. Why not? For they will come the more vnto thee, if thou command them, then if thou ſerue them. But thou wilt ſay that it is naturall for a man to lament the death of his friend, that we ought to giue time to a ſorrow ſo iuſt. That it is naturall to be touched with the opinions of men, and to be ſorry in aduerſities, that it is not reaſonable to extinguiſh the honeſt apprehenſion of a danger. I anſwere, that there is no vice which findeth not an aduocate, and whoſe beginning is not fitting and excuſable; but that it is which giueth him the meanes to extend it ſelfe euery wayes. If thou ſuffer it to begin, thou ſhalt neuer be able to make it end. In the beginning each affection is feeble, but afterwards he inciteth himſelfe, and getteth forces in his progreſſe, he is more eaſily excluded then expelled. Who denieth, but that affections flow, as it were, from a certaine naturall beginning. Nature hath committed the care of our ſelues to our ſelues, but when thou art too indulgent thereof, it is a vice, Nature hath intermixed pleaſure with neceſſarie things, not that we ſhould affect the ſame, but that the acceſſe thereof, ſhould make thoſe things more pleaſing to vs, without which we

cannot

cannot liue, if of it ſelfe it come not, it is diſſolute neſſe. Let vs therefore make head againſt affections which enter: becauſe, as I ſaid, they are not entertained ſo eaſily as they depart. Permit me in ſuch a meaſure to be ſorrowfull, in ſuch a meaſure to feare: but that meaſure becommeth without meane, and endeth not there where thou wilt. It is ſafetie for a wiſe-man not to keepe himſelfe ouer carefull, and let him when he liſteth arreſt his teares and his pleaſures. And becauſe it is not eaſie for vs to retire, it is the better that we ſet not forward at all. Me thinkes that *Panætius* anſwered very fitly to a yong man that asked him, *Whether a wiſe-man might loue. As touching the wiſe-man* (ſaith he) *wee will thinke vpon it, but in regard of thy ſelfe and me, we are yet farre diſtant from the perfection of a wiſe-man. Let vs keepe our ſelues carefully, leſt we become ſlaues of a thing turbulent, impotent, vnder the power of another, contemptible to it ſelfe.* For if ſhe eye vs, his humanitie incited vs, and if ſhe deſpiſe, we burne in deſpite. The loue that is gratious is as hurtfull as that which is rigorous: by his facility we are entangled, and with the rigor we ſtriue. Since then we know our owne weakneſſe, let vs be quiet; neither let vs truſt our infirme mindes to wine, to beautie, or flatterie, nor to any other attraction and flattering things. That which *Panætius* anſwered of loue to this yong man, that ſay I of all other affections. Let vs reclaime our ſelues, as much as in vs lieth, from ſlipperie places, and let vs ſecurely ſtand aſſured in the drie. Thou wilt propoſe vnto me in this place, that reproach which all the world vrgeth againſt the Stoicks: you promiſe ouer great matters, you command that which is as it were impoſſible. We are poore and infirme men, who cannot in this ſort cut off all things, we will weepe but a little. Wee will couet but temperately, if we enter into choler, it ſhall be pacified. Wilt thou know why we cannot command our affections? It is in this reſpect, becauſe we beleeue that it is impoſſible for vs. Yea, but vndoubtedly there is another matter in it, we defend our vices becauſe we loue them, and we had rather excuſe them, then diſcuſſe them. Nature hath giuen vs force enough, if we will make vſe thereof, if we will gather our forces, and employ them wholly for our ſelues, and not againſt our ſelues. We pretend that we cannot, but the cauſe is that we will not.

Epist. CXVII.

A queſtion, whether ſince wiſdome is good, it be good to be wiſe. The Stoicks commonly deny the ſame: ſome affirme; and he is more inclined to their opinion. In concluſion, he impugneth theſe vnneceſſarie matters, and ſeriouſly exhorteth vs to reforme our manners.

THou wilt trouble me much, and thy ſelfe likewiſe, and ere thou art aware thruſt me into great ſtrife and trouble, who propoſeſt mee ſuch ſhort queſtions, in which, without offence, I dare not differ from the Stoicks, neither can I conſent with a ſafe conſcience. Thou enquireſt of mee whether it bee true which the Stoickes maintaine, that wiſedome is good, but to be wiſe is not. Firſt of all will I expound what the Stoicks thinke, then dare I boldly diſcouer my opinion. It is the opinion of our ſect, that that which is good is a bodie, becauſe that which is good acteth. But each thing that hath action is a body. That which is good profiteth, but he muſt doe ſomewhat, to the end he may profit, and if it

doth,it is a bodie. They ſay that wiſedome is good, it followeth then of neceſſitie that it is corporall. But they thinke that to be wiſe is not of the ſame condition. It is a thing incorporall and accidentall vnto wiſedome,and therefore it cannot produce any action,neyther profite any wayes. But ſay we not it is good to be wiſe ? We ſay ſo in relation to that whereon it dependeth,that is to ſay,to wiſedome it ſelfe. Before I begin to retire my ſelfe, and to vnite my ſelfe with the contrary parties,heare that which ſome Stoicks anſwere vnto the reſt. After this manner ſay they it is no good thing to liue happily: will they, nill they,they muſt anſwer that a bleſſed life is good,and that to liue bleſſedly is a good thing. Moreouer, it is oppoſed againſt thoſe of our ſect, Will you be wiſe? Therefore it is a thing to be deſired to be wiſe: if it be a thing to be deſired it is good. The Stoicks are conſtrained to wreſt wordes, and to require the interpoſition of one ſyllable,which our ſpeech permitteth not to be inſerted,I will if thou wilt ſuffer me annex the ſame: That, ſay they, is to be deſired which is good to be deſired,which is contingent vnto good, which good when wee haue attained it, is not required as good, but is an acceſſion to the good that is required. I am not of this opinion, and I iudge that the Stoickes agree with mee herein, becauſe the firſt point bridleth them, and they cannot lawfully change the manner of ſpeech : wee are wont to attribute much to the common and vniuerſall opinion of men. Amongſt vs it is a teſtimonie of truth, if it be alleaged that all men beleeue that which is in queſtion. As for proofe that there are goddes, wee alleage that the beleefe that there are gods is ingraffed and planted in all mens minds ; neyther is there any Nation how brutiſh ſoeuer,that beleeueth not that there are gods? When we diſpute of the eternity of ſoules, the concent of men eyther fearing hell,or reuerencing the ſame,hath no ſmall moment and authority. I vſe this publique perſwaſion,thou ſhalt finde no man who thinketh not that both wiſdome and to be wiſe is good. I will not doe as they are accuſtomed that are ouercome,who ſeeing themſelues in danger to loſe their liues, appeale vnto the people,we will begin to fight with our owne weapons, whether is that which happeneth vnto any man without or within him to whom it happeneth ? If it be in him to whom it happeneth,it is as well a bodie as that to which it happeneth : for nothing can happen without touch,and that which toucheth is a bodie. If it be without after it hath happened it departeth : that which retireth his ſelfe hath motion, and whatſoeuer hath motion is a bodie. Thou hopeſt that I will ſay,that the courſe is not one thing, and running another; neyther heate one thing,and to be hote another ; neither light one thing, and to ſhine another. I graunt that there is a diuerſitie in theſe things,but I ſay that the one are not of a different condition from the other. If health be a thing indifferent, to be in health is a thing indifferent : likewiſe, if beautie be indifferent, to bee beautifull is indifferent : if juſtice be good,to be iuſt is good : if villainy be euill, to be a villaine is euill. As much aſſuredly as if lippitude be euill, to haue purblinde eyes is euill. That thou mayeſt know this, can the one be without the other? To be wiſe is wiſedome , and it is wiſedome to be wiſe. So farre is it from breeding doubt,that the one reſembleth the other,that ſom men ſuppoſe that they are one and the ſame thing.But I would willingly aske this queſtion; Since all things are eyther good, or euill, or indifferent, in what ranke To be wiſe,ſhall be placed ? They denie that it is good and euill it is not ; it followeth then that it is indifferent : but that repute we to be meane and indifferent that may as well befall an euill as a good man,as money,beauty, and abilitie. But to

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be wiſe cannot befall any but a wiſe-man, and therefore it is not indifferent. An euill it is not that cannot betide an euill man, & therfore it is good: it is, ſaith he, the accident of wiſedome. This therefore which thou termeſt To be wiſe, whether maketh it wiſedome or ſuffereth it? Whether it doth make it or ſuffer it, in both kindes it is a bodie; for both that which is made and that which maketh is a bodie: if it be a body it is good. For this one thing was deficient in it, and detained it from being good, which was, becauſe it had no bodie. The Peripatetiques holde that there is no difference betwixt wiſdome and to be wiſe, when as the one is comprehended in the other. For thinkeſt thou that any man is wiſe except he that hath wiſedome? And thinkeſt thou that wiſedome accompanieth him that is wiſe? The ancient Logicians diſtinguiſhed theſe things, and from them this diuiſion came vnto the Stoickes. What this is I will tell thee: The field is one thing, and to haue poſſeſſion of the ſame another. Why not, when as to haue the poſſeſſion of the field appertaineth to him that hath the field, and not vnto the field? So wiſedome is one thing, and to be wiſe another. I thinke thou wilt grant me this, that theſe are two; that which is had, and hee that hath the ſame: wiſedome is had, he that is wiſe hath it. Wiſedome is a perfect minde, or that which attaineth the fulneſſe of perfection; for ſhe is the act of life. What is to be wiſe? I cannot ſay a perfect minde, but that which befalleth him that hath a perfect minde. So the one is a good minde, the other as it were to haue a good minde. There are, ſaith he, diuers natures of the body: as for example; this is a man, that a horſe: theſe natures likewiſe are followed by the motions of the minde, which make ſhew of the body. Theſe motions haue ſomething proper and conſidered apart from the bodies, as I ſee *Cato* walking; this doth the ſenſe ſhew, the minde beleeue. It is a bodie that I ſee, on which I haue fixed both mine eye and my mind. I ſay afterwards *Cato* walketh, I ſpeake not now of his bodie, but of ſomething denounced of the body, that is to ſay, of his motion, which ſome call pronounced, ſome ſignified other ſome denounced. So when we ſay wiſedome we vnderſtand ſome thing that is bodileſſe: when we ſay he is wiſe, we ſpeake of the body. But there is a great difference whether thou ſpeakeſt this or of that: for the preſent, let vs put the caſe that wiſedome and to be wiſe are two things; for as yet I publiſh not my opinion, what hindereth both the one and the other to be good? Thou ſaidſt a little before that the field was one thing, & to poſſeſſe the field was another. Why not? for he that poſſeſſeth the ſame is in one nature, and that which is poſſeſſed is another, the one is a man, the other is a fielde. But in this whereof we now make queſtion, wiſdome and to be wiſe are things of the ſame nature. Furthermore, the field that is poſſeſſed is one thing, and the man that poſſeſſeth the ſame another; but wiſedom and to be wiſe are found in one and the ſame man. The poſſeſſion of the field comes by right, that of wiſedome comes by nature. A man may alien the field, and giue it vnto another man, wiſedome neuer departeth from him that poſſeſſeth the ſame: we muſt not therefore compare things that are vnlike. I began to ſay that both theſe may be two, and yet both of them good. Wiſedome and a wiſe-man are two, and by thy confeſſion both of them are good. But euen as nothing hindereth but that wiſedome is a good thing, and he he that hath wiſedome is good, ſo nothing hindereth but that wiſedome is good, and to haue wiſedome, this is to be wiſe and good. I will be a wiſe-man to this end that I may be wiſe. What therefore? Is not that good without the which the other is not good? Vndoubtedly, you ſay that wiſedom if it be without vſe is to be eſteemed as nothing. And what is the vſe of wiſe-

dome? To be wise. This is that which is most precious in her, which being taken from her she is but meere illusion: if torments be euill, it is euill to be tortured, yea in such sort that if a man were neuer tormented, he should neuer consequently haue any torments. Wisedome is a habitude of a perfect vnderstanding; to be wise the vse of a perfect mind: how can the vse thereof be good, which without vse is not good? I aske thee whether wisedome is to be desired? Thou confessest it. I ask thee whether the vse of wisdom is to be desired? Thou confessest it, protesting likewise not to receiue the same if a man will barre thee of the vse thereof: that which is to be desired is good, to be wise is the vse of wisdom, as the vse of eloquence is to speak, the vse of the eye to see; but the vse of wisdome is to be desired, *Ergo*, to be wise is a thing to be desired, and if it be to be desired it is good. I condemne my selfe for times past, for following those whom I accuse, and for implying arguments in a thing that is manifest. For who can doubt but that extreme heate is euill, and to be extremely hote is euill; and that if colde be euill it is an euill thing to be colde? If life be good, that to liue is good? All these things that are about wisedome are not in the same, but we are to stay our selues vpon her, and if we will discourse she hath ample and spacious retreats to conuerse in. Let vs enquire of the nature of the gods, of the nourishments and diuers motion of the Planets, whether our bodies be disposed according to their reuolutions, or whether their influences haue a hand in all mens bodies and mindes: whether those things which are called casuall are tyed together in a certaine order, and if nothing be done in this world without some speciall prouidence. But these things haue no relation to the present reformation of manners, yet mount they the minde, and raise the same to the greatnesse of those things they intreate of. But those disputes whereof I spoke a little before, doe diminish and depresse the same, neyther as thou thinkest doe they whet but dull the same. But why, I beseech you, imploy wee so necessary a care reserued for greater and better things, in a thing if not meerly false, yet truely vnprofitable? What shall it profite me whether wisedome be one thing, and to be wise be another? What shall it auaile mee to knowe whether this be good, or that be badde? At all aduentures see what I desire; I wish thee wisedome, and my selfe that I may be wise, so shall wee be both equall. Rather doe this that thou mayest shewe mee the way how I may attaine vnto these. Tell mee what I must eschue, and what I should desire, by what studies I may confirme my infirme minde; how I may driue farre from mee those vices that carrie and transport mee from the right; how I may surmount so many euils; how I may remoue these calamities that haue broken in vpon mee, and how I may thwart those, in which I haue engaged my selfe. Teach mee how I may endure afflictions without grieuing, felicitie without other mens enuie or distaste, how I may not expect the last and necessarie tearme of life, but of my selfe when I shall so thinke good, speedily seeke it out and flie vnto it. Nothing in my iudgement is more absurd and dishonest then to wish for death. For if thou wilt liue, why wishest thou to die? If thou wilt not, to what intent importunest thou the gods for that which they gaue thee when thou wert borne? For euen as it is decreed that thou must die one day whether thou wilt or no, so when thou wilt is in thine owne power: the one is of necessitie, the other of will. Some few daies past I haue read a shamefull Preface of a certaine man, otherwise learned and eloquent, where these wordes are: *So I may die* (sayeth hee) *inconuenently*. O fond man, thou desirest that which is thine owne; *So may I die inconti-*

incontinently. It may be that in ſpeaking theſe wordes thou art become olde. Otherwiſe what ſtayeth thee? No man holdes thee, eſcape when thou wilt, chuſe ſuch a part of the inſtruments of nature, as ſeemeth good vnto thee, and command the ſame to giue thee iſſue: for theſe are the elements whereby this inferiour world is maintained, water, earth and ayre; all theſe are both the cauſes of life, and the high-wayes to death. *So may I die incontinently*: but when wilt thou die? What day wilt thou aſſigne to thine incontinent? It may come ſooner then thou wiſheſt. Theſe are the wordes of a weake minde, and of ſuch a one who by this proteſtation would obtaine mercie and lengthning of his life: he will not die that wiſheth for death. Beſeech the gods to giue thee life and health: if thou haſt a minde to die, this is the fruite of death, to giue ouer wiſhing. Let vs ſpeake of theſe things my *Lucilius*, and by them forme our vnderſtandings wiſedome, and to be wiſe conſiſteth in this, not to debate in impertinent queſtions of vnprofitable diſputes. So many queſtions hath fortune propoſed vnto thee, yet haſt thou not ſatisfied her in them: now thou cauilleſt. How fond a thing is it to ſtand flouriſhing thy ſword in the ayre, when the ſignall is giuen thee to begin the skirmiſh? Giue ouer theſe armes of diſport, thou art to fight at ſharpe. Tell me by what means no ſadnes or feare may trouble the minde? by what meanes I may diſburden my ſelfe of this troubleſom weight of ſecret deſires? Let ſomwhat be don. Wiſdom is good, to be wiſe is not good: be it ſo. Let vs denie that to bee wiſe is a good thing, to the end we may draw all that ſtudie into contempt, which is imployed in ſuperfluous matters. What if thou kneweſt likewiſe that this is in queſtion, whether future wiſedome be good? For what doubt is there, I pray you, whether the barnes doe already feele the harueſt that is at hand, neyther childehood vnderſtand his future youth, being deſtitute of force and vigor? The health that is to com is nothing profitable to him that is ſick, no more then reſt doth which ought to follow the courſe and wreſtling, comforteth not a man as long as he is running or wreſtling. Who knoweth not that that which is to come is not good for this onely cauſe, becauſe it is yet to come? For that which is good profiteth and ſerueth without delay. No things can be profitable but ſuch as are preſent: if a thing profit not, truely it is not good; if it profite it is preſently good. I ſhall be wiſe, this ſhall be good when I ſhall be ſo; but in the meane while it is not. Firſt muſt a thing be, and afterwards it muſt be ſuch or ſuch. But tell mee, I pray thee, how may that which as yet is nothing, bee perfectly good? For how wilt thou haue me better proue it vnto thee that a thing is not, then if I ſhall ſay it is to come: for it is manifeſt that it is not yet come that is comming. The Spring muſt follow. I know now that it is Winter, the Sommer ſhall ſucceede: I knowe that it is not Sommer-time. The greateſt argument I haue that a thing is not as yet preſent, is that it is to come. I hope I ſhall bee wiſe, yet in the meane ſpace I am not wiſe. If I had that good, I ſhould preſently want this euill. It may bee hereafter that I ſhall be wiſe, although by this thou vnderſtandeſt that I am not yet wiſe, I cannot at one time bee in that good and this euill. Theſe two things doe not agree but are diſioynted; neyther are at once in the ſame, good and euill. Let vs paſſe ouer ſpeedily theſe ingenious trifles, and haſten our ſelues to attaine thoſe things which may giue vs any help. There is no man that carefully ſeeketh for a mid-wife to come vnto his daughter that is in labour, that readeth vnto her the ordinance and diſpoſition of the publicke Playes. There is no man that haſtily runneth to quench the fire that hath ſeized his houſe, hath not the leaſure

to ſtudy how to ſaue his man, that in a game at Cheſts is hemmed in on euery ſide. But thou knoweſt that from all parts, there commeth newes vnto thee both of the burning of thy houſe and the death of thy children, of the ſiege of thy Cittie, of the pillage of thy goods. Adde hereunto, ſhipwracks, earthquakes, and all other dreadfull accidents. Being in the midſt of ſo many troubles, haſt thou no other buſineſſe but to giue thy ſelfe to pleaſure? Thou inquireſt what difference there is betwixt wiſedome and to be wiſe. Thou knitteſt and looſeſt knots, hauing ſo great a mountaine of miſeries hanging ouer thy head. Nature hath not giuen vs ſo fauourable and liberall benefit of time, that we ſhould haue leiſure to loſe any part therof; conſider alſo how much they loſe who are moſt diligent. The ſickneſſe of our ſelues and of our friends carrieth away one part of vs, and neceſſarie and publique affaires another. Sleepe robbeth from vs the halfe of our life. Of this time ſo ſhort, ſo ſwift, and that carrieth vs away, to what purpoſe is it to conſume the greater part thereof in vain? Adde hereunto now that the minde is accuſtomed rather to delight then heale it ſelfe, and that Philoſophie which ſhould be the remedie of euils, ſerueth nothing but for paſtime. I know not what difference there is betwixt wiſedom and being wiſe, yet know I well that it profiteth me nothing, whether I know theſe things or know them not. Tell me when I haue learned the difference betwixt wiſedome and being wiſe, if I ſhall be wiſe? Why rather detaineſt thou me amongſt the words then the workes of wiſedome? Make me ſtronger, make me ſecurer, make me equall with fortune, make me ſuperiour: but I may be ſuperiour if I doe all that which I learne.

Epist. CXVIII.

That he will write no vaine Epiſtles, but rather ſuch as are full of profitable leſſons. He perſwadeth to handle our priuate not forraine buſineſſes, to require nothing of fortune, neyther to depend vpon her. That the true good is to be ſought, and the definition what it is: and likewiſe what it differeth from honeſtie. That euery good is according to nature, neyther yet is euery thing good which is according to nature.

THou requireſt me to write vnto thee oftentimes, if we enter into account thou canſt not ſufficiently ſatisfie me. It was agreed betweene vs that thou ſhouldeſt write firſt, and that I ſhould anſwer thee, I will not be behinde hand with thee, I know that there is nothing loſt that is lent thee. I will pay thee therfore before thy day: neyther will I doe that which eloquent *Cicero* was wont to counſell *Atticus* to doe, that is, to write whatſoeuer came into his minde, although he had no matter whereupon to write. I can neuer want matter to write vnto thee, although I omit all that diſcourſe wherewith *Cicero* ſtuffeth his Epiſtles, to wit, who it is that laboreth for offices, who fighteth with his own or forraine forces, who laboureth for the Conſulat, eyther vnder *Cæſars* or *Pompeis* fauour, or of himſelfe. How hard a vſurer *Cicilius* is, from whom his neighbours cannot wreſt a pennie, but a hundreth vpon a hundreth. It were better for a man to ſpeake of his owne miſeries then of another mans, to examine himſelfe, and to conſider how many things a man laboureth for, and obtaineth not one. This my *Lucilius*, is a worthy thing, this a ſecure and free thing, to demaund and purchaſe nothing, and to let fortune poſſeſſe her eſtates, without bribing after any

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of thē. How pleaſant a thing is it, thinkeſt thou, when the people are aſſembled, when ſuch as pretend offices giue court to their wel-wiſhers, & the one publikely proteſteth the mony he will giue, the other ſolliciteth by his ſureties & priuat friends, when one man weareth and waſteth another mans hands with kiſſes. Where had he attained what he deſireth, he would loath they ſhould touch his, when all men are aſtoniſhed, & expect the voice of the Crier, to ſtand idle & expect thoſe faires, neither buying nor ſelling any thing? How great ioy enioyeth this man, who beholdeth theſe aſſemblies, where choyce is made of Pretors and Conſuls, but thoſe great eſtates, where the one demaundeth yearely honours, others perpetuall power: the one happie ſucceſſe in battels and triumphes, the other riches: the one marriages and children, the other long and happie life for themſelues and their parents. O how great a minde is it to demand nothing, to make ſupplication to no man, and that ſaith vnto Fortune, I haue nothing to doe with thee, I am not at thy commandement. I know that with thee *Catoes* are repelled, and *Vatinians* aduanced. I demand nothing at thy hands. This is to reduce Fortune into order. For this cauſe therefore ought we to entertaine one another, and to entreat continually on this ſubiect in our letters, beholding on euery ſide of vs ſo many thouſands of men in trouble, who to caſt themſelues headlong into ſome mortall ruine, trauerſe one miſchiefe to finde out another, and ſeeke thoſe things, which they incontinently flie as ſoone as they haue found them, or wherewith they ſhould be likewiſe diſguſted. For who is he that hath contented himſelfe with that which was giuen him, or that ſuppoſed any thing ouer great, when he wiſhed the ſame? Felicitie is not vnſatiable, as men beleeue, but it is weake and ſmall, and therefore ſatisfieth no man. Thou beleeueſt that theſe things are great, becauſe thou art eſtranged from them, but to him that hath gotten them they are but baſe: I lie if ſuch a one ſeeke not to mount higher. That which thou accounteſt higheſt, is but a degree. But the ignorance of truth is the cauſe that men erre thus, and they runne vnto that which hath but the appearance of good, being deceiued by common opinion. Afterwards hauing by much trauell obtained that which they pretended, they ſee that thoſe things are euill, vaine, and leſſe then they expected, and the moſt part of them admireth at one time or another, theſe falſe luſtre of ſuch vanities. In briefe, the common ſort eſteeme thoſe things for good, which are greateſt. But leſt wee fall into this error, let vs enquire that which is good. The interpretation thereof hath beene diuers: ſome haue defined the ſame in one ſort, otherſome in another. Some define it thus. Good is that which inuiteth our mindes, and that calleth vs vnto him. Hereunto ſome pleaſantly obiect: But what if ſuch a good inuite a man vnto his ruine? Thou knoweſt how many euils there are that are attractiue. Truth, and that which ſeemeth true differ thus. That which is good is annexed vnto truth, for it is not good except it be true. But that which inciteth to it ſelfe, and attracteth by his appearance, hath a reſemblance of truth: it inſinuateth, it ſolliciteth, it draweth. Some haue defined it thus. Good is that which moueth a deſire of it ſelfe, or that inciteth the motion of the minde, that tendeth thereunto. And to this it is oppoſed in the ſame ſort. For many things incite the motions of the minde, which are deſired to their confuſion that deſire them. Better haue they done who haue defined it thus. That is good which draweth vnto it ſelfe according to nature, that motion of the ſoule, ſo that we ought to deſire it then, when it is worthy to be deſired. Let vs adde hereunto that this good is honeſt and vertuous, for we ought not to purchaſe an vnperfect good. This place admoniſheth

monisheth me to teach thee the difference that there is betwixt that which is good, and that which is honest. Somethings they haue mixed, and inseparable betweene them: neither can that be good which hath not some honestie in it; neither that honest which is not good. What difference therefore is betwixt them both. Honestie is a perfect good, wherein a blessed life is accomplished, by whose attouchment other things are made good also. That which I say is thus. There are some things which are neither good nor euill; as Warrefare, Embassage, and Iurisdiction. These things when they are honestly administred, begin to be good, and become so, whereas before time they were indifferent. Good by the societie of honestie is made good, and honestie by it selfe is good. Good floweth from honestie, honestie is of it selfe. That which is good might haue bee ne euill; that which is honest, could not be but good. Some haue proposed this definition. That is good, which is according to nature. Marke what I say. That which is good is according to nature, yet is not that forthwith good, that is according to nature. Many things consent vnto nature, yet so small are they, that they deserue not to be called good. For they are small and contemptible: no good, no not the least is to be contemned, for as long as it is little, it is not good; when it beginneth to be good, it is not little. Whence is any thing knowne to be good, if it be perfectly according to nature. Thou doest confesse, sayest thou, that this is good which is according to nature, this is his propertie. Thou confessest likewise that there are some things which are according to Nature, and yet not good. How therefore is that good, when these are not? How attaineth it another propertie, when as both of them haue this propertie, to be according to nature? That is to say, in as much as they are great. Neither is this a new thing, that some things are changed by encreasing. He was an infant; now become a yong man: he hath had at that time some other proprietie. For the yong man is endowed with reason, the infant is depriued of it. Somethings become not only more great in their increase, but other things likewise. That, saith he, is not made another thing, which is made greater. It skilleth not whether thou fil a bottle with wine, or a tonne, the property of wine remaineth in both the vessels. A little waight of hony and a great differ not in sauour. Thou setteſt down different examples: for in these the same quality remaineth, and though they be encreased, they are alwayes hony and wine. Some things amplified in their kind, continue in their propertie: some things after many encreasings are changed by the last, which imprinteth in them a new qualitie, other thē that which they had before. One stone wil make an arch, that is to say, that bindeth in, and fastneth in the declining sides, and that tieth them together. Why hath this last stone, although it be little, so great a vse, because it maketh the worke compleat, although it giue it not any great encrease. There are some things, which in aduancing themselues, despoile themselues of their former forme, and inuest a new. After that our vnderstanding hath long time trauelled vpon any subiect, and that it is wearied in following the greatnesse thereof, he beginneth to esteeme it infinit, because it is become farre different from that it was before, when it seemed great, but not infinite. In like case we haue imagined that a thing may not be cut, which is hardly cut: afterwards the difficulty growing to be greater, we finde that the thing can no more be cut. In like sort of a thing which is hardly moued, we come vnto a thing which is vnmoueable. According to the same reason, some thing hath beene according to nature, and afterwards the greatnesse of the same hath transported it into another propertie, and hath made it good.

Epist. CXIX.

That we may deſire riches, and enioy them without requiring them as vnneceſſarie. That the end of all things which exceed not nature, is to be conſidered. She ſeeketh not ſuperfluitie, but ſufficient. At laſt he ſheweth that all they who commonly are reputed rich, are poore. Good God, they are both excellent and true.

AS oftentimes as I haue found any thing, I expect not till thou ſay I crie halfes. I ſay this vnto my ſelfe. Thou askeſt me what it is that I haue found out. Open thy lap, it is meere gaine that I giue thee. I will teach thee how thou mayeſt become rich ſuddenly, which thou art very deſirous to heare of. And not without cauſe I will leade thee the ſhorteſt way to great riches. Yet haſt thou need of a creditor, and to negotiate, thou muſt needes borrow, yet will I not ſuffer thee to haue any Soliciter to borrow for thee, nor Broaker to publiſh thy name. I will beſtow a creditor on thee, that ſhall be at thy commandement. That is to ſay, that ſentence of CATO, *Whatſoeuer it be, it will ſuffice, prouided that we require that of our ſelues, whatſoeuer we want.* For theſe things (my *Lucilius*) are alike not to deſire and to haue. The effect of the matter in both is alike, thou ſhalt not be vexed. Neither doe I command thee this, to deny Nature any thing, ſhe is obſtinate, ſhe cannot be ouercome, ſhe requireth her owne. But ſo that thou mayeſt know, that whatſoeuer exceedeth Nature, is but borrowed, and not neceſſarie. I am an hungry, I muſt eate: whether this bread be browne or white, it appertaineth nothing to Nature. She will haue the belly not delighted but filled. I am a drie, whether this water be fetched from the next lake, or that which I haue cloſed vp in much ſnow, that it might be cooled by forren cold, it concerneth Nature no wayes. She commandeth this one thing, that the thirſt ſhould be quenched: whether the pot be gold or Cryſtall, or Caſſidony, or a pot of Tiuoli, or the hollow of the hand, it skilleth not. Fix thine eye vpon the end of all things, and thou ſhalt forſake ſuperfluities. Hunger preſſeth me. Let thy hand lay hold on whatſoeuer is next thee, the appetite ſhall make that loathſome, whatſoeuer I lay hold of. An hungrie ſtomacke is glad of any thing. Thou demandeſt therefore what thing it is that delighteth me? Me thinkes it is worthily ſpoken. *A wiſe-man is a diligent ſearcher of naturall riches.* Thou payeſt me, ſayeſt thou, with an emptie platter. What is that emptie? I had alreadie prepared my coaſts, and looked about me vpon what ſea I ſhould embarke my ſelfe to follow traffique, what publike eſtate I might rent, what merchandize I ſhould ſend for. It is a deceit in thee to teach me pouertie, when thou haſt promiſed me riches. Doeſt thou then eſteeme him poore that wanteth nothing? Thou anſwereſt that it is by his owne meanes, and by the benefit of his patience, not of Fortune. Doeſt thou therefore iudge him not to be rich, becauſe his riches cannot ceaſe? Whether haddeſt thou rather haue much, or ſufficient? he that hath much, deſireth more, which is an argument that as yet he hath not ſufficient: he that hath enough, hath attained the end which neuer befalleth a rich man. Doeſt thou therefore thinke that theſe are not riches, becauſe for them no man is baniſhed, becauſe for them no ſonne hath giuen his father poiſon, nor wife her huſband? Becauſe in warres they are ſecure, in peace at reſt? Becauſe it is neither dangerous to enioy them, nor troubleſome to diſpoſe them? Hath he but a little, that hath neither cold, nor hunger,

ger, nor thirſt? *Iupiter* himſelfe hath no more. Neuer is that little which is ſufficient; neuer is that much, which is not ſufficient. *Alexander* of Macedon after he had conquered Aſia, and the Indians, is poore, he ſeeketh what he may make his owne, he ſearcheth out vnknowne ſeas, he ſendeth out new nauies vpon the Ocean; and if I may ſay ſo, paſſeth and preſſeth beyond the bounds and limits of the world. That which ſufficeth Nature contenteth not a man. And ſome there haue beene found, that hauing all things, haue notwithſtanding coueted ſomewhat. So great is the blindneſſe of our mindes, and ſo great the forgetfulneſſe of men, that they remember not themſelues of their beginnings, when they ſee themſelues aduanced. This Prince that was Lord of a little angle of Greece, and that not without ſome oppoſition, is ſorie that after he hath diſcouered and conquered ſo many Nations, to heare ſay that he muſt returne vnto his owne. Mony neuer made any man rich: contrariwiſe there is not any man that hath gathered ſtore of it together, that is not become more couetous. Wouldeſt thou know the reaſon hereof? Hee that hath much beginneth to haue a will to haue more. In ſumme, although thou ſet before me whom thou wilt, of thoſe who are reputed as rich as either *Craſſius* or *Lucinius*. Let him ſet downe his reuenewes, and account whatſoeuer he hath, and whatſoeuer he hopeth together; yet this man, if thou beleeueſt me, is poore, or if thou truſt thy ſelfe, may be poore. But he that hath compoſed himſelfe to that which Nature requireth at his hands; is not only without the fence, but alſo without the feare of pouertie. But to the end thou mayeſt know how hard a thing it is to reſtraine a mans affaires according to the meaſure of Nature: this man whom we ſuppoſe to be moulded and faſhioned according to his wil, and whom thou calleſt poore, hath ſomething which is ſuperfluous. But riches attract and blinde the common ſort, when great ſummes of money are carried out of any mans houſe, when his roofes are enriched and garniſhed with gold, when his family are either comely in body, or courtly in apparell. All theſe mens felicitie is in publike oſtentation: but he whom we haue exempted both from the eye of the people, and the hand of Fortune, is bleſſed inwardly. For as touching thoſe, with whom pouertie hath taken place, and is ſeazed of them vnder the ſuppoſed name of riches, they haue their goods in ſuch ſort, as we are ſaid to haue the Ague, when the Ague hath vs. Contrariwiſe we muſt ſay, the Ague hath hold of him: and in like manner wee ought to ſay, Riches hold and poſſeſſe him. There is nothing therefore that I would haue thee remember more then this, that no man is ſufficiently admoniſhed, to the end thou mayeſt meaſure all things by naturall deſires which content themſelues with nothing or with little. Onely beware thou to mixe vices with deſires. Askeſt thou me vpon what table, in what ſiluer veſſell, by what ſeruices and ſeruants Nature preſenteth thee thy meate. Know that ſhe requireth nothing but meate.

When parching thirſt doth burne thy iawes throughout,
Seek'ſt thou for gold therein to quench thy drought?
When hunger tempts thee, doſt thou loath each meate,
Except thou Peacocks fleſh or Turbot eate?

Hunger is not ambitious, ſhe is contented to ceaſe, ſhe careth not much by what meanes. Theſe are the torments of vnhappie exceſſe, he ſeeketh how after he is glutted, hee may get an appetite: how he may not fill, but force and ſtuffe his bodie: how he may reuoke his thirſt againe, which is pacified by the former potion.

potion. *Horace* therefore wittily denieth that it appertaineth to thirſt, in what pot or in how cleane a hand water be miniſtred. For if thou thinkeſt that concerneth thee, how well frizeled the page is, and how cleane and neate the pot is which he preſenteth thee with, thou art not a drie. Amongſt other things nature hath eſpecially fauoured vs herein, that he hath taken all diſdaine from neceſſitie: ſuperfluities take pleaſure in variety. This is ſcarce ſeemely, that not well dreſt, this offendeth mine eyes. The Creator of all things, who hath ſet downe vnto vs the lawes of our life, hath giuen order to maintaine vs in health, and not to entertaine vs in delight. All things are readie and at hand for the conſeruation of our healths: if the queſtion be of delights, all that which concerneth them is not recouered, but with much miſerie and difficultie. Let vs therefore make vſe of this benefite of nature, which is, to be numbred amongſt the greateſt, and let vs thinke that the greateſt matter wherein we are moſt obliged vnto her, is, that ſhe hath effected this in vs, that whatſoeuer is deſired in neceſſitie is entertained and embraced without loathing.

Epist. CXX.

How the knowledge of goodneſſe came vnto vs by obſeruation and conference, as alſo by the aſsiſtance of nature. And it commeth likewiſe by the contrary, that is, by the deteſtation of vice. He deſcribeth a wiſe-man, who not onely ſpurneth againſt thoſe things which are commonly to be required or feared, but death: alſo in concluſion ſuch a one as is alwayes one, and conſtant to himſelfe.

THy Epiſtle hath wandred about many pettie queſtions, yet hath ſtaied it ſelfe vpon one, and deſireth to haue my reſolution herein: how the firſt notice of good and honeſt things come vnto vs. Theſe two things in ſome mens opinion are diuers, but with vs that are Stoicks, they are only diuided. I wil tel thee what this is; Some men thinke that that is good which is profitable, and therefore they impoſe this name vnto riches, to a horſe, to wine, to a ſhoe; ſo abiect is the name of good amongſt them, and ſo vnduly applyed vnto ſeruile vſes. They ſuppoſe that honeſt which conſiſteth in the diſcharge of a well-gouerned duety, as to haue a charitable care of a mans father in his age, to comfort and relieue the pouertie of a mans friend, to behaue himſelfe valiantly in a warlike expedition, to deliuer a mans opinion wiſely and moderately. Theſe make we two, but out of one. Nothing is good except it be that which is honeſt, that which is honeſt is good alſo. I ſuppoſe it a ſuperfluous matter to annex what difference there is betwixt them, when as I haue oftentimes expreſſed the ſame. I will only ſay this, That nothing ſeemeth good vnto vs, which a man may vſe badly. But thou ſeeſt how many there be that vſe their riches, nobilitie and ſtrength badly. I now therefore returne vnto that which thou deſireſt me to reſolue thee in, how the knowledge of that which is good and honeſt came firſt vnto vs. This nature could not teach vs, for ſhe gaue vs but the ſeeds of ſciences, and not ſcience it ſelfe. Some ſay that we caſually come to the knowledge therof, which is incredible, that the image of vertue ſhould caſually appeare vnto any man. But we ſuppoſe that by diligence, obſeruation, and frequent conference of things, eſtimated by that which is good and honeſt, we haue attained to this knowledge. And ſince the Latine Grammarians haue made this word a Citti-

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zen of Rome, I will not condemne it, nor return it to the Cittie from whence it came. I will therfore vſe the ſame, not only as a receiued but as a vſuall word: I will ſet downe what the Analogie is; We haue knowne that there is a health of the bodie, and thereby haue we gathered that there is ſome health and vigor of the minde. We haue knowne the ſtrength of the bodie, and by theſe interre we that there is a ſtrength of the minde likewiſe. Some benigne actions ſome humane, ſome ſtrong haue amazed vs; theſe began we to admire as if perfect. Theſe were trauerſed by diuers defaults, which the appearance and brightneſſe of ſome notable deed did couer, by meanes whereof wee haue made a ſhew that we ſaw them not. Nature commandeth vs to amplifie thoſe things which are praiſe-worthy, whereupon euery one hath raiſed glory aboue the truth. From theſe things therefore we haue drawne the appeareance of an excellent good. *Fabricius* refuſed King *Pyrrhus* golde, and iudged it a greater matter then a Kingdome, to be able to contemne Kingly riches. The ſame man when a Phiſitian promiſed to poyſon *Pyrrhus*, gaue him notice thereof, and wiſhed him to beware of treaſon. It was the ſame vertue in *Fabricius*, neyther to be ouercome with golde, nor to ouercome with poyſon. We haue admired this great perſonage, who neyther ſuffered himſelfe to be won by the Kings preſents, nor by the Phiſitians promiſes againſt the King; conſtant in his vertuous reſolution, innocent in warre, which is a rare thing in a ſouldier, who though that a man might be wicked euen againſt an enemy; who in his greateſt pouerty whereby he had gotten himſelfe the moſt honor, no otherwiſe fled from riches then from poyſon. Liue, ſaid he, by my meanes O *Pyrrhus*, and reioyce, although thou wert diſpleaſed therewith that *Fabricius* could not be corrupted. *Horatius Cocles* himſelfe alone cloſed vp, and defended the ſtrait paſſage of a bridge, and commanded a Trench to be made behinde him, to the end that his enemies might be hindered from entrance. And ſo long reſiſted he thoſe that aſſailed him, vntill ſuch time as he heard the noyſe of the prop and timber that fell vnder him. And after he had looked behinde him, and perceiued that by his danger his countrie was freed from danger: *Let him come*, ſaith he, *whoſoeuer will follow me thither whither I goe*. And hauing ſaid thus, he caſt himſelfe deſperately into the water; and hauing no leſſe care in this violent channell of the riuer to ſaue his conquering armes as his life, and hauing maintained the honor of his victorie, he returned into the Cittie as ſecure as if hee had entred by the bridge. Theſe and ſuch like acts haue expreſſed vnto vs the Image of his vertue. I will adde that which happily may ſeeme admirable: Euill things ſometimes haue preſented themſelues in the ſhape of honeſty, and that which was the beſt hath beene manifeſted by his contrary. Some vices, as thou knoweſt, haue ſome reſemblance of vertues, and thoſe men that are moſt vicious and diſhoneſt, haue ſome appearance of goodneſſe. So doth the prodigall man counterfeit the liberall, although there be a great difference betwixt knowing how to giue, and how to keepe. Many there are, my *Lucilius*, who giue not but caſt away their money; for I call him not liberall that is angrie with his mony. Negligence imitateth facilitie, and raſhneſſe fortitude. This ſimilitude hath conſtrained vs to conſider things, & to diſtinguiſh thoſe things which are neere in appearance, but farre different and contrary in effect, whilſt wee obſerue theſe, whom ſome noble exployt hath made famous, we haue begun to note what he might be that at one time only had reſolutly, and nobly executed ſome enterpriſe. We haue ſeene this man valiant in warre, fearefull in the iudgement ſeat, enduring his pouertie conſtantly, his infamy abiectly: we haue praiſed the act,

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but contemned the man. We haue ſeene another curteous towards his friends, temperate towards his enemies, managing both publique and priuate affaires, both piouſly and religiouſly, not wanting patience in thoſe things which hee was to ſuffer, nor prudence in thoſe things he was to performe: we haue ſeene ſuch a one that gaue bountifully where neceſſitie required, that was diligent and induſtrious where he was to labour, and that relieued the wearineſſe of his bodie with the conſtancie of his minde. Beſides, he was alwayes one, and like himſelfe in euery action, not onely good in wordes and counſaile, but by cuſtome brought to this paſſe, that beſides that that he could not doe ill, he could not alſo doe but that which was good. Then vnderſtanding that vertue was perfected in ſuch a one, we haue diſtinguiſhed it into ſome parts. Deſires ought to be reſtrained, feare repreſſed, actions foreſeene, duties diſtributed: we comprehended temperance, fortitude, prudence, juſtice, and gaue euery one of them their particular office. Whereby therefore came we to the knowledge of vertue? It was the order therof, the ſeemelineſſe, and conſtancie, and the vniformitie of all actions, within themſelues, and the greatneſſe thereof, that exalted it ſelfe aboue all things that ſhewed the ſame. Hereby was that bleſſed life vnderſtood that hath a proſperous courſe, and dependeth wholly of it ſelfe. How therefore appeared this thing vnto vs? I will tell thee: neuer did that perfect man who was poſſeſſed of vertue curſe fortune, neuer entertained he any accidents with diſcontent. Beleeuing himſelfe to be a Cittizen and Souldier of the world, he vnderwent labours, as if they had beene enioyned him. Whatſoeuer happened he refuſed it not as euill, or that caſually fell vpon him, but as ſome charge committed vnto him. This, ſaith he, whatſoeuer it be is mine, be it eyther difficult or dangerous let vs trauaile therein: of neceſſitie therefore he appeared great, who neuer groaned vnder the burthen of afflictions, neuer complayned of his deſtinie, gaue vnto many a taſte of himſelfe, and no otherwiſe then a light ſhined in darkeneſſe, and drew all mens minds vnto him, by reaſon he was curteous and gentle, entertaining in good part all affaires both diuine and humane. He had a perfect minde, drawne to the height of his perfection; aboue which there is nothing but the minde of God, a parcell whereof is deriued into this mortall bodie, which is neuer more diuine then when it thinketh on his mortalitie, and knoweth that man is borne to this end, to forſake this life; neyther that this bodie is a houſe but an hoſtrie, yea and a ſhort hoſtrie which muſt be forſaken, when thou perceiueſt that thou art diſpleaſing to thine hoſt. I tell thee, my *Lucilius*, it is a great argument of a minde that is deriued from a higher place, if it repute thoſe things humble and abiect wherein he conuerſeth, and if he feareth to forſake them: for he knoweth whether he ſhall depart that remembreth himſelfe from whence he came. See we not how many incommodities doe torment vs, how badly this mortall bodie doth agree with vs. Sometimes we complaine of our bellies, afterwards of our heads, then of our breaſt and throat: ſometimes we are tormented in our nerues, ſometimes vexed in our feete: to day the flux, to morrow the rhume: ſometimes too much bloud, ſometimes too little, euery way are we troubled and driuen from one place to another. This befalleth them who are lodged in another mans houſe; but we that poſſeſſe ſo rotten a bodie, yet notwithſtanding propoſe vnto our ſelues an eternitie, and as far as humane age may extend it ſelfe, ſo farre are we ſeized with hope, contenting our ſelues with no money or power. What can be more impudently or more fooliſhly done then this? There is nothing that contenteth vs that are to die, nay that die euery day: for we daily approach our laſt houre,

and there is not a day or houre that driueth and driueth vs into the graue where we muſt reſt. See into what blindneſſe our mindes are driuen: a greater part of that which I haue ſaid muſt come, is alreadie come, and threatneth vs euery minute, for the time wee haue liued is in the ſame ſtate where it was before wee were liuing. But it is a great folly for vs to feare the laſt dayes of the ſame, becauſe the firſt contribute as much vnto death as the laſt. The degree in which we breath our laſt, is not that which leaueth vs, but onely it ſheweth vs our laſſitude. The laſt day maketh vs touch death, all the reſt to approch. She rauiſheth vs not at once, but ſnatcheth vs away by little and little. A greater minde therefore that knoweth that he muſt be partaker of a better life, endeuoureth it ſelfe in this ſtatim wherein he is placed, to demeane himſelfe honeſtly and induſtriouſly. Moreouer, he iudgeth nothing of theſe things that are about him to be his own, but like a ſtranger, and ſuch a one as muſt ſuddenly forſake them, vſeth them as lent him. When wee ſhould ſee a man of this conſtancie, why ſhould we not conceiue in him the image of an vnuſuall vnderſtanding; if, as I ſay, he ſhould make ſhow of ſo true a greatneſſe? True qualities continue in their entire, falſe are flitting. Some men at ſometimes are *Vatinians*, at other times *Catoes*, and ſome whiles *Curius*, in their opinions is a little too ſeuere. *Fabricius* not ſufficiently poore, *Tubero* ſcarce frugall enough, and content with a little, they prouoke *Licinius* in riches, *Apicius* in ſuppers, *Mæcenas* in delights. Inconſtancie and a continuall agitation betwixt the diſſembling of vertues, and the loue of vices, is a great token of an euill minde.

Oft-times two hundred men did him attend,
Oft-times but ten: ſometimes his ſpeech did tend
To Kings, to Tetrarches, and to great eſtates,
Sometimes his Fortunes he more baſely rates:
I will, ſaith he, haue a three-footed table,
A homely ſalt, a gowne that ſhall be able,
Though homely, to withſtand the winter cold:
Hadſt thou committed to this niggards hold,
That is contented with ſo little pelfe,
Ten thouſand crownes to ſeede and cloath himſelfe
Within few dayes, nor he, nor all his meny
Could pay thee one, or bleſſe thee with a peny.

All theſe are ſuch as *Horace* deſcribeth this man, who was neuer himſelfe, or euer like himſelfe; ſo diuerſly changed he. Said I diuers, ſcarcely is there one but is ſuch. There is no man that doth not daily change both his counſaile and his vow: now will he haue a wife, then a Lemman: now will he gouerne, preſently he laboureth for this, that no man may be a more officious ſeruant. Sometimes he exalteth himſelfe ſo much, as he contracteth enuie: ſometimes hee abuſeth himſelfe vnder euery one, and becommeth more miſerable then thoſe that are truely wretched: now ſcattereth he his money abroad, preſently after hee engroſſeth all other mens. Hereby eſpecially is an imprudent minde diſcouered, euery one betrayeth him, and that which in my opinion is moſt baſe, he is vnlike himſelfe. Repute thou it to be a great vertue for a man to be one. But no man but a wiſe man doth one thing, all the reſt of vs haue many ſhapes. To day we will ſeeme to be modeſt and graue, to morrow prodigall and vaine: we oftimes change our maske, and oftentimes take a contrarie to that we haue put

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off. Exact thou therefore this of thy ſelfe, that to thy laſt breath thou maintaine thy ſelfe ſuch, as thou haſt reſolued to ſhew thy ſelfe. Doe this, that thou mayeſt be praiſed, or approued at the leaſt. A man may iuſtly ſay of him whom thou ſaweſt yeſterday, what is this man? So much is a man changed in a little time.

Epist. CXXI.

He pretendeth ſomewhat for the wittier ſort, and then propoundeth the ſame. Whether euery liuing creature hath a ſence of his conſtitution, that is, whether they willingly and by nature intend thither, whither they ought, and were made. He ſaith that it is ſo, and by diuers reaſons and examples teacheth the ſame.

THou wilt chide with me, I ſee, when I ſhall reſolue thee of that queſtion, wherein this day I ſpent no little time. For once more wilt thou exclaime what concerneth theſe maners? But exclaime at thy pleaſure, whileſt I firſt of all oppoſe thoſe againſt thee, with whom thou mayeſt contend, I meane *Poſidonius* and *Archidamus*, for theſe ſhall debate the matter with thee, and afterwards I will ſay, that whatſoeuer is morall reformeth not good maners. There is one thing that appertaineth to a man to nouriſh him, another thing to exerciſe him, another thing to cloth him, another thing to teach him, another thing to delight him: yet all theſe things do appertaine vnto a man, although not all of them make him better. Certaine inſtructions concerne manners in ſome ſort, certaine in another. Some correct and gouerne them, ſome ſearch out their nature and beginning: when it is demanded why Nature brought forth man, why ſhee preferred him before all other liuing creatures. Thinkeſt thou that I haue left manners a farre off? Thou art deceiued. For how ſhalt thou know what manners are to be ſought after, except thou findeſt out what is the beſt for man, except thou examine his nature? Then at length thou ſhalt vnderſtand what thou art to doe, and what to auoid, when as thou haſt learned what thou oweſt to thy nature. I, ſayeſt thou, will learne how I may deſire leſſe, how I may feare leſſe. Shake off from me this ſuperſtition: teach me that this which is called felicitie, is but a ſlight and vaine thing, and that the acceſſion of one ſyllabble will make it infelicitie. I will ſatisfie thy deſire, and exhort thee vnto vertues, and will whip vices: and although ſome men repute me too immoderate in this kind, yet will I not deſiſt to perſecute wickedneſſe, to reſtraine vnbridled affections to temperate deſires and pleaſures that ſhould terminate in ſorrow; and to oppoſe my ſelf againſt wiſhes. Why not? When as we haue deſired the extreameſt of euils, and that from the ioy which we haue, our ſorrow hath proceeded. In the meane while ſuffer me to vnfold thoſe things which ſeeme ſomewhat too much remoued from vs. The queſtion was, whether in all creatures there were a ſence of their conſtitution. But that they haue a ſence, it hereby moſt manifeſtly appeareth, becauſe they fitly and readily moue their members, as if they had bin faſhioned thereunto. Euery one of them hath an agilitie in his parts. A workman handleth his tooles readily. The maſter of a ſhip knoweth how to ſteere his helme of his ſhip fitly. A Painter doth quickly diſcerne thoſe diuerſities of colours which are laid before him, to the end he may apply them in his worke, and with a readie hand and eye he paſſeth betwixt the wax, and the ſimilitude or reſemblance which he would draw: ſo liuing creatures moue themſelues in

euery ſort, according as it becommeth them. We are wont to wonder at theſe cunning actors, who haue their hands ſo nimble, that they are able to repreſent all things, and effect readily by their geſture, whoſe fingers are as nimble as their tongues. That which Art vouchſafed them, Nature alloweth theſe. There is no man but ſtirreth his members without paine, there is no one reſtrained, when he hath need to moue himſelfe, being borne vnto this motion: they performe it readily; they come into this world with this ſcience, and are borne ſo inſtructed. Therefore, ſaith he, ſhall liuing creatures moſt fitly moue their parts, becauſe if they moued them otherwiſe, they ſhould feele paine. So as you ſay, they are compelled, and feare and not will maketh them moue aright, which is falſe. For they are ſlow which are enforced by neceſſitie, agilitie is a voluntarie motion. But ſo farre off is it that feare of paine drieth them hereunto, that they endue themſelues in their naturall motion, although paine doe prohibite them. So the infant that meditateth how to ſtand, and is accuſtomed to keepe himſelfe on his feete, as ſoone as he beginneth to trie his forces, he falleth, and crying riſeth againe, ſo often vntill by meanes of griefe he hath exerciſed himſelfe in that which Nature requireth at his hands. There are ſome liuing creatures of a harder backe, which turned vpon the ſame, ſo long time tumble themſelues, and ſtretch out their feete and bow them in, till ſuch time as they haue recouered their ordinarie cuſtome and place. The Tortuiſe being caſt vpon her backe feeleth no torment, notwithſtanding ſhe ceaſeth not to ſtruggle and ſtirre her ſelfe, vntill ſuch time as ſhe feeleth her ſelfe in her naturall eſtate, and that ſhe hath recouered her feete. Each of them therefore hath a ſence of his conſtitution, and thereby a readie vſe of their members: neither haue wee any more greater token that they came to liue with this knowledge, then for that there is no liuing creature that is ignorant how to vſe his bodie. Conſtitution, ſaith he, as you define it, is the principall and faireſt part of the ſoule, that in ſome ſort hath ſome power ouer the bodie. This definition ſo perplexed and ſubtill, and ſuch as you your ſelues can ſcarcely diſcouer. How doth an infant vnderſtand it? All liuing creatures ſhould haue beene borne Logicians, to the end that they might vnderſtand this definition, which might ſeeme obſcure to the chiefeſt and wiſeſt part of the Citizens. True it were which thou oppoſeſt, if I ſaid that the definition of conſtitution were vnderſtood by brute beaſts. For conſtitution it ſelfe is more eaſily vnderſtood, then taught by Nature. Therefore that infant knoweth not what conſtitution is, yet knoweth he his owne conſtitution, and what an Animal is, he knoweth not, yet feeleth he himſelfe to be an Animal. Beſides that, he vnderſtandeth his Nature groſſely, ſummarily, and obſcurely. We alſo know well that we haue a ſoule, but what the ſoule is, where it is, of what qualitie it is, and whence it is we know not. Such ſence of our minde as wee haue attained vnto, although we are ignorant of the nature and ſeat thereof, ſuch ſence haue all liuing creatures of their conſtitution. For they muſt needs feele, that by meanes whereof, they haue ſence of other things, and they muſt of neceſſitie haue a ſence of that thing which gouerneth them, and which they obey. There is not any one of vs but knoweth that there is a certaine thing which ſtirreth his affections, but no man knoweth what it is, and each man knoweth that he hath an endeuor, but what it is, or whence it is he knoweth not. Euen as infants, ſo other liuing creatures haue a ſence of their principall part, but this reſentiment is obſcure and not manifeſt. You ſay (ſaith he) that a liuing creature is aboue all things accommodated to his nature and conſtitution, but that mans conſtitution is to bee a reaſonable ſoule, and

therefore

therefore that man is accomodated to himſelfe, not as to a liuing creature only, but as to a reaſonable liuing creature, for hee is deare and precious vnto himſelfe, as he is a man. But how therfore may an infant be accomodated to his reaſonable conſtitution, when as yet he is not reaſonable? Euery age hath his conſtitution, an infant hath one, a ſtripling another, an old man another, for all of them are accomodated to the conſtitution wherein they remaine. The infant is without teeth, this is a conſtitution that agreeth with him; his teeth grow out, and this is agreeable to his age. For euen that herbe that muſt grow to a ſtalke and eare, hath one conſtitution when it is tender, and ſcarce appeareth aboue the furrow; another when it waxeth ſtronger, and hath a tender ſtalke, yet ſufficiently able to beare his burthen: another when it waxeth yellow and is readie for harueſt, and the eare thereof is hardened into whatſoeuer conſtitution it commeth, it maintaineth the ſame, and accomodateth it ſelfe thereunto. The age of an infant is one, of a little lad another, of a yong man another, of an old man another: yet am I the ſame, who both was an infant, a yong lad, and a yong man. So although each ones conſtitution be different, yet the accord thereof is alwayes one. For Nature commendeth vnto me not a boy, not a yong man, or an old man, but my ſelfe. And therefore an infant is accomodated to that conſtitution which he hath in being an infant, not which hee ſhall haue when he is a yong man: becauſe not onely the eſtate wherein hee is, but that eſtate which remaineth as yet more great, whereunto he ought to attaine, dependeth vpon his nature. Firſt of all, the liuing creature hath care of himſelfe, for there muſt be ſomewhat whereunto the reſt are referred. I ſeeke pleaſure: for whom? for my ſelfe: therefore haue I a care of my ſelfe, I flie from paine; for whom? for my ſelfe: therefore haue I a care of my ſelfe. If I doe all things for the care I haue of my ſelfe, I haue a care of my ſelfe aboue all things. This is in all liuing creatures, it is not inferred, but innate: Nature bringeth out her fruit, but caſteth them not out, and becauſe the moſt aſſured guard is that which is neereſt; each one is committed to the charge and conſideration of himſelfe. Therefore, as I haue ſaid before, the moſt tendereſt creatures, which either from their dam, or otherwiſe haue beene brought to light, doe preſently know what that is, which is hurtful vnto them, and fly from thoſe things that threaten them with death; and chickens and ſmall fowle, which are expoſed for a prey to the grater fowle that liue by rapine, feare the ſhadow of all thoſe which paſſe and houer ouer them. There is no creature that entereth life, but hath a feare of death. How (ſaith he) can a liuing creature that is new borne know that which is healthfull or harmefull to him? Firſt, the queſtion is, whether he vnderſtand, not how he vnderſtandeth. And that they haue vnderſtanding, hereby it appeareth, that they wil do nothing more then they vnderſtand: why is it that the Heron flieth not from the Peacock, or a Gooſe whē ſhe is much leſſer, & yet vnknowne to both, & yet hideth her ſelf when ſhe eſpieth a hauke? Why do chickens feare the cat, and not the dog? It appeareth that they haue a cetain knowledge of that which is hurtful vnto thē, not gathered by experience for they take heed before they can make triall of the danger. Furthermore, leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſuppoſe that this hapneth by chance, they feare none but thoſe whom they ought, neither forget they that ſuch and ſuch are their enemies, and are to be auoided. Beſides, they are not made more fearefull by liuing, whereby it appeareth that they attaine the ſame, not by vſe, but by a naturall loue of their ſafetie. That which vſe teacheth is diuers, and encreaſeth by little and little. But all that which Nature propoſeth is equally and readily com-

municated to all: Notwithstanding, if thou wilt, I will shew thee how each liuing creature enforceth her selfe to know that which is harmeful vnto her. She feeleth that she consisteth of flesh, and consequently knoweth, that by meanes whereof her flesh may be cut, burnt, or bruised. She reputeth those beasts her contraries and enemies that are armed to hurt. These things are vnited together. For euery liuing creature hath a present care to conserue her selfe, shee searcheth that which may solace her, and feareth that which may offend her. If she repulse those things which are contrarie vnto her, Nature teacheth her the same, and that which she teacheth, she knoweth without discourse, and without resolution of will. Seest thou not what subtiltie Bees haue in building their hiues, how maruellous accord they haue in distributing and doing their businesse? Seest thou not how no mortall creature can imitate the Spiders web? what cunning she hath in disposing her threeds, the one are wouen out-right, in stead of the foundation, the other are twisted round and small, to the end she may surprise and catch, as it were in a net, those flies, for whom she layeth her snares, and on whom she maketh her prey? This arte is borne with the Spider, and not learned. Therefore no creature is more learned then another. Thou shalt see that the Spiders webs are all alike; that the hiues wherin the Bees rest haue enterances alike. That which Arte teacheth is vncertaine and vnequall, but that which nature teacheth is alwayes vniforme: She hath not trained liuing creatures in other sort, but to keepe themselues, to know and follow their nature, by meanes whereof, also their science and their life begin both together. Neither is it to be wondered at, that these liuing creatures are borne with their naturall science, considering, that without the same, they should take their life in vain. Nature hath furnished them with this first instrument, to arrest them in the communion and loue of themselues. They could not maintaine themselues except they would, neither could this of it selfe profit, but without this nothing had profited. But in no creature shalt thou finde the contempt of her selfe, or the neglect. In those likewise which are silent and brutish, although in respect of the rest they be dull, yet in regard of life they are cunning. Thou shalt see that those things which are vnprofitable for others, forget not the care that they ought to haue of themselues.

Epist. CXXII.

That the nature of excesse is contrarie to manner. He pleasantly describeth the nature of supping, drinking, sleeping, rising, and such like indirect delights.

THe dayes alreadie hath felt some detriments, they are somewhat diminished; yet so, as there is time enough as yet, if so be a man (if I may so speake it) will rise more officious and better with the day it selfe, then if he should expect the same to go and court others vpon the day light. Base is that man that lieth slumbering long time after Sunne rise, that awaketh at noone, and this time to some is early day. There are many that peruert the offices both of day and night, and that neuer open their eyes (being ouer-burthened by ouer-nights drunkennesse) before the euening discouereth it selfe. Such as their condition is said to be, when Nature (as *Virgil* saith) hath placed subiect, and opposite to our feete.

And

And when to vs the day-ſpring doth appeare,
And bluſhing morne ſhowes PHŒBVS *ſteedes are neere,*
To them the ruddie euen with weaker light,
Kindels the lightſome Tapers of the night.

Such is not the Region, but their life, ſo that contrary and oppoſite to that of ours. There are certaine Antipodes in the ſame Cittie, who, as *Cato* ſaith, *Neuer ſaw eyther the riſing or ſetting Sunne.* Thinkeſt thou that theſe men know how to liue, that know not when they liue? And theſe are they that feare death, in which they haue buried themſelues aliue; as fatall are theſe as night-runners. Although they paſſe their nights in wine and perfumes, although they employ the time of their intemperate vp-ſitting in feaſts and variety of many diſhes, yet thoſe which they ſolemnize are not feaſts but funerals. Vndoubtedly by day time men are wont to celebrate the obſequies of the dead; but aſſuredly there is no day too long to him that trauaileth. Let vs extend our life; the office and argument hereof is action, and let ſomewhat thereof be reſerued to the day. Thoſe birds which are bought to celebrate a feaſt are kept dark, to the end that by ſitting ſtill they may more eaſily become fat; ſo ſuch as lie without any exerciſe, a ſluggiſh ſwelling inuadeth their bodies, and a ſoft fat groweth about their members; ſo deformed doe their bodies ſeeme that haue dedicated themſelues to darkeneſſe. For their colour is no leſſe pleaſing then theirs that are wearied and made pale with ſickeneſſe, they languiſh, looke bleach, and are diſcoloured, and in their life their fleſh is corrupted. Yet will I ſay that this is the leaſt of euils in them, how farre greater darkeneſſe is there in their minde? The one is ſtupid, the other is almoſt blinde, and ſeemeth to enuie thoſe that ſee not a whit. Who euer had eyes to vſe them in darknes? Askeſt thou me how this depriuedneſſe of the minde groweth, by loathing the day and transferring the whole life into night? All vices fight againſt nature, all of them leaue their owne order. This is the purpoſe of exceſſe, to reioyce in peruerſe things, and not onely to depart from the right, but to flie a farre off from it, and to bee at length oppoſite vnto it. Doe not theſe men in thy iudgement liue contrarie to nature that drinke faſting, that poure in wine into their emptie veynes, and ſit downe drunke to their dinners? But this is an ordinary errour in young men, who exerciſe their ſtrength, who almoſt in the very entrance of the Bath, do not only drinke but gull down wine amongſt thoſe that are naked, to the end they might reſtraine the ſweate which they haue mooued by their hote and often quaffings. It is an ordinary matter to drinke after Dinner or Supper; our countrey houſe-keepers doe the like, who are ignorant of true pleaſure. That wine delighteth which ſwimmeth not vpon our meates, which freely pierceth vnto the nerues. That drunkenneſſe delighteth that comes vpon an emptie ſtomacke. Seeme they not in thy iudgement to liue contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? Liue they not againſt nature, who ſtudie to haue chil'diſh beautie vpon a wrinckled forehead? What thing can be more miſerable or more horrible? He will neuer be a man becauſe he may long time ſuffer a man, and when as his ſex ſhould repriue him from contumely, his age it ſelfe cannot diſcharge him. Liue they not againſt nature that in winter long for a Roſe, and by the nouriſhment of warme waters, and the fit change of heat in winter-time cauſe a Lillie & ſuch flowers as are deſtinated to the ſpring to flouriſh? Liue they not againſt nature that plant

Orchards

Orchards on their higheſt Towers, that haue whole Forreſts ſhaking vpon the tops and Turrets of their houſes, ſpreading their roots in ſuch places, where it ſhould ſuffice them that the tops of their branches ſhould touch? Liue they not againſt nature that lay the foundations of their bathes in the ſea? Neither ſuppoſe that they ſwim delicately enough, except their warm bathes be inuironed with tempeſtuous billowes? When as they haue reſolued to intend all things againſt the cuſtome of nature, at laſt they wholly reuolt from her. Is it day? It is time to goe to bed: it is night, now let vs exerciſe our ſelues, now let vs be coached, now let vs dine: doth the morning approach? It is time to goe to ſupper. We muſt not liue according to common cuſtome, it is a baſe, ordinary and vulgar courſe of life. Let the common day be relinquiſhed, let the morning be proper and peculiar vnto vs; for mine owne part I ranke theſe men amongſt the dead: for how little are they diſtant from their funerals, and they moſt fatall that liue by Torch and waxe light? I remember that at one time diuers men led this life. Amongſt others *Attilius Buta* a Prætorian, who after he had ſpent all his goods in gluttony, which were very great when he complained him of his pouertie to TIBERIVS; *Too late* (ſaid the Emperiour) *art thou awakened.* MONTANVS IVLIVS an indifferent Poet, well knowne thorow the fauour and repulſe he had at *Cæſars* hands, tooke pleaſure to enterlace in his verſes theſe words *Ortus* and *Occaſus*, which ſignifie the riſing and ſetting of the Sun. One day a certaine friend of his being diſpleaſed becauſe *Montanus* had not giuen ouer for the ſpace of a whole day to recite ſom of his compoſitions, ſaid that a man ſhould not giue eare to a man, ſo importunate *Natta Prinarius* taking fit opportunitie, ſaid, *Can I vſe him more curteouſly? I am readie to heare him from the Sunne riſe to the Sunne ſet*; when he had recited theſe Verſes,

PHŒBVS *begins to ſhow his burniſht light,*
And bluſhing day to ſpread his ſhining face,
And now begins the Swallow with delight
To feed her yong, within her neaſt a ſpace,
And to her wings, breed by one and one
Yeeld from her neb their food to feed vpon.

Varus a Romane Knight, a companion of *Lucius Vinicius* an ordinarie ſmel-feaſt, who was the better welcome by reaſon he wittily and bitterly jeſted at thoſe whom he thought fit, cried out aloude, BVTA *begin to ſleepe:* againe, when after that he had recited,

Now haue the ſhepheards cloaſd their fruitfull Kie
Within their ſtalls, now dull and darkſome night
Begins to ſpread her ſad and ſilent eye,
Vpon the dulſome earth depriu'd of light.

The ſame *Varus* ſaid, *What ſaith he? It is now night, I will goe and ſalute* BVTA. There was nothing more notorious then this prepoſterous life of *Buta*, whereunto diuers applyed themſelues in that time, as I haue ſaid. The cauſe of this diſorder is not in that they thinke that the night hath any thing more pleaſing in it, becauſe nothing hindereth them, and for that the day is diſpleaſant to an euill conſcience; and becauſe the light coſteth nothing, it contenteth not him that coueteth or diſdaineth all things, according as they coſt more or leſſe. Beſides,

ſides, theſe vnbridled perſons will haue their immoderate life ſpoken of whilſt they liue; for if it be obſcured, they thinke they looſe their labour. They are diſpleaſed therefore as often as they doe not that which may make them be ſpoken of: many of theſe deuoure their goods, many of them haue their harlots; and if thou wilt haue credite amongſt theſe men, thou muſt needes commit ſome laſciuious or notable folly. In a Citty ſo poſſeſſed with ſin a common and ordinary errour is not looked after nor talked vpon. I haue heard *Pedo Albinouanus* report (which was a man of a very pleaſant diſcourſe) that he dwelt a little aboue *Sparius Papinius* houſe, who was one of the company of the night-Owles and light-ſhunners: About the third houre of the night, ſaith hee, I heare the laſhing of the whips, and I aske what he doth? They anſwer me that he calleth his ſeruants to account. About the ſixt houre of the night, I heare a ſhrill voyce, and I aske what it is? and they anſwer me that he exerciſeth his voyce. I aske about the eight houre of the night what that ratling of wheeles meaneth? they anſwere, that hee will take the ayre. About day light I heare running vp and downe the Pages are called for, the Butlers and Cookes make a ſtirre; I aske what that meaneth? they anſwer me that he was come out of his Bath and required broth and drinke. What did his ſupper, ſaid he, exceed the day? No; for he liued very frugally, and ſpent nothing but the night. And therefore he oftentimes anſwered thoſe that called him couetous and a ſlouen; *You would likewiſe call him, Lichnobius*, that is to ſay, ſuch a one as liueth by the Lampe. Thou muſt not wonder, although thou findeſt ſo many proprieties of vices; they are diuers, and haue innumerable faces, their kindes cannot be comprehended. The managing of that which is good is ſimple, and that which is euill manifold, and is diſpoſed in all ſortes as a man liſt. The ſame befalleth manners, ſuch as follow Nature are facile and free, and haue ſmall differences; the reſt are extrauagant and neuer accord amongſt themſelues: but the eſpecial cauſe of this ſickneſſe in my opinion, is the hatred of common life. As they diſtinguiſh themſelues from other men in their garments, as in their great & coſtly ſuppers, and in the richnes of their coaches, ſo will they be ſeperated from other in the diſpoſition of times they will not ſinne ordinarily, whoſe reward in ſinning is infamie. This doe all they ſeeke after, who (if I may ſay ſo) liue ſiniſterly. Therefore my *Lucilius*, we are to follow that way, which nature hath preſcribed vs; neyther muſt we wander out of the ſame. They that doe this, finde all things facile and expedit, but they that ſtriue againſt the ſame, their life is no otherwiſe then theirs who ſtriue againſt the ſtreame.

Epist. CXXIII.

That a thin and ſimple dyet by the decree of the minde and hunger are made deſirable. That rich men are to vſe the ſame likewiſe; for who knoweth whether he ſhall haue neede thereof? Let neyther cuſtom or forraine manners ſeduce vs. Deſpiſe all contrary iudgements or opinions.

BEeing ſpent by my iourney more incommodious then long, I came to my *Albanum* very late in the night, I finde nothing ready but my ſelfe. For this cauſe I laide me downe in my bedde to eaſe my wearineſſe, and take in good part this negligence of my Cooke and Baker: for thus debate I vpon this matter with my ſelfe; There is nothing ſo

ſo grieuous that can diſtaſte thee if thou endure it patiently, neyther any thing that may diſpleaſe thee except thou thy ſelfe cauſe it by thy fretting. My Baker hath no bread, but my Farmer hath, my Porter hath, my Plow-man hath. But thou wilt ſay it is courſe bread: ſtay a while it will be made good; hunger I tell thee, will make it more pleaſing vnto thee then thy white bread. Therefore ought we not to eate any thing before hunger commaund vs. I will therefore ſtay and refraine eating till ſuch time as eyther I beginne to haue good, or forbeare to loath bad. It is a neceſſarie thing to accuſtome our ſelues to frugalie: many difficulties of time and place doe ſometimes hinder the moſt richeſt and greateſt Lords from their long deſired dinners. No man can haue whatſoeuer he will, yet may he not will that which he hath not, and vſe thoſe things that are preſented him thankefully. A great part of libertie is a well-gouerned bellie, and patient in all wants. Thou canſt not imagine what pleaſure I take in this, that my wearineſſe is appeaſed of it ſelfe. I ſeeke neyther vnction nor Bath, nor any other remedie, but onely time: for that which labour hath bred reſt taketh away. This will be more pleaſing then a ſupper prepared for the gods: for ſometimes I haue made a ſudden experiment of the forces of my minde, and I finde it to be the moſt ſimple and aſſured; for whereas the minde hath prepared it ſelfe, and enioyned himſelfe patience, a man cannot ſee how much firmitie it hath: for they are the moſt certaine arguments which ſhe inſtantly gaue, if not onely with an equall but a temperate eye hee hath beheld them, if ſhe hath not beene diſpleaſed nor hath conteſted, if that which ſhould be giuen, himſelfe miniſtreth to himſelfe by not deſiring, & thinketh that there is ſomewhat wanting to his cuſtome and not vnto himſelfe. We neuer vnderſtood that many things were ſuperfluous, but when they began to be miſſing: for we vſed them not becauſe we ought, but becauſe we had them. But how many things doe we prepare, becauſe other men haue prepared them? becauſe they are vſual amongſt manie? Amongſt the cauſes of our euils, this is one, that we liue by example; neyther are we gouerned by reaſon, but ledde away by cuſtome, which if few men did, we would not imitate: when as many haue begun to doe the ſame we follow it as if it were more honeſt, becauſe it is more frequent, and errour with vs ſupplieth the place of that which is right, when it is made publique. All men now-a-dayes trauaile in ſuch ſort, that a troope of Numidian horſemen leades them the way, and a companie of foot-men attends vpon their ſtirrop. It ſhould be an indignitie vnto them if they had not ſome attendants to thruſt thoſe out of the way that met them, and that ſhould ſhow in raiſing much duſt, that an honeſt man came after them. In theſe dayes all men haue Moiles that beare their veſſels of cryſtall, and ſuch as are made of Caſſonie, and enameled by the hands of great Artiſts: it is a ſhame for thee if thou ſeeme to haue thoſe carriages as might not be broken. All the Litters wherein they carrie their Minions are couered, and they themſelues haue their faces anoynted, leſt eyther the Sunne or colde ſhould harme their tender skins; it is ſhame that there is no one in the companie of their Minions, that hath a face ſo faire that it needeth not to be ſarded. All theſe mens conference is to be auoided, theſe are they that teach vices, and conuey them from one place to another. They were reputed the worſt ſort of men that were tale-carriers, but ſom there are that beare vices. Theſe mens ſpeech doth much miſchiefe; for although it inſtantly hurteth not, yet leaueth it ſome ſeedes in the minde, and it followeth vs euen then when wee haue left them, likely hereafter to enkindle a new euill in vs. Euen as they who haue heard ſome excellent Muſicke beare

away

away with them in their eares that harmony and ſweetneſſe of ſong, which hindereth the thoughts, and ſuffereth them not to be intended to ſerious matters: ſo the ſpeech of flatterers, and ſuch as praiſe vice, ſticketh longer time in our memories, then it is heard: neither is it an eaſie matter to extinguiſh ſo ſweet a ſound in the minde, it followeth, and continueth, and returneth againe ſomewhiles after into our remembrance. It becommeth vs therefore in the beginning to ſtop vp our eares againſt euill voyces, for when they haue gotten enterance, and are admitted, they are more audacious. From thence men grow to this language, Vertue, Philoſophie, and Iuſtice, is but the bruite of vaine words. The only felicitie is to make good cheere, to liue at pleaſure, and to haue an ample patrimonie. This it is that is called life, this is to remember that a man is mortall. The dayes fleete from vs, and our life ſo poſteth away, as we may neuer recouer it. Why are we doubtfull to frame our ſelues according to our fantaſie, and to ſatisfie our fleſh her deſires, whileſt ſhe demandeth them, whileſt ſhe will and can take them? Why take we care to ſpare for the time after our death, and to forbid our ſelues that for the preſent, which ſhe will carry away? Thou haſt no ſhe friend, no boy, that may moue iealouſie in thy miſtris. Each day walkeſt thou out of thy houſe ſober, ſo ſuppeſt thou, as if thou wert accountable to thy father for the expence thou makeſt euery day. This is not to liue, it is to aſſiſt and keepe company with the liuing. What folly is it to heape vp riches for thine heire, and to deny thy ſelfe all things, that the great goods thou poſſeſſeſt might make thy friend thine enemie; for the more hee enioyeth by thee, the more he reioyceth at thy death. Set not a farthing by theſe ſeuere and bold cauſers of another mans life, enemies to their owne, ſuch men as would regent the whole world: neither doubt thou to make choice of a merrie life before a good fame. Theſe ſpeeches are no otherwiſe to be fled, then the ſongs of the Syrens, which *Vliſſes* would not ſaile by, before he had tied himſelfe to the maſt of his ſhip. They haue the ſame power, they take from thoſe that giue eare vnto them, their countrie, their parents, their friends, their vertues, and drag theſe miſerable creatures thorow the ordures of a ſhameful and infamous life. How farre better is it to follow the direct way, and to aime at this end that thoſe things at length may onely ſeeme pleaſing vnto thee which are honeſt? Which we may attaine, if we ſhall conceiue two kinds of things, the one wherof draw vs, the other driue vs away. Thoſe that inuite vs, are riches, pleaſures, beautie, ambition: in briefe, all that which flattereth vs, and is agreeable vnto vs. They that driue vs away are trauaile, death, dolor, ignominie, and want. We muſt therefore exerciſe our ſelues, leſt we feare the one or deſire the other. Let vs make head againſt that which is contrarie, and let vs depart from thoſe things which inuite vs, and make warre againſt thoſe that importune vs. Seeſt thou not how diuers the habit is of thoſe, that aſcend and deſcend? Thoſe that deſcend from a ſteepe place, bend their bodies backward, they that aſcend an high place, lie vpon their bellies. For if in deſcending thou ſwayeſt thy ſelfe forward, or in aſcending thou leaneſt backward: this (my *Lucilius*) is to conſent with vice. We deſcend into pleaſures, we muſt mount in the incommodities and aduerſities of this life. Let vs preſſe forward in theſe, and reſtraine our ſelues in the other. Thinkeſt thou now, that I ſay this, that they only are preiudicious to our eares, who praiſe voluptuouſnes, who encreaſe the apprehenſion of paine, a thing that of it ſelfe is dreadfull enough. Thoſe men likewiſe, in my opinion, are hurtfull vnto vs, who vnder pretext of being Stoicks, exhort vs vnto vices: that a wiſe-man only is both learned, and a louer, that only he is practiſed

ſed in this Arte. The wiſe-man is as skilfull in drinking, as in banquetting. Let vs enquire vntill what yeares yong men are to be beloued. Let theſe things be allowed to Grecian cuſtome. Let vs rather addreſſe our eares to thoſe things that follow. No man is caſually good; vertue is to be learned, voluptuouſnes is a vile and baſe thing, and of meane price: common to man, with brute beaſts, and whereunto the leaſt, and moſt contemptible doe flie. Glory is vaine, and ſwiftly flieth, and is more inconſtant then the winde. Pouertie is diſpleaſing to no man, except to him that beareth it impatiently. Death is no euill. Why complaineſt thou? She it is alone that dealeth iuſtly, and carrieth her ſelfe equally towards all humane kinde. Superſtition is a mad error, it feareth thoſe whom ſhe ſhould loue, and violateth her maſters. For what difference is there, whether thou denieſt the gods, or defraudeſt them? Theſe things are to be learned, yea they are to be kept continually in remembrance. Philoſophie muſt not ſuggeſt excuſes vnto vice. That ſicke man hath no hope of his health, who is counſelled by his Phiſitians to intemperance.

Epist. CXXIIII.

Againſt the Epicures, that good conſiſteth in reaſon, not in ſence. And therefore that infants are not as yet capable thereof: neither is it compleate, except it be where reaſon is compleate. How ſhall I vnderſtand that it is in me, if I ſeeke nothing without my ſelfe?

I Can recount, if ſo thou liſt to heare,
Full many precepts of the ancient wiſe,
Except thou loath to lend thy liſtning eare,
To know from whence the leſſer cares ariſe.

But thou loatheſt not, neither doth any ſubtiltie diſguſt thee. Thy gentle ſpirit diſdaineth not the ſmalleſt things, although it comprehend the greateſt. I likewiſe approue this in thee alſo, becauſe thou reduceſt all things to ſome vſe, & art only offended then, when with much ſubtiltie nothing is effected, which I will not now endeuour to do. The queſtion is, whether good be comprehended by ſence or vnderſtanding. Hereunto it is annexed, that it is neither in brute beaſts, nor in infants: they that hold voluptuouſneſſe for the chiefeſt good, doe iudge good to be ſenſible. We contrariwiſe conſidering it in the ſoule, maintaine that it is intelligible. If they did iudge of the good of ſence, we ſhould reiect no voluptuouſneſſe, becauſe all of them are both attractiue and pleaſing. And contrariwiſe, we ſhould willingly vndergoe no paine, becauſe there is none but offendeth the ſence. Beſides, they ſhould not be worthy of reprehenſion, who are too much affected to voluptuouſnes, and are too exceedingly afraid of pain. But wee miſlike thoſe that are addicted to their belly and luſt, and contemne thoſe, who for feare of paine dare attempt nothing couragiouſly. But wherein doe they offend, if they obey their ſences, that are the iudges of good and euill. For to theſe Maſters haue you giuen the power to deſire and flie. But reaſon hath charge of this, and muſt order as well good and euill, as vertue and honeſty. For by theſe the preheminence is giuen to the baſer part, to iudge of the better, and their meaning is, that the ſence which is a dimme and dull thing, and more ſlow in men then in other liuing creatures, ſhould cenſure what the true good is.

What

What if a man would diſcerne the ſmalleſt things by ſight, and not by touch, to diſcerne euill from good, a man cannot finde a more ſharpe and better intended ſight then that of the eye. Thou ſeeſt in what ignorance of truth he remaineth, and with what ignorance he hath troden thoſe things vnder foote which are diuine, who will make the touch to be the iudge of good and euill. Euen as, ſaith he, euery Science and Arte ought to haue ſomething in it, which is manifeſt, and comprehended vnder ſence, from whence it may be deriued and encreaſe: euen ſo a bleſſed life hath for his foundation and beginning, ſomething which is both apparant and ſenſible. But you ſay that a bleſſed life taketh her beginning from manifeſt things. Wee ſay that thoſe things are bleſſed, which are according to nature, but what is according to nature appeareth clearely and at the firſt ſight, as that alſo which is entire. What is that which is according to nature? It is that which befalleth him who is newly borne, I ſay not good, but the beginning of good. Thou attributeſt pleaſure vnto infancie, as if it were their chiefeſt good, that at his birth-day he ſhould begin there, whither hee attaineth when he is become a man. Thus putteſt thou the top of the tree into the place of the roote. If a man ſhould ſay, that an infant lying in his mothers wombe, and ſcarce begun, tender, imperfect, and without forme, is alreadie in poſſeſſion of any good, ſhould he not ſeeme to erre manifeſtly? But what difference is there betwixt an infant, that doth begin to be, and one which is as yet but a hidden burthen in his mothers womb? Both theſe, in reſpect of the vnderſtanding of good & euill, haue equall maturitie: & no more is an infant capable of good as yet, then a tree, or any dumbe beaſt? But why is not good in a tree or dumbe beaſt? Becauſe reaſon is not in them, and therefore is it not in an infant, by reaſon that he wanteth reaſon, whereunto when he hath attained, he ſhall approch more goodneſſe. There is ſome creature which is not reaſonable, and ſome other which is not as yet endued with reaſon, if it be it is imperfectly. Goodneſſe is neither in the one, nor in the other. Reaſon bringeth that good with himſelfe. What difference then is there betwixt the things aboue mentioned? Neuer ſhall good be in a liuing creature which is depriued of reaſon, neither can it be in him that is not as yet endued with reaſon, as long as hee remaineth in that eſtate, ſhe may be, but ſhe is not as yet. So then I ſay (my *Lucilius*) that good is not found in euery bodie, or in all ages, and is as farre eſtranged from the infant, as that which is laſt, is diſtant from that which is firſt, and the beginning of a thing, from the accompliſhing and perfection of the ſame, and conſequently, good is not in a bodie which doth but newly receiue forme in his mothers wombe: no more is there in the ſeede whence the bodie hath forme: as if thou makeſt mention of the good of any tree or plant, it is not in the firſt leafe that buddeth forth. The corne hath ſome good which is not in the tender blade, nor in the ſtraw, but in the graine which is readie to be reaped. Euen as all nature, except it be conſummate, bringeth not forth his good, ſo the good of a man, is not in a man, except he be poſſeſſed of perfect reaſon. But what this good is, I will tell thee: It is a free and vpright minde, that ſubiecteth all other things vnder him, and is himſelfe ſubiect to nothing. Too far is infancie from pertaking this good, that the childiſh age hopeth it not, and youth doth weakely hope the ſame. Happie is old-age if it attaine thereunto by long and diligent ſtudie, when this is both good and able to be vnderſtood. Thou diddeſt ſay, ſayeſt thou, that there is a certaine good of a tree, another of an herbe; therefore may an infant haue ſome good. The true good neither is in trees, nor in dumbe creatures; that good which is in theſe is called but a bor-

rowed good: and what is that, ſayeſt thou? That which is according to the nature of euery thing. There is not one brute beaſt that may in any ſort participate good, which belongeth to a better and more happy nature: there is no good but there where reaſon hath place. Theſe foure natures are diſtinct; that of a Tree, that of a Beaſt, that of a Man, and that of a God. Theſe two which are without reaſon are of the ſame nature, the other two are diuers, the one immortall, the other mortall. Of theſe the one maketh his owne good accompliſhed, and that is God, & a mans diligence addreſſeth the other. The reſt are perfect in their nature, but not truely perfect if reaſon be abſent from them. For that is finally perfect which is perfect according to cõmon nature, but common nature is reaſonable, the reſt may be perfect in their kinde. That wherein happie life cannot be, cannot haue that thing which cauſeth happie life, but a bleſſed life is made by good things, and in a dumbe beaſt that is not that whereby bleſſed life is effected, and therefore good cannot be in a dumbe beaſt. A dumbe beaſt comprehendeth things that are preſent, by ſenſe he remembreth thoſe things that are paſt at ſuch time as that which awakeneth the ſenſe, awakeneth it ſelfe, as a horſe remembreth himſelfe of his way when he is ſet into the beginning of it: whilſt he ſtandeth in the Stable he hath no remembrance thereof, although he hath trode it ouermany times. But the third time, that is to ſay, that which is to come appertaineth not to dumbe beaſts: how then can their nature ſeeme to be perfect who haue no vſe of perfect time? For time conſiſteth of three parts, of that which is paſt, of that which is preſent, of that which is to come. That which is onely preſent and ſhorteſt, and paſſeth ſooneſt is giuen to beaſts: as touching that which is paſt, they haue eyther none or little remembrance thereof neyther, but caſually thinke they on things that are preſent; thus the good of a perfect nature cannot be in an imperfect nature. Or if by nature ſhe hath it, ſhe hath it as hearbes haue; neither doe I denie but that brute beaſts haue their motions very rude and violent towards thoſe things which ſeeme to be according to nature, but ſuch motions are confuſed and diſordered, but there cannot be any confuſion or diſorder in good. Why then ſayeſt thou doe brute beaſts moue themſelues confuſedly and diſorderly? I would ſay that they moued themſelues confuſedly and diſorderly, if their nature were capable of order: but they haue a motion according to nature. For we call that thing confuſed, which ſometimes may not be confuſed, and that careſull which may be aſſured; vice is in nothing wherein vertue may not be; dumbe beaſts haue by nature that motion which they haue. But leſt I detaine thee ouer-long, there ſhall be ſome good in a dumbe beaſt, ſome vertue, ſome perfection; but what ſhall it be, but what good? Neyther abſolutely good, neither vertue, neyther perfect; for theſe priuiledges doe onely appertaine vnto thoſe that are endowed with reaſon, who haue the knowledge giuen them why, how farre, and how. Thus good is not in any thing, except it be ended with reaſon. Dooſt thou aske me whereunto this diſputation tendeth, and what profite it ſhall yeeld vnto thy minde? I will tell thee, it exerciſeth it, it whetteth it, and detaineth the ſame in ſome honeſt meditation, ſince he muſt employ and occupie himſelfe. But that which reſtraineth the minde that runneth after vice, is profitable. But this I ſay, that the greateſt good I can do thee, is to teach thee thy good, to ſeperate thee from brute beaſts, and to lodge thee with God. Why dooſt thou entertaine and nouriſh the forces of thy bodie? Nature hath granted brute and ſauage beaſts greater then theſe? Why dooſt thou ſo careſully maintaine thy beautie, when as thou haſt done thy vttermoſt

thou

thou ſhalt be ouercome by many brute beaſts in comeiineſſe ? Why doeſt thou trim thy haire with ſo great diligence, when thou haſt eyther ſcattered it after the Parthian manner, or tied it vp in knots after the Germane faſhion, or let it grow long as the Scithians are wont ; in euery horſe thou ſhalt finde a thicker creſt, in euery Lion a goodlier. When thou ſhalt addreſſe thy ſelfe to runne, the Hare will outſtrip thee, wilt thou leaue theſe forraine aduantages in purſuit, whereof thou haſt alwayes the worſt, and returne vnto thy good ? And what is this ? vndoubtedly it is a reformed minde, pure and imitating good, extolling himſelfe aboue humane things, placing nothing of himſelfe without himſelfe. Thou art a reaſonable creature : what good is there therefore in thy ſelfe ? Perfect reaſon. Summon thou that to his chiefeſt perfection, and let it increaſe as much as it may. Then ſuppoſe thy ſelfe to be bleſſed when all thy ioy ſhall proceed from thy ſelfe, when in theſe things which men long after, wiſh and deſire thou findeſt nothing I ſay, not that thou wouldeſt rather haue, but that thou wouldſt haue. I will giue thee a ſhort leſſon, wherby thou mayeſt meaſure thy ſelfe, wherby thou mayeſt perceiue that thou art perfect. Thou ſhalt poſſeſſe thy true good, when thou ſhalt know that thoſe are moſt vnhappy who are happy.

The end of SENECAES *Epiſtles.*

THE MEMORABLE AND FAMOVS TRACTS, BOTH MORALL AND NATVRALL,

WRITTEN

By

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

LONDON,
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1613.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
His Diſcourſe of PROVIDENCE:
OR
Why good men are afflicted, ſince there is a diuine PROVIDENCE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis little booke is a golden booke, and was written, as I conceiue, after CALIGVLAS time, and I iudge it by his fourth Chapter: I heard a Fencer, in CAIVS CAESARS time, complaining of the ſcantneſſe of rewards. He ſpeaketh of the time paſt, and of the man and the time which was. I thinke therefore that hee wrote it vnder CLAVDIVS, and preſently vpon his returne. Yea but what if he wrote ſome of theſe Philoſophicall Diſcourſes in his exile? For he continued there a long time, about ſome eight yeares, and vpon iuſt cauſe made choice hereof to comfort himſelfe. For the argument is, that there is a Prouidence, and yet notwithſtanding, that ſome euils, but they externall, doe befall good men. He firſt of all in generalitie auoweth the ſame, by the motion, order, and conſtancie of the world, all which doe teſtifie that there is a Gouernour. Afterwards he more particularly examineth the queſtion. Why therefore doe misfortunes happen to good men? Firſt of all he ſaith, that God loueth good men, and that therefore hee ſendeth them not afflictions. That like a father hee correcteth and checketh them. Againe, that theſe ſeeme no afflictions vnto good men, neither that they are ouercome, but exerciſed by them, and made conſtant by their tribulations. That God is, as it were, a Iudge of the game, and taketh delight in theſe his ſtrong and confident wraſtlers. This handleth he generally, and as it were in way of induction to the third Chapter. From that forward he more diſtinctly goeth forward, to ſet downe fiue reaſons why they happen. Firſt, that it is for their good, for whom they happen. Secondly, for all mens. Thirdly, for ſuch as would haue them happen. Fourthly, that they happen by fate and an eternall Law. He handleth the firſt reaſon in the third and fourth Chapter, and teacheth that it is for their good, to whom they chance, as a medicine is to thoſe that are ſicke. They are likewiſe confirmed by God by this meanes, who bringeth thoſe foorth to the battell, who are worthy of him: that hee ſuffereth the reſt of baſer mettall to liue in idleneſſe and obſcuritie. He handleth the ſecond in the fift Chapter, that it is for all mens good, that good men, and ſuch as are ſo reputed, might crie out vnto others, and ſhew them they are not good or euill, which the common ſort eſteemeth ſuch. He counſelleth them therefore to haue an eye to thoſe that are true, and to affect them, and flie the other. In that place he entreateth of the other, of ſuch as are willing to entertaine the ſame, for they

they giue themselues to God and Fate. The fourth concludeth that there is Fate, and that it is constituted from eternitie, what thou shouldest reioyce and grieue at. Againe, he repeateth this, that these things are not euill, and bringeth in God most excellently exhorting and exciting them to constancie. He concludeth Stoically, if thou dislike it, and canst not abide it, who holdeth thee? the dore is open, get thee out.

CHAP. I.

Hauing approued that there is a Prouidence, he sheweth in generall, by consideration of all creatures both high and low, that it is impossible that they should be without a most wise moouing cause, since the effects they haue are so admirable.

THOV hast demanded of me, my friend *Lucilius*, how it should come to passe (if so be the world were gouerned by any Prouidence) that so many euils befall good men? I might more readily and fitly giue thee an answere hereunto in a place of this Discourse, where I intend to proue that Prouidence hath a power ouer all things, and that God is alwayes present with vs. But since it is thy pleasure that I diuide this part from the whole, and that I satisfie thee in this one contradiction, permitting the rest of the question to remaine vntouched. I will performe it, since I know it is no hard matter to pleade the cause of the gods. It should be labour lost at this present, to make proofe, that this great frame of the world could not be sustained without som gouernor and superintendent. That those so certaine motions, and courses of the Planets and Starres, haue not this violent vehemencie, by casualtie or accident, that that which is pushed on by Fortune, and peraduenture is oftentimes troubled, and hindereth it selfe. That this swiftnesse which is neuer interrupted by any obstacle, is gouerned by the commandement of an eternall law. That this goodly order and gouernment, that beareth and sustaineth all things in the earth, and in the sea, so many cleare lights which shine in the heauens, wherein they were disposed, is not by the order of a wandering and inconstant matter. That that which should be assembled rashly and casually, could not remaine suspended, with so wonderfull workmanship. To shew also how the waight of the earth remaineth vnmoueable, beholding the swift motion of the heauens, which whirleth about her incessantly. How the seas being spred thorow the deep valleyes, mollifie the earth, and receiue no encrease by the entrie of all other riuers. How from a very little seede, there groweth out a bodie of wonderfull greatnes, & how euen those things which seeme most incertain and confused, I speake of clouds and raines, of the claps of thunder and lightning, of fires and flames that enforce their passage thorow the tops of the highest mountaines, of the earth-quakes which sinke and open the ground, and other accidents, which that part of nature which is most stormie and tempestuous, may mooue about the earth, how sudden and vnexpected soeuer they be, are neuer raised without reason. They haue their causes as well as they, which, as we see doe suddenly and miraculously breake forth in some strange and vnaccustomed places, such as are the sources of hot waters in the middest of some riuers, and new Isles that raise themselues out of the depth of a large sea. Furthermore, if a man will obserue it, how the sea-shores vpon the ebbe of the waters, become naked and discouered; and how anon after, vpon the floud, the waters returne and couer them againe, he will beleeue that by a certaine blinde volutation, that the

waues

waues are contracted and buried one within another, ſometimes enlarged, and with ſwift ſtreames returne into their bed. Although, in truth, they encreaſe by little and little, and at a certaine day and houre become more great and ſmall, according to the eſtate and diſpoſition of the Moone, which cauſeth the flux and reflux of the ſea. But leaue we this diſcourſe vntill another time, and the rather becauſe thou doubteſt not, but complaineſt of Prouidence. I will reconcile thee to the gods, who are fauourable to thoſe that are good men: for Nature ſuffereth not, that thoſe things which are good, ſhould be hurtfull to the good. * Vertue hath contracted an amiable friendſhip betwixt good men and God. Say I friendſhip? Nay rather a kindred, and likewiſe, becauſe a good man onely differeth from God but in time, he is his ſcholler, his follower and his true childe, whom that magnificent parent, a ſeuere exactor of vertues, bringeth vp to hardneſſe, as auſtere fathers doe their children. When as therefore thou ſhalt ſee good men, and ſuch as are acceptable to the gods, trauaile, ſweat, and aſcend high places: and contrariwiſe, the euill play the wantons, and flow in pleaſures: thinke with thy ſelfe, that we are delighted with the modeſtie of our children, and the libertie of our gibing ſlaues: that the one are reſtrained vnder a ſeuere diſcipline, whileſt the other are ſupported and maintained in their impudence. Know thou that God doth the like. He maketh not a good man a wanton: he proues him, he hardens him againſt afflictions, he poliſheth and faſhioneth him to the end he may ſerue him.

* *A Stoicall Paradox, which cannot be vnderſtood, nor well expreſſed in the Schooles of humanitie, but in that of the holy Ghoſt. Examine it iudicially.*

CHAP. II.

Vpon the entrance of the matter, he proueth by moſt ſtrong arguments, enriched with excellent ſimilitudes, and notable examples, that afflictions are honorable, pleaſant, profitable and neceſſarie to vertuous men; and that they are no wayes to be eſteemed pernicious.

BVt why doe many aduerſities befall good men? No euill may happen vnto a good man: contraries cannot be mixed together. Euen as ſo many riuers, ſo many ſhowers powring from the heauens, ſo many ſprings of medicinable fountaines, change not the ſauour of the ſea, much leſſe alter it: ſo the ſhocke of aduerſitie peruerteth not the courage of a vertuous man. Hee continueth on, and whatſoeuer happeneth, hee turneth it to his good. For hee is more powerfull then all externall things; nay more then this, hee apprehendeth them not, but ſurmounteth them, and continuing peaceable in himſelfe, he reſiſteth all contrarie incumbrances. He accounteth his aduerſities, his exerciſes. What man is he that hath his minde intended and ſetled vpon honeſtie, that is not deſirous of conuenient labour, and is readie voluntarily to expoſe himſelfe to dangers? What induſtrious man reputeth not idlenes to be a puniſhment? We ſee that wraſtlers, who haue a care of their ſtrength, doe contend with the ſtrongeſt whatſoeuer, and importue them, who faſhion themſelues to thoſe exerciſes, to vſe their vttermoſt forces againſt them: they ſuffer themſelues to be beaten and bruiſed, and if they finde no ſingle man that may equall them, they offer themſelues to encounter with many at once. Vertue hath no vertue, if it be not impugned, then appeareth it how great it is, of what value and power it is, when by patience it approueth what it may. Thou art to conceiue that good men ought to doe the like, that the greateſt and ſharpeſt aduerſities muſt not aſtoniſh them, and that they ought not to complaine of Fate. Whatſoeuer befalleth them, let them take it in good part, and turne it to their good. It importeth not what burthen thou beareſt, but with what courage thou endureſt it. Seeſt thou not what difference there is betweene the fathers loue, and the mothers cockering.

cockering. They command them to riſe earely to follow their ſtudies diligently, and on holy-dayes likewiſe they ſuffer them not to be idle, ſometimes they enforce ſweate from their browes, and teares from their eyes. But their mothers neſtle them in their boſomes, and keepe them out of the Sunne; they neuer ſuffer them to crie, to be ſad, or to labour. God hath a fatherly minde towards good men, and he loueth them ſtrongly. And let them, ſaith he, haue labours, loſſes, and paines, to the end they may recouer a true ſtrength. The bodies that are ouer-fattened doe languiſh in idleneſſe, and not only too much eaſe, but alſo their owne greaſe and waight maketh them ſinke vnder it. Vntainted felicitie can ſuffer no affliction, but if a man ſtriueth continually againſt his owne calamities: he accuſtometh and inureth himſelfe to aduerſities, neither giueth he place to any dolor, but although he be caſt downe, yet fighteth he on his knee. Doeſt thou wonder that God, who loueth good men ſo entirely, who would that they ſhould be the beſt and moſt excellent aboue all others, doth aſſigne them fortune to fight withall? I for mine owne part wonder not, that the gods ſometimes take pleaſure to behold worthy men wraſtling againſt ſome aduerſitie. Sometimes it delighteth vs, if wee behold a yong man of a conſtant reſolution, that encountreth a wilde beaſt with his hunting-ſtaffe, that dreadleſſe withſtandeth the incurſion of a Lion, and the more pleaſing is the ſpectacle vnto vs, the more valiantly he behaueth himſelfe. Theſe are not thoſe things that may conuert the face of the gods towards vs, but childiſh paſtimes of humane leuitie. But wilt thou ſee a ſpectacle that meriteth, that God ſhould intentiuely behold the worke, fix thine eye vpon it, behold a couple of combatants worthy the preſence of God? That is to ſay, a generous man planted before aduerſe Fortune, challenging her hand to hand. I ſee not, ſay I, what thing *Iupiter* hath more admirable vpon the earth, if he would fix his minde vpon the ſame, then to behold *Cato* remaining firme and reſolute, after his confederates had been more then once defeated, and inuincible amiddeſt his countries ruines. Although, ſaith he, that one only man be Lord of the whole world, although hee haue legions and garriſons in euery Prouince, though the ſeas bee couered with his ſhips, and *Cæſars* troopes ſtop vp all the paſſages. *Cato* hath a meanes to worke his libertie, with one hand hee ſhall make a broad way to his libertie. This * ſword, which during the ciuill warres, hath remained iuſt and innocent, ſhall finally performe ſome good and noble actions, and giue *Cato* libertie, who could not giue his countrie freedome: my ſoule execute thou that act which thou haſt long time meditated vpon; deliuer thy ſelfe from theſe worldly buſineſſes. *Petreius* and *Iuba* haue alreadie encountred, and each are ſlaine by one anothers hands. A ſtout and worthie conuention of deſtinie, but ſuch as becommeth not our greatneſſe. It is as ſhamefull a thing for *Cato* to require death, as to beg life at any mans hands. I aſſure my ſelfe, that the gods with great ioy beheld, when this great and worthie perſonage, a powerfull protector of himſelfe, trauelled to ſaue others, and gaue them meanes to eſcape: who likewiſe in that laſt night of his life he followed his ſtudie, whileſt he thruſt his *ſword into his belly, whileſt he ſcattered abroad his bowels, and with his hands drew out of his bodie that ſo bleſſed ſoule of his vnworthie to be contaminated by the ſword. Whereupon I am driuen to beleeue, that the wound was not large and deepe enough. It ſufficed not the immortall gods to behold *Cato* once, vertue was retained, and reuoked, to the end that in a greater difficultie hee might approue himſelfe. For there is more greater reſolution in dying the ſecond or third time, then in dying at the firſt. And why ſhould they not willingly behold

* *But this which Seneca praiſeth ſo highly in a man that ſlew himſelfe, is but a Paradox of the Stoicks, refuted expreſſly by Nature, by the law of Nations, and condemned by the expreſſe word of God: for it is vnlawfull for a liuing man to forſake the priſon of his bodie, at his owne indiſcreet pleaſure.*

* *The ſouereigne Captaine and Lord of our liues, is to aſſigne vs the day, the houre, and the meanes. Neither is it the act of a generous man to leſſe courage, and to thinke that his affaires ſtands ſo deſperate, that he muſt ſo diſcharge himſelfe of buſineſſe, as thereby he preiudice his owne ſoule, and his neighbours eſtate.*

holde their darling eſcaping by ſo noble and memorable a death, death conſecrateth thoſe whoſe end they praiſe, who feare to vndergo the like.

CHAP. III.

BVt now in the proceſſe of my diſcourſe I wil ſhew how far they are from miſeries that are reputed ſo to be: for the preſent I tell thee that thoſe which thou calleſt difficulties, aduerſities, and abhominable are firſt of all for the good of thoſe to whom they happen, and afterwards for other mens good of whom the gods haue more care then of euery one in particular. Secondly, that nothing befalleth good men but that which they would, and they ſhould diſcerne that euill ſhould light vpon them if they would not. Hereunto will I annex, that theſe things are done by Fate, and in as much as vertuous men are good, all that which befortuneth them is good: conſequently I will teach thee, and make thee confeſſe that thou oughteſt neuer to ſay, I haue pittie of ſuch a good man, for a man may terme him miſerable, but indeed he is not nor cannot be. That which I ſpake firſt ſeemeth to be the moſt harſheſt of all that which I haue propounded, that thoſe euils which we quake and tremble at, turne to their good, to whom they happen. Is it for their good, ſayeſt thou, to be baniſhed, to be brought to pouertie, to be depriued of their wiues and children, and to be inforced to burie them, to be defamed, and weakened? If thou be aſtoniſhed heereat, thou wilt wonder more if I approue it to be for their good, that ſome are cured by Iron and Fire, and by hunger and thirſt likewiſe; but if thou bethinke thy ſelfe that for remidie ſake, ſome haue their bones ſcaled and ſcarified, their veines ta-taken out, and ſome of their members cut off, which without the hazard of the whole bodie could not be left on, thou wilt ſuffer this likewiſe to be proued, that ſom incommodities are for their good to whom they happen, as much in truth as there are ſome things which being praiſed and deſired are hurtfull to thoſe that long after them, as ouer-eating and drinking, and ſuch like pleaſures, which engender crudities, trouble the braine, and kill the bodie. Amongſt diuers notable ſayings of *Demetrius* the Stoicke, I remember me of one, which as yet ſoundeth and tingleth in mine eares; *There is nothing*, ſaith he, *more vnhappy then that man that hath neuer beene touched with aduerſitie*: for he hath not had the meanes to know himſelfe. Although all things hee could deſire had befalne him, yea, before he could deſire; yet haue the gods thought euill of him. He ſeemed to bee vnworthy that fortune ſhould at any time be ouercome by him which diſdaineth to attempt any recreant or coward: as if ſhe ſaid, Why ſhould I admit of ſuch an aduerſarie? he will preſently lay downe his weapons, what neede I imploy all my power againſt him? A ſlight threat will make him flie; he cannot abide to looke vpon me. Let another man be ſought for, with whom I may enter combate. I am aſhamed to encounter with a man that is ready to be conquered. The Fencer thinketh it a diſgrace for him to be matched with his inferiour, and knoweth that he is ouercome without glorie that is conquered without danger. The like doth fortune, ſhe ſeeketh for the ſtrongeſt to match her, ſome paſſeth ſhe ouer with a ſcorne, ſhe attempteth the moſt confident and couragious ſort of men, againſt theſe employeth ſhe her forces: ſhe tryeth her fire vpon * *Mucius*, pouertie in [a] *Fabricius*, baniſhment in [b] *Rutilius*, torments in *Regulus*, poyſon in *Socrates*, death in *Cato*. Euill fortune ſeekes out no

Secondly, he proueth that euill, that is to ſay, affliction turneth to their good who are vertuous. The firſt reaſon is, That as to heale the body we ſometimes torment and maim the ſame, ſo doth good in regard of the righteous Secondly, that thoſe that are alwayes in proſperitie, are in worſt account with God, in that they haue not the courage to encounter fortune.

* See Liuie and Plutarch *in the life of* Publicola.

[a] See Plutarch *in* Pyrrhus *life, and* Titus Liuius.

[b] *See the Epitome of* Titus Liuius. lib. 70. *and* Valerius Maximus. lib. 2 cap. 10.

no man except he be a great one. Is *Mucius* vnhappy becauſe with his right hand he graſped his enemies fire, and chaſtiſed the errour he committed by burning of his hand, for putting that enemy to flight by his ſcorched fiſt, whom with his armed hand he could not vanquiſh? What then ſhould he haue beene more happie, had he warmed his hand in his Miſtereſſe boſom? Is *Fabricius* vnhappie for digging vp his Garden, at ſuch time as he had no publique charge? for waging warre as well againſt riches as againſt *Pyrrhus*? for ſupping by the fire vpon thoſe rootes and hearbes which he himſelfe being an olde man, who had triumphantly entred Rome, had gathered in clenſing and weeding his garden? What then, ſhould he haue beene more happie if he had filled his bellie with fiſhes, fetched from a farre and forraine ſhoare, and of fowles fetched from a ſtrange countrey? If he had whetted the dulneſſe of his loathing ſtomacke with ſhell-fiſh, fetched from the higher and lower Seas? If he had enuironed with a great heape of apples the moſt hugeſt ſauage beaſt, which coſt many men their liues before ſhe was killed. Is *Rutilius* vnhappy, becauſe they that haue condemned him ſhall be condemned in all ages, who more willingly ſuffered himſelfe to be rauiſhed from his country, then to be remitted of his exile? becauſe he alone oppoſed himſelfe againſt the Dictator *Scilla*, and when he was recalled, not onely kept backe but fled farther off? Let they, ſaith he to *Scilla*, whom thy great fortune entangleth in Rome, thinke this, that they beholde a riuer of bloud in the Market-place, and aboue the Lake of *Seruilius* (for that was the place where they diſpoyled thoſe whom *Scilla* by publique Proclamations had condemned to die) the heads of Senators, and the troopes of Murtherers, running thorow the ſtreets of the Cittie, and diuers thouſands of Romane Cittizens, murthered in that place after thou haſt ſhopt them vp, with promiſe to ſaue their liues, and notwithſtanding trayterouſly cauſing them to be ſlaine; let thoſe that cannot endure to be baniſhed feed their eyes with ſuch ſpectacles. What then, is *Lucius Scilla* happy, becauſe that in comming downe to the Market-place his guard made him way with their weapons? becauſe he ſuffered the heads of Conſuls to be hanged vp, and maketh the Quæſtor pay him the price of euery head which is taxed in his Proclamations; and all theſe things doth he that made the Law *Cornelia*. Let vs come to *Regulus*; what harme did fortune to him in making him the patterne of fidelitie and patience? The nayles faſten and pierce his skin, and on what ſide ſoeuer he turneth his wearied bodie, he lies vpon his wounds; neyther can he cloſe his eyes, but watcheth inceſſantly. The more torment he hath, the more glorie ſhall bee his. Wilt thou know how farre off he is from repenting himſelfe for eſtimating vertue at ſo high a rate? Cheere him vp, and ſend him backe againe to the Senate, he will be ſtill of the ſame opinion. Thinkeſt thou therefore that *Mecænas* is more happie, who could not ſleepe but by the harmonie of pleaſing muſique that ſounded a farre off by reaſon of his iealouſie, and becauſe he was ſtrangely tormented with the croſſes of his fantaſtique wife, which vpon euery ſlight occaſion threatned him with diuorce. Although he drowne himſelfe in wine to make him drowſie, and by the noyſe of water, poured out of one baſon into another intice his eyes to ſleepe: be it that he charme his ſorrowes with a thouſand paſtimes, he ſhall ſleepe as little on his feather-bed as *Regulus* on the gibbet. But the one comforted himſelfe, becauſe he ſuffered for honeſtie that affliction he endured, and his patience regarded the cauſe of thoſe torments. The other ſpent in delights, and broken with too much eaſe, is more tormented with the occaſion then the euill it ſelfe, which he endureth; vices haue not gotten ſo

ſtrong

Titus Liuius, Publius, Valerius, Maximus, and Cicero doe all of them make honorable mention of this man, to whoſe magnanimitie Seneca oppoſed Mecænas delicacie.

ſtrong a poſſeſſion of mortall men, that it is to be doubted, if ſo be the deſtinie would giue them their choyſe whether diuers had not rather reſemble *Regulus*, then be borne *Mecænas*. Or if there were any that durſt ſay that he would be borne *Mecænas* and not *Regulus*; the ſame man, although he hold his peace, had rather be borne * *Terentia*. Thinkeſt thou that *Socrates* was badly handled becauſe he drunke that potion which was publiquely mixed, no otherwiſe then if it had beene a medicine of immortalitie, and diſputed of death till death ſeaſed him? Thinkeſt thou that he was ill dealt withall, becauſe his bloud was congealed, and that by little and little the force of his veynes failed him? whilſt colde in the extremitie ſtole vp to his heart by little and little: how much more rather ought we to enuie his felicitie, then thoſe who are ſerued in precious ſtones, wherein an old and decayed Minion of his trimmed vp to endure all things, poureth vp from aboue the melted Snow into his golden cup. Theſe men whatſoeuer they drinke they vomit and caſt it vp againe, with a certaine loathing, and are conſtrained to retaſt their bitter ſpittle. But *Socrates* ſwalloweth the poyſon voluntarily and ioyfully. As touching *Cato*, there is ſufficiently ſpoken, and the whole conſent of men will confeſſe that he attained the greateſt felicitie whom God made choiſe of, to ruſh and conquer thoſe things that were to be feared. Are the diſpleaſures of great men grieuous? Oppoſe him alone to *Pompey*, *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*. It is a grieuous thing to be outſtripped by men of no worth in dignitie and honor, but *Cato* diſdaineth not to come after *Vatinius*. It is a grieuous thing to be an actor in ciuill warres; but *Cato* in a iuſt quarrell will fight in euery corner of the world, although the iſſue be both ſtrange and miſerable. It is a grieuous matter for a man to murther himſelfe, yet will he do it. What ſhall I, ſaith nature, get hereby? This; that all men may know that theſe are not euils, which I thought *Cato* worthy of.

* This was Mecænas fantaſticall and troubleſome wife.

CHAP. IIII.

PRoſperitie falleth into the hands of the common ſort, and betideth thoſe of weakeſt ſpirit: but to yoake and maſter calamities and mortall terrours is the propertie of a great man. But to be alwayes happy, and to paſſe away life without any preſſure of the minde, is to be ignorant that affliction is one part of mans life. Thou art a great man; but how ſhall I know it, if fortune giue thee not leaue and meanes to make proofe of thy vertue. Thou wenteſt to the Olympian games, but no man but thy ſelfe: thou haſt the crowne, but not the victorie. I applaude not thy fortune as if thou wert a great and valiant man, but as if thou hadſt gotten ſome Conſulate or Prætorſhip. Thou art increaſed in honour. The like can I ſay to a good man; if ſome misfortune hath not giuen him any occaſion, whereby to make ſhow of the liuely forces of his mind. I repute thee wretched becauſe thou wert neuer wretched, thou haſt paſt thy life without an aduerſarie. No man, no not thy ſelfe ſhall be able to know thy value: for to the end a man may well know himſelfe, he ought to make proofe of himſelfe. No man knoweth his owne abilitie except he make triall thereof. And therefore ſome men haue wilfully and vnprouoked expoſed themſelues to miſeries, and ſought an occaſion to make their vertue already declining and growing to obſcuritie, more glorious and eſteemed. Great men, ſay I, doe reioyce as much in aduerſities as valiant ſouldiers doe in warre. I heard a Fencer in *Caius Cæſars*

In the third place he ſheweth that afflictions are honourable, and that the greatneſſe of men is as it were circumſcribed.

time, complaine of the rareneſſe of rewards: How faire an age, ſaith he, is paſt; vertue gapeth after danger, and thinketh on that which ſhe intendeth, not that which ſhe is to ſuffer, becauſe that which ſhe is to ſuffer is a part of her glorie. Valiant ſouldiers glorie in their wounds, and ioyfully ſhew the bloud that runneth from them, if it be ſpent in a good cauſe. Although they doe the like who returne in ſafetie from the battel, yet is he more reſpected that returneth wounded. God, ſay I, hath a care of thoſe men whom he deſireth to make the moſt honeſt, as often as he giueth them an occaſion to doe any thing ſtoutly and manfully, to the performance whereof there needeth ſome difficultie and danger. Thou ſhalt know a Maſter of a Ship in a tempeſt, and a Souldier in the battel: how can I know how thou art addreſſed againſt pouerty, if thou aboundeſt in riches? How can I know what conſtancie thou haſt againſt ignominie, infamie, and popular hate, if thou grow olde amidſt the applauſes of euerie man; if an inexpugnable fauour ſeconded by a certaine inclination of mens minds towards thee, attendeth thee perpetually? Whence know I that thou wilt patiently endure the loſſe of thy children, if I ſee thee laugh when they come into the world? I haue heard thee comfort others, but then would I willingly haue ſeene thee, if thou haſt comforted thy ſelfe, if thou haſt commanded thy ſelfe to grieue no more. Feare not theſe things, I beſeech you, which the immortall gods vſe as ſpurres to quicken and awaken our mindes. Calamitie is an occaſion of vertue. Iuſtly may a man tearme them miſerable, that are ſurfetted with too much felicitie, who are detained in an idle tranquillitie, as a ſhip in a calme ſea, whatſoeuer ſhall befall them will bee new vnto them. Calamities preſſe them moſt ſhrewdly, that haue neuer had experience of them. A tender necke hardly brooketh the yoake. A yong ſouldier waxeth pale vpon the feare of a wound. An old beaten ſouldier doth boldly ſee himſelfe bleed, who knoweth that oft-times in loſing his blood he hath conquered his enemie. God therefore animateth, reknowledgeth, and exerciſeth thoſe whom he approueth and loueth: but thoſe whom he ſeemeth to fauour and ſpare, he reſerueth them by reaſon of their weakneſſe, for the euils to come, for it is a folly to thinke that any one is exempt. He whom thou thinkeſt ſo aſſured in his happineſſe, ſhall haue his turne, and taſte the ſame cup; whoſoeuer ſeemeth diſmiſſed, is but deferred. Why doth God afflict the beſt men with ſickneſſe, and other incommodities? Why in the Campe are the ſouldiers of greateſt value, commanded to execute the exploits of greateſt danger? The Generall ſendeth out the moſt choſen troopes to charge the enemie with an onſlaught by night, either to skout the way, or to driue ſome forces frome their trenches. None of thoſe who ſally out ſaith, *The Generall hath done me wrong, but he hath honored me.* Let them ſay the like, whoſoeuer are commanded to ſuffer, for which fearefull men and cowards weepe. *We haue beene thought worthy by God to be eſteemed ſuch, in whom hee might make triall, how much humane nature may ſuffer.* Flie delights, flie from effeminate felicitie, whereby our mindes are mollified, except ſomething happen that may admoniſh them of their humane condition, who are, as it were benummed with perpetuall drunkenneſſe. He that hath beene alwayes defended from the winde by his glaſſe-windowes, whoſe feet are kept warme by much wrapping, who ſuppeth not, except it be in his ſtoue, is not without danger of catching cold vpon the ſmalleſt breath of winde. Since all exceſſe is hurtfull, an vnmeaſurable proſperitie is moſt dangerous: It moueth the braine, diſtracteth the mind with vain reſemblances, and ſpreadeth many miſts betwixt truth and falſhood. Why ſhould it not be better to endure perpetuall infelicitie, which animateth vnto vertue,

The reaſon why God afflicteth good men.

A perpetuall felicitie, attended by a ſodaine misfortune.

vertue, then to be broken with infinite and immoderate prosperitie? Death is not so tedious as too long fasting, and with too much cruditie they cracke their bodies. The gods therefore behaue themselues towards good men, as the masters doe towards their schollers, who require more labour at their hands, of whom they haue the greatest hope. Beliuest thou that the Lacedemonians hated their children, who make triall of their disposition and nature, by whipping them publikely? Contrariwise, those fathers exhort their children to suffer the iercks of their whips confidently, and entreat them, being torne and halfe dead with their scourgings, to perseuere, and to endure wounds vpon wounds. Wonder we that God maketh triall of the most generous spirits by aduersitie? Vertuous instructions are neuer delicate. Doth Fortune beate and rent vs? Let vs suffer it. This is no crueltie, it is but a conflict. The more we aduenture it, the stronger shall wee be. The hardest part of our bodie is that which trauaileth most: we must offer our selues to the hands of Fortune, to the end shee may make vs more confident to encounter her. By little and little she will make vs as strong as her selfe. To be continually in danger, maketh a man set light by danger. So are Sailers bodies inured to brooke the sea; so are husbandmens hands hardened; so are souldiers armes strengthened to dart their weapons, so are their members made nimble that runne races. That in euery thing is most strongest, which is most exercised. By contemning the power of euils, the minde attaineth patience, which thou shalt know what it can effect in vs, if thou consider how much labour effecteth in naked bodies, & such as are strengthned by necessitie Consider all Nations which are beyond the confines of the Romane Empire. I meane the Germaines, and all those that dwell about Ister, and those wandring Nations of the Scythians, and other perpetuall winter, and a thicke aire continually presseth them; a barren soile sustaineth them: they defend themselues from showers, with leaues and sheddes of thatch, they trauell ouer riuers hardened with ice, and take the repast vpon the flesh of wilde beasts. Seeme they wretched vnto thee? Nothing is miserable that Nature hath brought into a custome, for by little and little those things become pleasant vnto them, which began vpon necessitie. They haue no houses, they haue no biding place, but that which wearinesse hath allotted them for a season. Their meate is homely and gotten by their owne hands: the aire is extreamely cold, and their bodies are naked; this which seemeth calamitie vnto thee, is the life of so many Nations. Why wondrest thou that good men are shaken, to the end they may be confirmed? There is no solide or strong tree, that hath not beene often shaken by the winde, for by the often shaking thereof it is strengthened, and fasteneth his roote more assuredly. They that grow in the low valleyes are the weakest. It is therefore profitable for good men, to make them more assured to be alwayes conuersant amongst dangers, and to endure those accidents with a constant minde, which are not euils, except to him that beareth them euilly.

Exercise maketh dangers slight,

The last proofe enriched with an excellent similitude.

CHAP. V.

For the fourth principall consideration, hee sheweth that the vertuous are afflicted, for the good and instruction of all men.

LEt vs adde now, how for the good of all men, euery one of the better sort (if I may so speake it) beare armes and performe actions. This is the purpose of God to make it knowne vnto a wise man, that those things which the common people long after, and which they are afraid of, are neither good nor euill. And they shall appeare to be good: if he bestow them on none but good men, and to be euill, if he hath reserued them only for euill men. Blindnesse were detestable, if no man should lose his eyes except they were pulled out. Let therefore * *Appius* and *Metellus* want their sight, and be miserable herein. Riches are not the true good, and therefore let *Ethus* the baud enioy them in such sort, as they who haue giuen him money in the Temples, may see it in the Brothel-house. God can by no better meanes traduce those things, which we so much couet, then in bestowing them on men most infamous, and detayning them from men most vertuous. But it is an iniust thing, that a good man should be weakened, hanged vp, or imprisoned, and that euill men should walke, with whole, healthfull, and effeminate bodies. What then? Is it not an vnreasonable matter, that valiant men should take armes, should watch in the trenches, and hauing their wounds but newly bound vp, should maintaine the breach, whilest lasciuious men, and such as professe wanton lust, sleepe securely in the Citie? What then? Is it not a most shamefull matter, that the most noblest Virgins should be awakened at mid-night to celebrate the sacred ceremonies, and that harlets should enioy their quiet sleepes? Labour summoneth the best. The Senate oft-times is all day long in counsell, when at that time the baselt companions whatsoeuer, either take their pastimes in the fields, or lie hidden in an Ale-house, or lose their time in chatting amongst their companions. The like is done in this great Common-weale of the world, good men must labour, they employ their time, and are employed by others, and are not enforcedly drawne by Fortune, but they follow her, and walke by her, step by step, and had they knowne it, they had cut-stript her. And I remember likewise, that I haue heard this manly speech of *Demetrius* that worthy fellow: *In this one thing, O immortall gods, I can complaine of you, that you haue not made knowne vnto me what your will was. For of my selfe I had first of all come vnto these things, to which being now called, I present my selfe.* Will you take my children from me? I haue brought them vp to that end. Will you haue a part of my bodie? Take it to you. I promise no great matter, I will suddenly leaue all. Will you haue my spirit? Why not? I will not deferre to restore that vnto you, which you haue bestowed vpon me. I will willingly satisfie whatsoeuer you request. * What is it then? I had rather present it you then deliuer it vnto you. What need had you to take away the same, you might haue commanded it, neither now shall you take it away, because nothing is taken away, but that which is taken from him that detaineth the same. I am not compelled, I suffer nothing vnwillingly; neither doe I serue God but assent vnto him, and so much the rather, because I know that all things happen by an eternall and vnchangeable ordinance of God. Destinie leadeth vs, and the first honor of euery mans birth hath gouerned all the rest of his life. One cause dependeth vpon another, and the long order of things draweth with it all that which is done in publike or in priuate. Therefore is each thing to be endured constantly, because all things fall not out as we

** The one of these by ignorance was called blind, and the other lost his eyes by fire.*

** A translation of the Stoicall opinion, that God and destinie are one, and that we are to submit our selues vnto God, as vnto destinie. De Natura Deo. 2. lib. 30. chapter, and otherwhere written after this.*

we * imagine, but come. Long ſince it was decreed, whereat thou ſhouldeſt ioy or ſorrow, and although euery mans life ſeemeth to be diſtinguiſhed in different and great varietie, yet notwithſtanding all commeth to one point, we haue receiued thoſe things which will decay, and we our ſelues muſt die. Why are we ſo diſpleaſed? Whence groweth our complaint? We are ordained hereunto. Let Nature vſe our bodies how ſhee liſt. Let vs merrily and conſtantly thinke thus, that we loſe nothing of our owne. * What is that which is proper and beſeeming in a good man? to commit himſelfe to the hands of Deſtinie. It is a great ſolace to be carried away with the whole world. Whatſoeuer it be that hath commanded vs to liue thus, and to die thus, by the ſame neceſſitie tieth the gods. An irreuocable courſe carrieth away together both humane and diuine things. The ſame Creator and Gouernour of all things hath written the Fates, and he himſelfe followeth that which he hath written, he hath once commanded, and alwayes obeyeth. Why therefore was God ſo vniuſt in diſtributing Fate, that to good men he aſcribed pouertie, wounds, and cruell death? The work-maſter cannot change his matter, it is ſubiect to ſuffer this. Some things there are that cannot be ſeparated from other things, they cleaue one vnto another, and are indiuiſible. The ſpirits that are weake, or like to grow dull, or to fall into a watchfulneſſe like vnto ſleepe, are framed of ſlow elements. To frame a man that ſhould make himſelfe ſpoken of, there needeth a ſtronger Fate. His iourney muſt be no ordinarie way. He muſt trauell high and low, he muſt haue ſtormes, and muſt gouerne his ſhip in a ſwolne ſea; he muſt ſhape his courſe againſt Fortune. Hee ſhall haue many hard and dangerous accidents to confront him, but ſuch as he himſelfe may ſmooth and make plaine. Fire trieth gold, and aduerſitie valiant men. Behold how high vertue ſhould aſcend, and thou ſhalt know that ſhe muſt not goe in ſecuritie.

* That is, things happen not by chance, but are made and done by an immutable decree.

* To anſwere this obiect on, he relieth on the Paradox of the Stoickes, who tie the firſt cauſe which is God, to ſi contrarie cauſes, whereas Chriſtian Philoſophy teacheth vs the contrarie, and himſelfe heretofore hath ſufficiently anſwered hereunto.

The firſt which with vnwearied ſteeds I clime,
Is ſuch a iourney, that their ceaſeleſſe toyle
Can ſcarcely reach before the morrowes prime,
The next is higheſt heau'n, from whence the ſoyle
And ſpacious ſeas, I ſee with dreadfull eye
And fearefull heart, the next whereto I hie,
Is ſteepe, and prone, and craues a cunning guide,
And then doth THETIS *ſhake her ſelfe for dread,*
Leſt headlong I ſhould fall and downward glide,
And burie in her waues my golden head.

2. [illegible]orph.

When the generous yong man had heard theſe things, I like, ſaith he, the way, and will attempt it. Is it ſuch a matter to ſhape ſo faire a courſe, and to fall afterwards? The father notwithſtanding deſiſted not to terrifie his too forward minde thus:

And that thou mayſt continue in the way,
Be carefulleſt thy poſting Steeds doe ſtray,
Yet ſhalt thou paſſe by Taurus who will bend
His hornes to croſſe thee, whither thou doſt tend,
Th' Æmonian Archer, and the Lion fell
Shall ſtay thy courſe, and fright thee where they dwell.

After this he saith, *Couple thy granted teame.* I am animated by these things, wherewith thou thinkest to affright me. I am resolued to stand there, where the Sunne it selfe shall tremble. It is the part of a base and recreant minde to trauell in securitie: Vertue alwayes climeth hard and difficult pathes.

CHAP. VI.

The first and principall point, wherein he sheweth that there is no euill but in vice? Whence it followeth that the virtuous endure no euill, and that this name ought not be giuen to afflictions.

BVt why doth God permit that good men should suffer wrong? Vndoubtedly he permitteth it not. He remoueth all euils from them, hainous sinnes and offences, cursed cogitations, greedie counsels, blinde lusts, and auarice that coueteth another mans fortunes, he defendeth and restraineth them. Doth any man require this at Gods hands, that he should take paine also to keepe good mens budgets. They acquit God of this care, they contemne externall things. *Democrates* cast away riches, supposing them to be the burthen of a good minde. Why wondrest thou therefore, if God suffer that to happen to a wise-man, that a good man sometimes would wish, that hee might sometimes light vpon. Good men lose their children. Why not? When as the time will come that they themselues must die. They are banished: Why not? When as sometime they forsake their Countrie, with this resolution neuer to see it againe. They are slaine: Why not? when as sometimes they themselues will lay hands on themselues. Why suffer they some aduersities? to the end they may teach others to suffer the like. They are borne to be a patterne. Thinke therefore that God saith: What cause haue you, who haue taken pleasure in vertue, to complaine of me. I haue enuironed some with deceiueable goods, and haue mocked their vaine mindes with a long and deceitfull dreame. I haue decked them with gold, siluer and Iuorie, but inwardly there is nothing good in them. These whom you admire for their happinesse, if you looke into them, not according to their exteriour greatnesse, but their interiour weakenesse, they are miserable, base, filthie, and like their walles, onely painted on the outside. This is no solide and sincere felicitie, it is but a crust, and that a thinne one. Therefore as long as they may stand vpright, and not shew themselues but where they list: they shine and abuse the common eye. But if any thing happeneth, that troubleth and discouereth them, then shalt thou see a sea of villanie and filth hidden vnder their borrowed brightnesse. I haue giuen you true and permanent goods. The more you examine and looke into them euerie wayes, the better and the more greater will they appeare to be. I haue permitted you to contemne those things which are to be feared, to loath those things that are to bee desired, you shall not shine outwardly, * your goods are turned inward. So the world contemneth his exteriour parts, and contenteth himselfe with the contemplation of himselfe. I haue placed all good inwardly. It is your felicitie, not to want felicitie. But diuers pitifull, dreadfull, and intollerable things fall out. Because I could not deliuer you from these euils, I haue armed your minds against all things. Suffer manfully, this is the way whereby you may walke before God, he is without the patience of euill, you aboue the patience. Contemne pouertie, no man liueth so poore as he was borne. Contemne paine, it will either be ended, or end vs. Contemne Fortune, I haue giuen her no weapon to wound the minde. Contemne death,

* *Actiue, he returneth to his Paradox, tying God vnto secondarie causes.*

which

which eyther endeth you or transferreth you. * Aboue all things I haue giuen you, warning that no man should keepe you liuing against your will. If you will not fight you may flie; therefore of all things which I would haue necessary for you, I made nothing more easie then death. I haue planted the soule in a base place, whence a man may deliuer it: consider now and you shall see how short the way is vnto libertie, and how readie it is. I haue not prefixed you so long a way in your departure as I haue giuen you at your entrance, otherwise fortune had held a great dominion ouer you, if a man should die as slowly as he is born. Let euery time and place teach you how easie a thing it is to renounce nature, and to returne her that fauour she hath bestowed vpon you: learne you death amidst the Altars, and the solemne rites of those that sacrifice whilst life is wished for. The bodies of the fattest Bulls are slaine with a small wound, and the stroake of a mans hand murthereth the beasts of the greatest strength. The ioynt that ioyneth the necke to the head is diuided with a thin Knife, and when the nerues that tie them both together are cut, that great masse of the bodie falleth downe. * The spirit is not hidden ouer-deepe, neyther need we to draw it out with hookes: we neede not inflict deepe wounds in our entrailes, death is at hand. I haue destinated no certaine place for these stroakes: life may find issue by any place whatsoeuer. Euen that which is called death, whereby the soule departeth from the bodie, is shorter then that so great swiftnesse thereof may be sensible. Whether a man strangleth himselfe, or stop his breath by drowning himselfe, whether by falling on the ground, a mans head being forward, we beat out our braines, whether by swallowing downe quick coales of fire, you intercept the course of the departing soule, what soeuer it be it hasteneth. What doe you blush, why feare you that so long which is done so soone?

Another Paradox, placing death in the power and will of a man, whereas man ought to attend the same from the ordinance of God: Esteeme this as an Ethnique error, gather the flowers, let the weeds passe.

Death is easie indeed, but aduisedly adde hereunto, if it happen in such sort, and at such time as pleaseth God.

The end of the Booke of Prouidence.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THE Bookes of Anger seeme to be written amongst the first Bookes of Philosophy vndoubtedly amongst those which we haue: we gather the same out of SENECAES *owne words in his third Booke and eighteenth chapter. At this time* CAIVS CAESAR *caused* SEXTVS PAPINIVS *whose father was Consul, and* BELENIVS BASSVS *who was Threasurer, to be whipped. He saith at this time, euen now but newly done, nay more, whilst* CALIGVLA *himselfe was liuing, out of the Chapter following. That which thou so much admirest was vsuall and ordinary with this beast, he liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; vndoubtedly all these thing were spoken by a man that is, not that was. He wrote at that time therefore, but he published it not, the more his wisedome, although as I suppose he did it shortly after his death.*

The Argument is as the title testifieth; How to know Anger, and afterwards to eschue it. The first Booke therefore hath the description thereof, and the loathsome habite and face of such as are angrie: then certaine definitions: then questions whether man onely be subiect thereunto? He maintaineth it: Whether it be according to nature? He denieth it with the Stoicks. Whether it be profitable, especially if it be tempered? This likewise denieth he, and diuersly disputeth against the Peripatetiques: that neyther the minde nor the strength is whetted thereby. That we ought not to be angry, no not with those that are euill; neyther at the death of our father, nor at the rauishing of our mother, yet that they are to be defended and reuenged. To conclude, that this is a signe, not of a great but of a weake minde. The Bookes art in part very excellent and eminent in the whole, scarce distinct but confused in repetitions and digestions.

CHAP. I.

THOV hast exacted of me, * *Nouatus*, to write vnto thee how wrath might bee pacified, neyther without cause seemest thou vnto me to haue feared this affection especially, which is the most cruell and enraged of all others: for in the rest there is somewhat that is pliant and pleasing, but this is alwayes violent and full of immoderate sorrow, of armes, of bloud, of punishments, incensed with more then humane desire, neglecting her selfe so she may hurt another, rushing in vpon the sharpest weapons, and greedy of reuenge, and complotting murthers. Some therefore of the wiser sort haue said that * Anger

* Nouatus was [illegible] Gallio [illegible].

* He describeth those in the plurall onely in regard of Themistias.

is

is a ſhort madneſſe, for ſhe is as little Miſtreſſe of her ſelfe as the other: ſhe forgetteth all reſpect, neglecteth friendſhips, intent and obſtinate in that ſhe hath vndertaken, and neglectfull of reaſon, and incapable of counſaile: ſhe is tranſported by vaine pretexts, ſtupid in the preſence of equitie and veritie, properly reſembling the ruines of houſes, which breake themſelues vpon that ruine which they themſelues haue beaten downe. And to the end thou mayeſt know that they who are ſurpriſed with Anger are truely mad, conſider a little their couſtenance, and the manner of their behauiour. For euen as theſe are certaine ſignes of confirmed madneſſe, to haue a bolde and threatning countenance, a heauie brow, and dreadfull face, a ſwift and diſordered gate, vnquiet handes, changed colour, and frequent and deepe ſighes: ſo thoſe that are angry haue the ſame ſignes. Their eyes ſparkle and ſhine, their face is on fire thorow a refluxe of bloud that boileth vp from the bottom of their breaſts, their lips quiuer, their teeth grate, their haire ſtartleth and ſtandeth vpright, their breath is inforced and wheeſeth, they wreſt and cracke their fingers, their ſpeech is interrupted with plaints and grones and muttering, which a man may hardly vnderſtand. They often clap their hands, and ſtampe the ground with their feet; their whole bodie ſtartleth, and is ſhaken, their actions are full of furious menaces. In briefe, they haue a dreadfull and horrible countenance, reſembling ſuch men that diſfigure and puffe themſelues vp after a ſtrange faſhion. Thou canſt not ſay whether it be a more deteſtable or deformed vice: the reſt we may hide and nouriſh in ſecret; Anger diſcouereth it ſelfe and appeareth in the countenance, & the greater it is, the more manifeſtly diſcouereth ſhe her impatience. Seeſt thou not in brute beaſts whatſoeuer, that as ſoone as they are addreſſed to hurt, there are certaine ſignes as forerunners of their intention; how all their bodies giue ouer their peaceable and accuſtomed habite, and how they exaſperate their naturall fiercenes? The Boares ſome and gnaſh their teeth: the hornes of Bulls are toſſed in the ayre, and by the trampling of their feete the ſand is ſcattered: the Lions roare, the incenſed Serpents haue ſwelling neckes, mad Dogs haue a dreafull look. There is no liuing creature ſo cruell and pernicious whatſoeuer, that diſcouereth not ſome new furie, as ſoone as diſpleaſure hath ſeized him; neyther am I ignorant that other affections alſo are ſcarcely hidden, and that luſt, feare, and boldneſſe make ſhow of themſelues, and may be foreknowne. For there is none ſo vehement and inward thought, that bewrayeth not it ſelfe in the countenance. What difference then is there, that other affections doe appeare, and this is eminent?

CHAP. II.

That Choler and Anger is hurtful to vs, he approueth by example, and by the effects and diſcommodities thereof, ſetting Syllaes cruelties, and the Triumuirates tyrannie for an example of hatred thereof to all men.

BVt now if thou wilt conſider the effects and damages thereof there is no plague that hath ruined and coſt the world more then this. Thou ſhalt ſee murthers, impriſonments, ſhamefull and mutuall reproches of guiltie men, ſacking of Citties, ruines of whole nations, heads of Princes and great Lords taxed and ſolde to him that offereth moſt, houſes burned, and fire not reſtrained within the walls of a Cittie, but whole ſpaces of Regions ſhining with hoſtile flame. Behold the foundations of the nobleſt Citties, now ſcarcely knowne, theſe hath wrath ouerturned. Behold the deſert and vnhabited, extended to many thouſand paces, theſe hath wrath diſpoyled. Beholde ſo many great Chieftaines, whoſe

whose memorie remaineth as yet seruing for examples of humane miserie. One of these hath wrath murthered in his bed, another hath wrath slaine at the table, without any respect of the sacred rites of the same, another hath she stabbed in the midst of the lanes, and in the market-place in the sight of all men: shee hath commanded another to offer his throate to the murtherous handes of his sonne; another to haue his Kingly throate cut by the sword of his slaue, another to haue his members distended vpon the gibbet. And as yet haue I but reckoned vp some particular mens punishments. But if thou please (pretermitting those whom Anger hath thus massacred man by man) to beholde whole Armies put to the sword, the people of a Cittie murthered by souldiers, expresly sent to that purpose, and whole Nations exterminated without sparing great or small, as if the gods cared not for vs, or they contemned their authoritie. But as touching the Fencers, why is it that the people are so iniustly incensed against them, that they repute it to be an iniurie done vnto them, if the sword-players kill not one another speedily, shewing by their countenances, gestures, and heate, that they suppose themselues to be neglected, making themselues by this meanes of spectators mercilesse enemies. Whatsoeuer it be this is not wrath, but a passion resembling wrath, such as is that of children, who if they haue falne will haue the earth beaten, and oft-times they know not with whom they are angrie, yet are they onely angrie without cause and without iniurie, and yet not without some appearance of iniurie, nor without some desire of reuenge. They are deluded therefore with counterfeit beatings of the earth, and are pacified by the feined teares of those that would still them, and by a counterfeit forme of reuenge their feined sorrow is extinguished.

CHAP. III.

WE are oftentimes displeased (saith he) not with those that haue hurt vs, but with those who hereafter are like to hurt vs, to the end thou mayest know that Anger proceedeth not onely from an iniurie alreadie done. True it is, that we are angrie with those that should hurt vs, but those that harm vs in their very thought, and he that is to doe vs an iniurie, hath alreadie done it. To the end thou mayst know (saith he) that wrath is not a desire of reuenge, oft-times the weakest are displeased with the strongest. Neyther wish they for reuenge, which they hope not to see. We haue formerly said that wrath was a desire, and not a power to reuenge; but men desire such things as they cannot effect. Furthermore, no man is so humble and base, who cannot hope to see justice done vpon his greatest aduersarie: we haue power enough to hurt: *Aristotles* definition differeth not very much from ours; for he saith, That wrath is a desire to displease those that haue displeased vs. It were a long matter to discourse what difference there is betwixt this definition and ours: against both it is said that beasts are incensed, yet are they not prouoked by any iniurie, neyther desire they the punishment or paine of any other beast: for although they reuenge themselues, yet is it not with a desire of vengeance. But we must answer, that wilde beasts, and all other creatures, except man onely, do want Anger. For whereas it is opposite to reason, yet doth it neuer grow in any one, but such in whom reason hath place. Brute beasts haue their assaults, their rage, their fiercenesse and incursion, yet haue they Anger no more then lecherie, and in some pleasures they are more

1. de Anima. cap. 1.

more intemperate then man is. Thou muſt not giue credit to him that ſaith:

The Boare remembers not his wrathfull ire,
The Hind doth ſcarcely truſt her ſwift retire.
Nor Beares to pray vpon the mightie heardes.

By this word anger, he intendeth emotion, or incitation. They know no more to be angrie, then how to pardon. Dumbe beaſts want humane affections, but they haue certaine impulſions which reſemble the ſame. Otherwiſe if loue were in them, hatred ſhould be in them alſo: if friendſhip, enmitie: if diſcention, concord: whereof ſome markes doe appeare in them. But good and euill are onely proper to the hearts of men. Wiſdome, diligence, and cogitation, are only granted to a man, and bruite beaſtes are not only not partakers of humane vertues but are alſo exempted from their vices. All them, forme both exterium and interium is vnlike vnto mans. Their vnderſtanding is groſſe and imperfect, their voice ſtrange, confuſed, and without any ſignification, their tongue is tied, and hath no diuerſities of ſounds, neyther can it diſtinctly ſpeake and pronounce. The beaſt then receiueth the obiect of that which ſhee ſeeth, and the kindes of all thinges that incite her vnto furie, but ſhe receiueth them troubled and confuſed. Thence commeth their ſpringings and vehement aſſaults, which may not be called either feares, or cares, or ſadnes, or diſpleaſures, but ſome things like vnto theſe. Therefore is it that they are quickly appeaſed and are changed into a contrarie eſtate, and after they haue moſt inragedly executed there crueltie, they returne vnto their paſture and fodder, and after a neighing and furious courſe, they ſeeke out to their reſt and ſleep.

CHAP. IIII.

WE haue ſufficiently declared what anger is, and wherein it differeth from an inclination to be carried in ſuch ſort, as a drunkard differeth from drunkenneſſe, and a man that is afraid from a coward. A man may be angry; although he be not ordinarily inclined and ſubiect to bee angrie, hee that is ſubiect to diſpleaſure, cannot chooſe but ſometimes hee muſt bee ſubiect to choller. As touching the other kinds of choller, which the Græcians expreſſe by diuers other names, I let them paſſe becauſe we haue no proper words to expreſſe them, although that wee ſay that that which is ſowre is bitter, that he that is exceſſiuely bent to indignation is mad, that hee that is clamorous is hard to be reconciled and fierce, all which are differences of wrath, amongſt theſe may we put froward, which is a delicate kind of choler. For there are ſome diſpleaſures which are appeaſed with crying, ſome that are ordinarie and no leſſe obſtinate, ſome ſparing in wordes and violent in execution, ſome that diſcouer their bitterneſſe in the multitude of wordes and curſes, ſome paſſe not further, then plaints and reproaches, ſome others are profound and weightie, and are fixed deeply in the thought. There are a thouſand ſorts of euils in this euill, which are ſo diuerſe, and ſpread into ſo many branches.

Differences of Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Whether Anger be a thing naturall, profitable, and to be receiued.

WE haue examined what wrath is, and whether it might ſeaze any other Creature then a man, wherein it differed from diſpleaſure and of the kinds of the ſame. Let vs now enquire whether wrath be according to nature, whether it be profitable, and whether in any ſort wee ought to reſtraine the ſame. It will manifeſtly appeare whether it bee according to nature if wee conſider a man, for there is nothing ſo peaceable, and gouerned as he is, as long as his minde is gouerned and pacified: but what is more cruell then anger? what Creature, is more louing toward his like then man is? what is more hateful then wrath? A*man is borne to helpe other, wrath for the generall ruine of all. A man deſireth nothing more then companie, wrath ſearcheth ſolitude, the one will aſſiſt, the other wil hurt, this deſireth to ſhew himſelfe kind, though it be but to ſtrangers, the other to endanger her familiars. A man is readie to hazard his owne life to ſecure anothers. Wrath is readie to hazard danger, prouided, ſhee may hazard ſome other with her ſelfe. Who therefore is more ignorant, of the nature of thinges, then hee that to her beſt and commendableſt works aſſigneth this ſo ſauage and pernicious a vice? Wrath as we ſaid is greedie of vengeance, and that deſire of reuenge ſhould be in the moſt peaceable heart of a man, is a thing which is not conſonant to his nature. For humane life conſiſteth vpon benefits and concord, it is not then by threates but by mutuall amitie that men are allied and tied to aſſiſt one an other. What then? Is not Chaſtiſement ſometimes neceſſarie? Why not? but this muſt be ſincere and with reaſon. For it hurteth not but healeth vnder a reſemblance of hurting. Euen as to ſtraighten the ſteales of our Iauelings, which are waxen crooked, wee burne them and plie them in a vice of Iron or Wood, not to the intent to breake them, but make them more euen and ſtraight: ſo correct wee our wits being depraued with vice, with the paine both of bodie and minde. And in like ſort, as the Phyſition, hauing ſome light infirmities in cure aſſaieth: Firſt, to change ſome little of the ordinarie cuſtome of the ſicke to preſcribe his dyet, his drinke, his exerciſes, and to confirme his health by the only changes of the order of his life. Secondly, hee indeuoureth to bring this to paſſe that this meanes may profit, and if it happen other wayes he diminiſheth and cutteth of ſome thinges; and if this be not enough hee forbiddeth the ſick-man all meates, and rectifieth his bodie by enioyning him abſtinence: and if theſe gentle remedies haue effected nothing, he openeth a vaine and if any members be harmeful one vnto an other that cleaue vnto the ſame, and ſpread their euill thorow the bodie he deuideth them, and there is no cure that the ſick-man ſuppoſeth grieuous, if the effect of the ſame bring him health: In like ſort it behoueth the Magiſtrate, who is the conſeruer and maintainer of the Lawe to heale mens mindes, by gentle wordes and perſwaſions as much as in him lieth, perſwading his ſubjects to doe that which is commanded them, and imprinting in their thoughts the loue of juſtice and honeſtie; in briefe propoſing for the reward of vertue he hatred of vice: afterwardes he ought to vſe ſharper words contenting himſelfe as yet to aduertiſe and threaten. Finally, he muſt haue recourſe to puniſhments, and yet ſuch as are light and revocable. The vttermoſt puniſhments ſhall be inflicted for the greateſt faults: to the end that no man may periſh except it be he that is put to death, and for whom it is expedient to die.

** It is not naturall.*

An excellent Similitude.

The cure of the Magiſtrate, properly applied to that of the Phiſition.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The difference betwixt a Magistrate and a Physitian.

THere is this difference betwixt the Maiestrate and the Physitian, that the one suffer those to die whose life they could not saue; the other contrariwise condemneth the malefactor disgracefully, and forcibly driueth him out of the world, not because hee taketh pleasure to put any man to death. (for farre off is a wiseman from such barbarous crueltie) but to the ende that those who are condemned to death, should serue for an example to all men, and that the Commonwealth might make vse of their death, who during their life, would bee profitable to no man. The nature of man therefore is not punishment, and therefore is not wrath according to the nature of a man, because it is desirous of reuenge. I will propose in this place an Argument of *Platoes*, For who forbiddeth vs to make vse of other mens reasons? In as much as they make for vs. A good man (saith he) doth not hurt, it is the punishment that hurteth, punishment therefore doth not become a good man. And consequently, neither choller, because punishment is agreeable to the same: If a good man take no pleasure in punishing, neither shall he take pleasure in that affect, to which punishment is a pleasure. Therefore wrath is not naturall.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth now that anger is not profitable.

IS not wrath therefore to be admitted, although it be vnnaturall, because that oft-times it hath beene profitable. It raiseth and inciteth mens minds, neither doth fortitude performe any worthy action in warre, except by this meanes mens hearts bee inflamed, and this instigation hath whetted and animated bond-men to attempt dangers. Some therefore thinke it requisite to temper wrath, and not to extinguish it, and that being taken away which is exuberant, to reduce it into a laudable forme; and to retaine that without which the action would languish, and the force and vigour of the spirit be resolued. First, it is more easie to exclude such things as are pernicious, then to gouerne the same, and not to admit them rather then to moderate them when they are admitted. For when they haue put them selues into possession, they are more powerfull then their guide, and suffer not themselues either to bee deminished or cut off. Againe, reason it selfe to whom the ruines are deliuered, is so long powerfull, as long as shee is seperated from passions; But if shee intermixeth her selfe, and bee defiled with them, shee cannot restraine those whom shee might haue remooued. For the minde being once mooued and shaken, is addicted to that whereby it is driuen. The beginning of some things are in our power, but if they bee increased, they carie vs away perforce, and suffer vs not to returne backe: euen as the bodies that fall head-long downeward, haue no power to stay themselues. And can those that are cast downe, retaine or stay themselues in their fall, but an irreuocable precipitation hath cut off all counsaile, and all meanes of remedie, neither is it possible to keepe themselues from attaining thither, whether had they their choice they would not arriue. So the minde if it hath plunged it selfe in wrath, loue, and such like affections, is not suffered

A fit similitude to confirme his second proose.

to reſtraine the full, it muſt needes bee, that the waight and nature of vices, inclined vnto their full; carie it away and precipitate it to the bottome.

CHAP. VIII.

The remedie of the precedent diſſi ultie. A reaſon that ought to be carefully obſerued and marked.

BVT is beſt therefore forthwith to deſpiſe the firſt aſſault, and reſiſt the beginnings. And to endeauour that wee fall not into wrath, for if ſhee beginneth to tranſport vs, it is a hard matter to recouer the right way. Becauſe reaſon hath no place, as ſoone as paſſion hath gotten the vpper hand, and Will hath giuen him any interreſt, then will ſhee afterwards doe, not what thou permitteſt, but what ſhee pleaſeth. Firſt of all ſay I, the enemie is to be driuen from our borders, for when hee is entred and hath gotten the gates, hee taketh no condition with his Captiues. For at that time the minde is not retired, neither exteriourly examineth ſhee affections, to the intent ſhee ſuffereth them not to haue further progreſſe then they ſhould, but is changed her ſelfe into paſſion, and therefore can ſhee not reuoke that profitable and wholeſome force, which is alreadie betraied and weakned. For as I ſaid, theſe haue not their diſtinct and ſeuerall ſeates, I meane paſſion (which is a change in the Soule from good to euill) and reaſon (which is a change from euill to goodneſſe.) How therefore ſhall reaſon which hath giuen place vnto anger, and is ſeazed and oppreſſed with vices, riſe againe? Or how ſhall ſhee deliuer her ſelfe from confuſion, wherein the mixture of the worſt hath preuailed? But ſome (ſaith he) containe themſelues in anger, Is it in ſuch ſort that they accompliſh nothing which choler commandeth, or doe they obey the ſame ſomewayes? If they doe nothing, it appeareth that wrath is not neceſſarie in humaine actions whom you preferred, as if ſhee had ſomewhat more greater efficacie then reaſon. In concluſion, I aske this queſtion, whether ſhee be ſtronger or weaker then reaſon? If ſtronger, how may reaſon giue her a Law and reſtraine her, conſidering that they are but feeble things which obey her. If weake, reaſon of her ſelfe is ſufficient without her to effect things, neither deſireth ſhee the helpe of ſo powerleſſe a paſſion. But ſome that are angrie are their owne men, and containe themſelues. How? Then when anger is alreadie pacified, and remitteth of her owne accord. Not when ſhee is in height of her feruour, for then is ſhee ſtronger. What then? Doe not ſome men in the height of their diſpleaſure, ſuffer thoſe to depart ſafe and ſecure, whom they hate and abſtaine from hurting them? But how? After that a ſecond paſſion hath repulſed the former, or feare or pleaſure hath commaunded this or that, wrath ſtaieth it ſelfe, not for the reuerence ſhe oweth vnto reaſon, but by reaſon of a feeble and euil accord which the paſſions haue amongſt themſelues.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the obiection and anſwer.

TO conclude it hath nothing profitable in it ſelfe, neither doth it whet the courage in warlike exploits. For Vertue which is contented with her ſelfe, muſt neuer bee aſſiſted by vice. As oftentimes as ſhee is to attempt any thing, ſhee is not angrie but raiſeth her ſelfe ſo farre forth as ſhe thinketh it neceſſarie, ſhe is both intended and remitted no otherwiſe then thoſe arrowes which are ſhot out of Engines,

Engines, are in the power of him that ſhooteth, how farre they ſhall be ſhot: Anger ſaith *Ariſtotle* is neceſſarie, neither can any thing be atchieued without her, except ſhe encourage the minde, and enkindle the ſpirit. But wee are to vſe her not as a Captaine but as a Souldier: which is falſe. For if ſhee giue eare to reaſon, and follow the way ſhee is directed, then is it not anger whoſe propertie is contumacie: but if ſhe reſiſt and is not quieted when ſhe is commanded, but paſſeth further with pride and furie, ſhee is as improfitable a Miniſter of the minde, as a Souldier that retireth not to his colours when the retreat is ſounded. If therefore ſhe ſuffer her ſelfe to be kept in meaſure, ſhe muſt bee called by another name, ſhe ceaſeth to be wrath, which I vnderſtand to be vnbrideled and vntamed. If ſhe ſuffer it not ſhe is pernicious, neither is ſhe to bee reckoned amongſt the number of helpes: So that either ſhe is not Anger or elſe ſhe is vnprofitable: For if any man exacteth puniſhment, not being greedie of the puniſhment it ſelfe but becauſe hee muſt, hee is not to bee numbred amongſt thoſe that are Angrie. That man ſhall be reputed a profitable Souldier, who knoweth how to obey Counſaile, as for affections, they are as euill Miniſters as they are Captaines. Reaſon therefore will neuer take to her aſſiſtants, improvident and violent paſſions ouer whom ſhe hath no authoritie, and whom ſhee neuer may reſtrain except ſhe oppreſſe their equals, and likes vnto them as feare to Anger, Anger to cowardiſe, deſire to feare.

Learne here the vſe of anger.

CHAP. X.

FArre be it from vertue to be reduced to this extremitie, that reaſon ſhould be conſtrained to haue his recourſe to vices. Here cannot the minde remaine in any certaine quiet; hee muſt needes bee in perpetuall agitation and trouble, who is ſecure in his euils, who cannot be ſtrong except he be wrathful, nor modeſtuous except he deſire, nor quiet except he feare, he muſt liue in a Tyranny that becommeth a ſlaue to any paſſion. Are you not aſhamed to thruſt Vertues vnder the protection of vices? Moreouer, reaſon looſeth her power if ſhe can doe nothing without paſſion, but beginneth to be equall, and like vnto her. For what importeth it, whether paſſion be an inconſiderate a thing without reaſon, or that reaſon be feeble: and of no force without paſſion? All comes to one, the one cannot be without the other. But who will endure that paſſion, ſhould bee equalled with reaſon? Choler (ſaith he) is a profitable paſſion, if it bee ſmall and little. I if ſhe be profitable by nature: but if ſhee bee incapable both of gouernment and reaſon, ſhe ſhall attaine this only thing, by her moderation: that the leſſer ſhe is, the leſſe hurtfull ſhee ſhall be. Therefore a light paſſion is nothing elſe but a ſmall euill.

An anſwer to Ariſtotles opinion, who in his Ethikes ſaith that choler is neceſſarie.

CHAP. XI.

BVT againſt our enemies (ſaith hee) Wrath is neceſſarie. Neuer leſſe. Wherein our paſſions ſhould not bee intemperate but obedient and moderate. For what other thing was it, that cruſhed and confounded the Barbarians ſo ſtrong in their bodies, ſo patient in their labours, but Wrath which is moſt pernicious to her ſelfe.

The continuation of the confutation of Ariſtotles opinion.

selfe? Art likewise defenceth the sword-players, Wrath layes them open to danger. Furthermore what need wee wrath, where reason may doe the same. Thinkest thou that Hunter is angrie with wild beasts, either when hee chaseth them as they flie, or assaileth them when they draw neere him? Reason doth all these thinges without Wrath. What hath so confounded so many thousand Cimbrians and Teutons, that were spread vpon the Alpes, that the notice of so great an ouerthrow was not related, to their friends by a messenger but by Fortune, but that Wrath in them had the place of Vertue? Which as some times shee hath defeated and ouerthrowne, those that met her, so oftentimes is shee the cause of her owne confusion. May a man finde out a Nation more courageous, more forward and readie to incursions and charges, more desirous of warre, then the Almaines, who are borne and brought vp to Armes: who are onely diligent herein, and negligent in the rest? Is there a people more hardned vnto labour, and that indureth trauaile better? For the most part they care not, to make prouision of garments for their bodies to keepe them warme: neither striue they to retire themselues from the perpetual furie of the frost, which is in that Countrie; yet are they defeated and put to flight vpon the first charge, and before the Legions were seene by Spaniards, French, Asians, and Syrians, who are but cold Souldiers in the Warre: being subject by no other meanes to this disaster, but by reason of their wrath. So then, to these bodies, to these mindes that are ignorant of delights, excesse, and riches, giue reason and discipline to guide them. But without farther debating in this kinde, I must call to remembrance in this place the Auncient custome of the olde Romans. By what other meanes did *Fabius* reserue the decayed forces of the declining Empire, but that he knew how to delay, how to lengthen out matters, and dally with the time, all which angrie men cannot doe. The Common-Weale had beene vtterly ouerthrowne, that then stood in great extremitie, if *Fabius* had dared so much as wrath perswaded him vnto; but hauing for counsaile the consideration of the estate of Rome, and the forces hee had, vnder his gouernment, which had they beene defeated either in the whole or in part, all the rest was vtterly ruinated, hee laid wrath aside, and the desire of vengeance, and hauing his minde fixed vpon the good of the Common-Weale and vpon the present occasion: he first of all surmounted Choler, and after that *Hannibal*. What did *Scipio?* Hauing forsaken *Hannibal*, and the Carthaginian Armie, and all these with whom he should be angrie, did hee not translate the Warre into Africa in so slow a manner that they who enuied his Vertue, reputed him for an idle and dissolute man. What did the other *Scipio?* did he not beleager Numantium for a long time, and patiently digested both this his priuate griefe, and the discontent of the whole State, by reason that Numantium kept out longer then Carthage. Which while hee trencheth about and shutteth vp his Enemie, he drew them to this extremitie; that they murthered one an other.

See Marius life in Plutarch.

See Liuie of the Punick Warres, and Plutarch the liues of Fabius Maximus and Hannibal.

CHAP. XII.

WRath then is neither profitable in skirmishes or in Warre, for it is too prone to temeritie, and whilst shee endeoureth to harme others she hazardeth her selfe. That Vertue is most assured, that hath long time examined and gouerned her selfe, and hath beene guided

guided by good and wiſe counſaile. What then (ſaith he) ſhall not a good man be angrie, if hee ſee his Father ſtroken, his Mother rauiſhed? Hee ſhall not bee angrie, but reuenge and defend them. What feareſt thou that his pietie towards his parents is not an occaſion more pregnant to incite him therunto then wrath is? Wee ſay after the ſame ſort. What therefore? ſhall not a good man when he ſeeth his Father, or his ſonne, cut in peeces, weepe or fall in a ſound? as we ſee it falleth out in women, as often as any ſlight ſuſpition of danger doth awake them. A good man executeth his offices without confuſion or feare, and in ſuch ſort will performe thoſe thinges that are worthie a good man, that hee will doe nothing that is vnworthie a man. Shall my Father be murthered? I will defend him. Is he ſlaine? I will burie him, not becauſe I am ſorrie therefore, but for that I am bound thereunto. VVhen thou ſaiſt thus, *Theophraſtus* thou ſeekeſt to draw more ſtronger precepts into hatred, & forſaking the Iudge haſt recourſe vnto the people; becauſe in ſuch accidents euerie one is accuſtomed to be angrie: thou thinkeſt that men wil judge that that ought to be done which they doe. For the moſt part, euerie one judgeth that affection to be juſt which they allow of. Are good men angrie at their injuries? but they doe the ſame, if warme water bee not fitly mixed, if their glaſſe bee broken, if their ſhooe be ſprinkled with dirt. It is not pietie, but their infirmitie that moueth that wrath. We reſemble thoſe to children who wil weepe no leſſe for the loſſe of their Ants, then for the death of their parents. It is the part of no pious but an infirme and weake minde to be angrie for a mans friends. But this is a worthie matter, and well beſeeming a man to ſhew himſelfe a protector of his parents, his children, his friends, and his Countrie: not by violence, or paſſion; but voluntarily with iudgement, and diſcretion, with prouidence, and moderation. For there is no affection ſo deſirous of reuenge, as wrath is, by reaſon whereof ſhe is wholly vnproper to that effect, being hindered by her violence and furie; euen as euerie paſſion is oppoſite and contrarie to it ſelfe, in all that whereunto ſhe is inclined, and whereto ſhe runneth haſtily. And therefore, neither in peace, or warre, was it euer good. For ſhe maketh peace like vnto warre; and in Armes forgetteth her ſelfe, that warre is common, and commeth into an other mans power, whilſt ſhe is not in her owne. Furthermore, vices therefore are not to be intertained and vſed becauſe at ſometime they haue done ſome good: for feuours alſo doe cure ſome kindes of ſickneſſes, neither therefore is it better not to haue wanted them wholy. It is an abhominable kind of remedie to recouer health by the aſiſtance of a ſickneſſe. In like manner, wrath although ſometimes it hath beyond expectation profited, as venomne precipitation and ſhipwrack haue done, yet it is not therefore to be reputed a thing intirely profitable, for oftimes poyſons haue preſerued the life of diuers perſons.

The concluſion of the refutation which is precedent, and an anſwer to an other obiection.

A pretie refutation of Theophraſtus.

CHAP. XIIII.

MOreouer thoſe thinges which wee ought to eſteeme good, are the better, and more to be deſired, the greater they be. If juſtice bee good, no man will ſay, that it is like to bee better, if any thing ſhould be taken from it; if Fortitude be good, no man wil deſire that it ſhould be diminiſhed in any part, & wrath the greater it is

The increaſe of wrath is vnprofitable, and therefore wrath itſelfe.

the better that is, for who refuſeth the increaſe of any good thing? but the increaſe of wrath is vnprofitable, and conſequently the bearing of the ſame is vnprofitable. It is no good thing that by increaſe becommeth euill. Wrath (ſaith he) is profitable: becauſe it maketh men more hardie to fight. In this manner Drunkenneſſe is profitable, for it maketh men more inſolent and audacious, and many that haue drunken ouer freely, are more readie at their weapons, In this manner ſay, that both Frenzie, and Madneſſe, are neceſſarie for valiant men: becauſe oftentimes Furie maketh men more ſtrong and able. VVhat? hath not feare ſometimes made a Coward valiant, and the feare of death likewiſe enkindled, the weakeſt hearted men to the battle? But Wrath, Drunkenneſſe, Feare, and ſuch like, are but filthie and fraile prouocations, neither confirme Vertue which hath no need of vice, but doe ſometimes a little quicken a ſlow and idle mind. No man is ſtrengthened by his anger, except he haue beene ſtrong before his anger. To them anger aſſiſteth not, but ſupplieth the place of Vertue. In briefe, if this paſſion were recommendable, it would follow euerie one that were moſt perfect; but they that are the moſt tetchie, are infants, old-men, and ſick-men, and euery Creature that is by nature weake and feeble, is ordinarily froward.

CHAP. XIIII.

A new obiection of Theophraſtus, touching the hearts good, men conceiue againſt euill men.

IT cannot be (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) but that a good man ſhould bee diſpleaſed with the wicked. In this ſence the better men ſhould be the moſt cholericke. But contrariwiſe they ſhould be more peaceable, exempt from paſſions, and without hatered of any man. What reaſon might moue them, to hate ſinnes, conſidering that it is errour which driueth them into theſe faultes: But it is not the part of a Wiſe man to haue thoſe that erre, otherwiſe he ſhould hate himſelfe. Let him bethinke himſelfe, how many faults he committeth againſt good manners, how many thinges he hath done which require pardon? Then ſhall he bee angrie with himſelfe. For a juſt Iudge pronounceth not one ſentence in his owne behalfe, another in anothers. A man (ſaith hee) is not to be found, that can abſolue himſelfe, truth it is, that euerie man (ſaith he) is innocent but it is in regard of witneſſes not of his conſcience. How farre more humane were it for a man to ſhew himſelfe gentle, and pacified to thoſe that offend, and rather to reconcile them then to perſecute them. It were better to lead them, into the direct way who for want of knowledge haue ſtraied out of it; as to thruſt them out of the way. A man ought to correct him that offendeth by admonitions, forcible reprehenſions, friendly but effectuall ſpeech: to the end to make him better for himſelfe and for others. In briefe, hee ought to chaſtiſe him without paſſion of Choler. For what Phyſitian is he, that will bee angrie and diſpleaſed with his Patient, whom he would recouer?

An anſwer grounded vpon diuerſe reaſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BVt they cannot bee corrected, neither is there any thing in them that is capable of good hope; Let thoſe bee exterminated out of the companie of men, who are like to infect thoſe who conuerſe with them, and ſince it is the onely meanes, let them ceaſe to be euill, but let this bee done without hatred. For what cauſe haue I to hate him whom I then profit moſt, when I take him ſelfe from him ſelfe. Doth a man then hate his limmes when hee cutteth them off, this is not Wrath but a miſerable cure. We chace away mad Dogges, we kill a reſtie and vntractable Oxe. Wee arde our ſcabbe Sheepe, for feare leaſt they infect the flocke; we ſtrangle monſtruous birthes; wee drowne our owne children likewiſe if they be borne deformed and monſters. It is not an act of wrath but of reaſon, to ſeperate thoſe things that are vnprofitable from thoſe that are helthfull and profitable. There is nothing, which he that chaſtiſeth an other ſhould more refraine then from wrath, becauſe that chaſtiſement profiteth when it is done with iudgement. Thence it is that *Socrates* ſaid vnto his ſlaue, *I had beaten thee, had I not beene angrie.* Hee deferred the admonition of his ſeruant till a more conuenient time, and at that time he admoniſhed himſelfe. Whoſe affection ſhall be temperate, when as *Socrates* dare not truſt him ſelfe to his wrath? There needeth therefore no angrie corrector to chaſtiſe thoſe that are wicked and do amiſſe. For whereas wrath is an offence of the minde, he that is faultie himſelfe, muſt not puniſh offenders.

That a man may chaſtiſe, nay may execute offenders without being tranſported by Choler.

CHAP. XVI.

WHat then ſhall I not be angrie with a thiefe? Shall I not be diſpleaſed with a Witch. No; For neither am I angrie with my ſelfe when I let my ſelfe bloud. For I apply all ſorts of puniſhment in ſtead of remedie. Thou that as yet haſt made but an entrance into errour, neither offendeſt grieuouſly but frequently, ſhalt firſt of all bee ſecretly, then publikely reprooued. If thou engage thy ſelfe further in ſinne, ſo as words may not correct thee, thou ſhalt bee fined for thy folly; but if thy fault requireth ſome more forcible and feeling puniſhment, thou ſhalt bee baniſhed and ſent to vnknowne places. But if thy malice increaſeth, and waxeth obdurate, that thou haue neede to vſe more ſharper remedies then the precedent; thou ſhalt be thruſt into ſhackles and lockt vp in priſon. If thou be come incurable, and thou groweſt to heape ſinne vpon ſinne, if thou not onely layeſt hold on the occaſions to doe euill (which neuer faile thoſe that ſeeke them) but that which is worſt, if to doe euill, thou haſt no other occaſion, but the wicked cuſtome thou haſt taken, thou haſt drunke iniquitie, and art in ſuch ſort tainted and ſo deepely tinctured with wickedneſſe inwardly, that it cannot finde iſſue out, except thou burſt and die preſently. Thou haſt long time ſought for death, poore man that thou art, we will gratifie thee, wee will heale thee of this furie of thy ſpirit wherewith thou art tormented, and hauing made thee paſſe by the puniſhment of other men and thine owne, I will let thee ſee and feele the onely good which remaineth for thee that is to ſay, death. Why ſhould I bee diſpleaſed with him whom I aſſiſt and greatly helpe at that time.

An anſwer to an other obiection.

Of the order that ought to bee obſerued in puniſhing malefactors.

To

An amplification of that example aboue written and an answer to the precedent obiection.

To take a mans life from him, is ſometimes to ſhew him fauour and to doe him a good turne. If I were a well experienced Phyſitian, and ſhould enter into an Hoſpitall or ſome rich mans houſe, I would not ordaine one and the ſame medicine for diuers ſick men. I ſee diuers vices in ſo different minds, & am appointed to haue the gouernment of a Citie, I muſt ſearch out a medicine for euery one of their ſickneſſes. Shame muſt cure this man, trauell that man; the whip one man, neceſſitie the other, and the ſword the laſt. Therefore, although in being a Maieſtrate, I ought to change my Garment, and cauſe the people to be aſſembled vpon the ſound of a Trumpet, yet will I aſcend the Tribunall, not mooued or diſpleaſed, but with the countenance of an vpright Iudge, armed with the authoritie of the Lawes, and will pronounce the ſentence with a voice rather pleaſing and graue, then furious: and peaceably yet ſeuerely will commaund the hangman to execute his office. And when I ſhall commaund any malefactors head to be ſtrooken off; and when I cauſe the parricide to be ſowen into a ſacke, and afterwards to bee caſt into the water; and when I iudge the offending Souldier to paſſe the pikes; and when I command the Traitour and publicke enemie to be caſt downe from the Tarpeian rocke, I will bee ſo farre from wrath, and ſo temperate in my minde, as when I kill Serpents or other venimous beaſtes. But wrath is neceſſarie for him that will puniſh. What thinkeſt thou that the Law is angrie with thoſe ſhee knoweth not? Whom ſhee ſeeth not? Whom ſhee hopeth not to be? We ought therefore to inueſt his affection, which is not diſpleaſed but onely defineth. For if it be conuenient for a good man to be angrie for euill deedes, it ſhall bee as lawfull for him to enuie the proſperitie of euill men. For what is more vnworthie then that ſome men flouriſh, yea and ſuch who abuſe the indulgence of fortune, for whom no fortune may be found out euill enough. But as well ſhall hee ſee their commodities without enuie, as their hainous offences without wrath. A good Iudge condemneth that which is euill, and yet hateth it not: What then? Shall not a wiſe man when he hath ſuch a like thing in his hands bee touched in minde, and more troubled then ordinarie? I confeſſe it, hee ſhall feele ſome light motion. For as *Zeno* ſaith, when the wound in a wiſe mans Soule is healed, yet remaineth there ſome ſcarre. So then he ſhall feele certaine touches of ſuſpition and ſhadowes of paſſion, yet without any paſſion. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that ſome affections, if a man vſe them well, ſerue inſteede of armes; which ſhould bee true, if they might be vſed and laide aſide as warlicke inſtruments, at the pleaſure of him that putteth them on. Theſe Armes which *Ariſtotle* giueth nature, fight of themſelues, and expect not that a man ſhould make vſe of them, they gouerne and know not what it is to obey: vertue hath no need of inſtruments. We are ſufficiently furniſhed by reaſon, wherewith nature hath fitted vs. Shee it is that hath giuen vs a weapon, firme, perpetuall, obſequious, and certaine, and ſuch as cannot be reinforced againſt the Maſter. Reaſon of it ſelfe is ſufficient enough, not onely to foreſee, but to execute any action. For what is more fond then that reaſon ſhould ſeeke aſſiſtance from wrath: a ſtable thing from an vncertaine: a faithful from a perfidious, a whole from the ſicke? Moreouer as touching the actions themſelues, wherein the helpe of anger ſeemeth to be moſt requiſite, reaſon it ſelfe is more ſtronger. For hauing marked out that which ſhe ought to doe, ſhe remaineth alwaies ſetled in her reſolution and being vnable to finde out any thing better then her ſelfe to change her, ſhee departeth neuer from her place. Contrariwiſe pittie hath oftentimes driuen wrath out of dores, for this paſſion hath no ſolid ſtrength, but onely a tumor,

If the wiſe man ought to be moued and how.

That which the Stoicks doctrine maintaineth & the examination of Ariſtotles opinion as touching paſſions.

and

and vseth violent beginnings, no otherwise then the windes which arise from the earth and being entertained by the flouds and marshes are vehement, but not permanent. It beginneth with a great violence, and afterwardes fainteth being wearied before her time, and when shee hath inuented nought else but crueltie, and new kinds of punishment, when execution is to be done, she is pacified and becommeth gentle. Affection quaileth quickly, reason is equal. Moreouer also where wrath persecuereth sometimes, if there are many that haue deserued death, after the bloud of two or three, she beginneth to bee calmed. The first assaults of her are sharpe, euen as the venomnesse of Serpents are hurtfull: that creepe from their dennes; her teeth are harmelesse, when as often byting hath spent them. They therefore suffer not equally, who haue offended equally, and oft times hee that hath offended the least, suffereth the most because he is the object of the lateſt anger and is wholy vnequall: sometimes it extendeth it selfe farther then it should, sometimes it resisteth more then it ought. For shee flattereth her selfe and iudgeth as shee list, and will not heare, and leaueth no place for excuse, and retaineth that which shee hath apprehended; and suffereth not her iudgement to be taken from her, although it be euill. Reason giueth place to either part, and time likewise, Afterwards shee demaundeth a terme for her selfe, to the end she may haue time to discusse the truth; wrath is hastie: Reason will haue that iudged which is rightfull, wrath will haue that seeme rightfull which shee iudgeth. Reason respecteth nothing but that which is in question, wrath is mooued with vaine things, and such as are nothing to the purpose. An assured countenance, a firme voice, a free speech, an exquisite garment, a delay without delay, a fauour of the people, exaspereth wrath. Oftimes in despight of the aduocate she condemneth him for whom he pleadeth. And although the truth be laid before her eyes, shee loueth and maintaineth errour, shee will not bee reprooued and in euill enterprises shee esteemeth it more honest to bee obstinate, then to repent herselfe. *Caius Piso* was in our memorie a man exempt from many vices, yet extremely cholericke, and such a one as tooke pleasure in his austeritie. He being displeased, when he had commaunded a Souldier to be brought before him, who had returned from his pillage without his companion as if he had murthered him, whom he could not bring in person, when he was requested time to finde him out, denied it him, and condemned him to die. This Souldier, thus sentenced being brought without the trenches, alreadie tendered his neck vnto the Hangman, when suddenly his fellow Souldier appeared, whom men supposed to be slaine: wherevpon the Centurion who had the charge to see the execution done, commanded the Hangman to put vp his sword, and after brought him to *Piso*, who was condemned to the end hee might make proofe of his innocencie, since Fortune had afforded him the meanes. The other Souldiers flocked about these two, who embraced one another to the content of all their companions. But *Piso* incensed with choler, ascended the Tribunall seat and commanded both the Souldiers to bee ledde to death: both that Souldier that had not slaine his fellow, and him that was not slaine. What indignitie is this? Because the innocencie of him that was condemned was manifest, both perished. *Piso* added the third. For hee commanded that Centurion who had brought backe him that was condemned; to bee ledde to execution. Here three were appointed to die in one place for one mans innocencie. Oh how cunning is wrath to faine causes of furie; *I command thee*, saith hee, *to bee led to death, because thou art condemned; thee, because thou wert the occasion of thy fellow*

The designes of Reason & wrath.

A notable example, confirming that which he saith, that Anger ought not to be indued with Reason, because shee extinguisheth it.

low Souldiers death; thee, because being commanded to see him executed, thou didst not obay thy Commander. He deuised how to finde three crimes because hee found none. Wrath, say I, hath this euill in it, it will not be gouerned. Shee is angrie with truth it selfe, if she seeme in any sort opposite against her will. With crie, tumult, and iactation of the whole body, she persecuteth these whom she hath resolued to iniurie with reproches and curses. This doth not reason, but if it must needes bee so, silently and quietly, shee ruineth whole houses from their foundations, and destroieth whole families that are enemies to their Countrie. With their wifes and children, shee raceth downe their houses, and leueleth them with the earth, and obscureth their names that are enemies to libertie. This doth shee not with foaming at the mouth, nor shaking of the head, neither doing any thing that is vndecent for a Iudge, whose lookes, at that time especially, ought to be most pleasing, and staied when he pronounceth matters of consequence. What needest thou, saith *Ierosme*, when thou art intended to strike any man, to bite thy lip first? What if he had seene, the Proconsull leaping from the Tribunall, and taking away the Sergeants rods, and renting his garments, because the garments of such, as were condemned, were not rent off soone enough? What needeth it to ouer-torne the table, to breake and fling away the pots, to beate ones head against the pillers, to teare his haire, and to thumpe his thigh and breast? How great is that anger thinkest thou, which because it is not so sodainly vented against another, as a man would, reflecteth vpon her selfe? He is therefore held by his Neighbours, and intreated to pacifie himselfe, none of which things doth he, who is void of anger, but inioyneth euery one his deserued punishment. Oft-times dismisseth he him whose guiltinesse and forfeit he hath apprehended, if by confessing the act he promise great hope of amends, if he vnderstand that the offence grew not from the malice of his heart, but as they say, was committed and not complotted with sinister intent. He will giue such a pardon as neither shall be hurtfull to those that receiue the same, nor to those that giue it. Sometimes will he represse the greatest offences committed by infirmitie, and not by crueltie, more gently then other lesse, if in them be some hidden, couered, and inueterate craft. He will punish the same fault in different men, after a different manner: if the one haue committed it through negligence, the other studied to doe hurt. Hee will obserue this alwaies in euery iudgement, and execution to ordaine one sort of punishment, to correct the euill, an other to cut them off. And in both these shall he consider, not those things that are past, but those things that are to come. For, as *Plato* saith, No wise man punisheth for euill doing, but least wee should fall to euill doing. For those things that are past cannot be recalled, those things that are to come may be preuented, and those whom he would make examples of. For some cursed crime, hee executeth them publikely, not only to the end they may die, but that others might be deterred from doing euill, by beholding the execution. Each one ought to weigh and consider these reasons. Thou seest how much a Magistrate should be exempt from all passion, when he vndertaketh a thing of so great consequence, as the life and death of men, that are vnder his hands. The sword is indiscreetly committed to a furious mans hands. Neither ought we to thinke this that wrath addeth any thing to the greatnesse of the minde. For that is no greatnesse but a swelling, neither to bodies that are intended by aboundance of bad humours, is the sicknesse and increase, but a pestilent plentie. As they whom anger, which is a passion vile and base, puffeth vp and raiseth aboue the thoughts of other men, make themselues beleeue that

Note this you that are Magistrates.

An aduertisement for Magistrates to beware of anger which cannot make a man more magnanimous.

that their thoughts are ſublime and high, whereas there is nothing firme in all that which they doe, but as they haue builded in the aire, ſo ſinketh it and falleth of it ſelfe. Wrath hath no aſſiſtant or ſuſtainer, ſhee proceedeth not from any thing that is permament and durable, but is windy and vaine, and differeth ſo farre from greatneſſe of minde as audaciouſneſſe from fortitude, inſolence from confidence, ſadneſſe from auſteritie, and crueltie from ſeueritie. There is a great difference betwixt a conſtant and a proud minde. Wrath enterpriſeth nothing that is great or worthy. Contrariwiſe, in my iudgement, it is a token of a dull and vnhappie man, and guiltie of his owne weakneſſe, to be ſorowfull oftentimes. Euen as thoſe bodies that are exulcerated and ſicke, complaine if they be touched neuer ſo little, ſo is it a womaniſh and childiſh fault: yet is it incident to men, for men likewiſe haue childiſh and womaniſh wits. What then? are not ſome wordes vttered by angrie men, who haue not the true knowledge of magnanimitie, which ſeem notwithſtanding to proceed from a great & generous mind? As that moſt dire and abhominable ſpeech, *Let them hate me, ſo they feare me.* Know that this was written in *Syllaes* time, I know not whether wiſh were worſe for him, either to be hated, or to be feared: *Let them hate me.* He forethinketh that which will happen, that his ſubiects will curſe, betray, and oppreſſe him. What addeth he hereunto, The gods confound him, ſo worthie a remedie hath he found out for hatred. *Let them hate:* What? whilſt they obay? No: whilſt they approue? no. What then? ſo they feare, ſo would not I haue him be beloued. Thinkeſt thou that this is ſpoken with a great ſpirit? Thou art deceiued; for this is not greatneſſe but crueltie. Thou art not to giue credit to wrathfull mens wordes, whoſe boaſts are great and threating, but inwardly there hearts are crauen and coward. Thou muſt not repute that to be true which is ſpoken by *Liuie* that eloquent man. Of him, *A man that had a minde rather great then good.* Theſe cannot be ſeparated, either it ſhall be great and good, or it ſhall not be great; becauſe I meane the greatneſſe of a man that is vnſhaken, and inwardly ſolide, and euen and equall from one end vnto another, which cannot bee in euill mindes. For they may bee terrible, tumultuous and dangerous to death, but they ſhall not haue greatneſſe whoſe foundation is ſtrength and goodneſſe: yet in ſpeech, in action, and all outward appearance they will make ſhew of great courage. They will let ſlip ſome wordes, which thou wilt ſuppoſe to be worthie and wittie, as *Caius Cæſar* did; who being angrie with the heauens, becauſe it thundred whilſt his plaiers acted, whom hee imitated more diligently then he beheld them, and becauſe his banquet was interrupted by lightning, that was ſcarce rightly aimed, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him without delay, pronouncing this Verſe in *Homer*:

Either kill me, or I thee.

What madneſſe was it? he thought that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him or that hee could hurt *Iupiter*. I cannot imagine but that this ſpeech of his was of ſome great moment to incenſe their hearts of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him for they ſuppoſed it to bee an inſufferable matter to ſuffer him who could, not endure *Iupiter*. Then there is nothing great or noble in wrath, no not when it ſeemeth to be moſt vehement and deſpiſeth both men & gods: or if any man ſuppoſeth that wrath produceth a great mind, let him ſay as much of diſſolute-neſſe. Shee will be carued in Iuorie, clothed with purple, couered with gold, transferre one Countrie to an other, ſhut vp Seas, precipitate Riuers, hang Forreſts

reſts in the aire. Let Auarice alſo be eſteemed generous: ſhee lieth vpon heaps of gold and ſiluer, his paſtures and lands are tilled vnder the name of whole Prouinces. And vnder euery one of his Farmers he enioyeth a greater quantitie of land, then the Prouinces that were allotted to thoſe that were Conſuls. Let luſt likewiſe be reputed to be a worthy thing. It ſwimmeth ouer Seas, geldeth troups of yong children, maketh the wife without apprehenſion of death to be murthered with her huſbands owne hands. The ſame may we ſay of Ambition, that ſhee is magnanimous, and contenteth not her ſelfe with yearly honours, but will, if it may be, fill all the moneths and daies of the yeare with one name, and plant her armes through all the world. It skils not how farre all theſe proceede and extend themſelues, they are trifles, they are miſerable and depreſſed. Only vertue is great and excellent, for there is nothing great except it bee pleaſing and peaceable likewiſe.

The end of the firſt Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

The ſecond Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

IT hath two parts, the firſt containeth certaine queſtions of Anger, the other remedies againſt the ſame. The firſt queſtion is, whether Anger proceede from paſſion onely. Hee denieth it, and prooueth that both the minde and iudgement are acceſſarie thereunto. Shee therefore giueth eare vnto reaſon, and may be reſtrained, which could not be if ſhee were from that onely, and not from nature. By the way he ſetteth downe a Stoicall difference, betwixt motions and affections, this he proſecuteth to the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he another queſtion, whether crueltie and fierceneſſe proceede from Anger, hee denieth it, and ſaith that it is a different affection, yet that it often-times hath his beginning or nouriſhment from often diſpleaſure. After this in the ſixth Chapter, whether a good man be diſpleaſed with the offence or the offender? Hee denieth and diſchargeth a wiſe man from all this affection vntill the eleaueth Chapter. From thence he enquireth whether wrath be profitable, becauſe it deliuereth a man from contempt, and terrifieth the euill? He doth not admit it, and confeſſeth that it is feared which is not good, or to be deſired by a good man. For both wild beaſtes and ſickneſſes are feared. This vntill the thirteenth Chapter, and in it he confeſſeth that Anger may bee ſained, and yet not vſed by a wiſe man. Neither that ſhee reſideth in a ſimple and generous minde, becauſe the free and vnconquered nations haue the ſame, yea ſuch as are ſauage and incapable both of learning or reaſon. Atlength in the eighteenth Chapter, hee profitably paſſeth ouer to the remedies of Anger, he dilateth theſe two things. That we ſhould not bee angrie, and that we ſhould not ſinne in our Anger, leaſt we fall into the ſame. Such and ſuch an education is requiſite, at laſt he willeth vs to impugne the firſt cauſes of wrath, and alwayes to vſe counſaile and time. Then that ſuſpicions are to be driuen away, and exceſſe auoided. Not to bee angrie with things that are inſenſible, with men of weake iudgement, with thoſe things which are done by nature, or for our good. Hee aduiſeth vs to ſee and acknowledge our faultes, whereby we may become more equall and iuſt to others. Not to beleeue raſhly, and to examine thoſe things that are beleeued by the minde of the doer. Eſpecially that pride is to be laide aſide, and good opinion of a mans

ſelfe which maketh men wrathfull and reuengefull. To ſuffer rather or to diſſemble and to abſtaine from ſo filthy an affection, whoſe deformitie is expreſſed in the minde and countenance. Theſe are profitable leſſons, let them be read and remembered.

CHAP. I.

He entereth into a more particular diſcourſe and diſputeth firſt, vpon the ſource of Anger.

THE firſt Booke *Nouatus* hath comprehended matters more tractable, becauſe it is an eaſie matter to runne head-long in to vices, conſidering our inclination and diſpoſition thereunto. But now we muſt vnfolde the ſmaller parcels of this diſcourſe. For the queſtion is, whether Anger beginneth vpon iudgement, or by impulſion, that is to ſay, whether ſhee bee mooued of her ſelfe, or whether ſhe reſemble the moſt of theſe paſſions, which take root in vs before wee are aware. But wee muſt ſubject this diſpute to theſe queſtions, to the end that ſhee may be likewiſe raiſed to more high conſiderations. For in our bodies, our bones, neruues, and ioynts, which are the foundation of the whole, and other inſtruments of life ſcarce, ſeemely to beholde are firſt formed and ordained, and afterwardes thoſe, when the grace and our countenance, and face doth proceed. And in furie, after all this the choler which aboue all things rauiſheth the eyes, is the laſt thing which ſpreadeth it ſelfe thorow-out our perfect bodies. It is not to be doubted but that a certaine appearance of injurie offered, moueth anger: but the queſtion is whether wrath preſently followeth after this appearance, without conſent of the minde, or whether it be mooued by his aſſent. But our opinion is that ſhee dare doe nothing of her ſelfe, but by the approbation of the minde. For to conceiue an opinion of injurie, and to deſire to be reuenged, and to vnite both theſe things together, that is to ſay, that they ought not to haue beene angrie, or that hee ought to take reuenge; this is no motion that may incite it ſelfe without our will. The aboue named motion is ſimple, that whereof wee ſpeake is compound, and containeth diuers heads. He hath vnderſtood ſomewhat, he is diſpleaſed, he condemneth the ſame, hee reuengeth himſelfe, this cannot be done, except his minde which was touched therewith, yeeld ſome conſent.

CHAP. II.

Choler is the offspring of our conſent.

WHereto ſaiſt thou appertaineth this queſtion? To vnderſtand what wrath is. For if ſhee be bred in vs againſt our wils, ſhe will neuer ſubmit vnto reaſon. For all thoſe motions which are done againſt our will, are invincible and inevitable, as ſhiuering when wee are ſprinkled with colde water, a ſtarting backe vpon tickling: when we haue heard ſome heauie meſſage, our haire ſtandeth vpright; when immodeſt words, ſhame coloureth our countenance; and a ſwimming of the head followeth thoſe that looke downe from ſome high places. Becauſe none of all theſe are in our power, there is no reaſon that counſaileth vs to expoſe our ſelues there-againſt. Wrath is driuen away by good precepts. For it

is

is a voluntarie vice of the minde, not of those which happen by a certaine condition of humane kinde, and therefore they befall the most wisest. Amongst which that first motion of the mind is to be placed, which moueth vs after the opinion of injurie. This motion attendeth vs euer amongst the idle acts of a play, and vpon the reading of Ancient Histories. We seeme oftentimes to bee angrie, for banishing *Cicero*, and with *Anthonie* for killing him. Who is not angrie at *Marius* Armes, and *Syllaes* proscriptions? Who is not displeased with *Theodotus* and *Achillas*, and that boy *Ptolomey*, for doing a hainous murther vnfitting for his yong yeares? A song some times and a sodaine straine of Musicke animateth vs, and that warlike sound of the Trumpet mooueth our mindes, and a dreadfull picture, and the dolefull sight of just mens punishment amazeth vs. There it is that we laugh with those that laugh, and in the companie of these that mourne, wee are heauie and are inkindled by beholding other mens sight, which are not wrathes no more, then sadnesse is, which contracteth our browes vpon the sight of an enemie, that hath suffered shipwracke; no more then then feare astonisheth the Readers minde, when he ouer looketh of the Storie, how after the battaile of *Cannas Hanibal* approched thee wals Rome. But all these are the motions of such mindes, as are willing to bee moued, neither are thy affections but beginnings and essaies of those affections. For so doth the Trumpet refresh the Souldiers eare, who hath a long time liued in rest, and walked in his long Roabe, during the time of peace, and Warlike horses pricke vp their eares vpon the clattering of Armes. They say that *Alexander* the great whilst *Xenophantes* sung; laid hand on his weapons.

CHAP. III.

A subtile distinction of passion.

NOne of these thinges, which casually impell the mind may be called affections. These if I may so speake it, the minde rather suffereth then doeth; That therfore is affection, not to be moued with the resemblances of things that are offered; but to suffer him selfe to be led by them, and to runne after this casuall motion. For if any man suppose that paleneſſe, and trickling downe of teares, and filthie pollution, or a deep set sigh, or eyes sodainly incensed, or any such like thing, is a token of the affection, and a signe of the minde, he is deceiued, neither vnderstandeth he, that these are the agitations of the bodie. And therefore the stoutest man sometime waxeth pale, whilst he is armed, and the fiercest Souldier hath trembled and shaken his knees a little when the charge was first sounded, and the greatest Emperour, hath had a trembling heart before the two Armies had shocked and encountered together, and the eloquentest Oratour, whilst he composeth him selfe to deliuer his oration, hath felt a shiuering in the extremities of his bodie. Wrath must not onely bee mooued, she must haue her outlopes abroad: for it is a passion; but neuer is a passion, without the assent of the mind: for it cannot bee, that without the knowledge of the minde, a man should deliberate vpon reuenge and punishment. Some man hath supposed himselfe injuried, and would reuenge himselfe, but vpon the dissuasion of some caule, he presently changeth his counsaile. I call not this Wrath, but a motion of the minde obedient vnto reason. That is Wrath, which treadeth downe reason, and draweth her after her. So then this first agitation of the minde, which is prouoked by the appearance of some injurie, is no more wrath then

is the appearance of injurie, but that ſucceeding emotion, which not only aſſumeth the reſemblance of injurie, but hath approued the ſame. Wrath is a concitation of the minde, tending voluntarily and with iudgement to reuenge. Is it to be doubted but that feare is attended by flight, Wrath by impetuoſitie? Take heed therefore, if thou perſeuer in this opinion, that a man may imbrace or avoid any thing without the conſent of the minde.

CHAP. IIII.

The explication of this definition first of the three motions which are the beginning, the increase, and advancement of Anger.

AND to the end thou maiſt know, how theſe paſſions beginne, increaſe, and extend them ſelues. Conſider that there are three motions. The firſt is not voluntarie, but as it were a preparation of the affection, and a conjunction. The ſecond is annexed, to a will which is not rebellious as that I ought to reuenge my ſelfe when I am wronged, or that ſuch a one that hath committed ſome hainous crime ſhould bee puniſhed. The third motion is ſo violent that it will not reuenge when it ought to doe it, but hath wholy diſclaimed reaſon. This firſt motion of the minde we cannot auoide, although reaſon aſſiſt vs, no more then we can auoid thoſe motions, which as I ſaid happen to the bodie. We cannot chooſe but yawne, if we ſee an other man yawne. Neither can wee chooſe but winke if a man ſodainly ſteppeth behinde vs and blindfoldeth vs. Theſe things cannot reaſon ouercome, happily cuſtome and daily obſeruation may leſſen them. That other motion, which is bred by iudgment, is ouercome by iudgment.

CHAP. V.

THis queſtion likewiſe is to bee examined whether thoſe men that ordinarily are incenſed, and delight in mans bloud bee angrie with ſuch men, whom they put to death, from whom they neuer haue receiued, nor ſuppoſe themſelues to haue receiued injurie, ſuch as were *Apolidorus* and *Phalari*. This is not Wrath, but Crueltie; For ſhee hurteth not becauſe ſhee hath receiued an injurie, but is readie to receiue injuries, prouided that ſhee may doe hurt. It is not to reuenge him ſelfe that hee whippeth and teareth men in peeces, but for pleaſure ſake. What then? The beginning of this euill is from Wrath, the which by frequent exerciſes hauing ſatiſied her appetite with murthers and bloud, and forgotten all Clemencie; and driuen Humanitie from his heart, finally addicteth himſelfe to all Crueltie. They therefore laugh and are glad, and enioy much pleaſure, and haue their lookes farre different from thoſe that are angrie, they are cruell, yet quiet in their mindes. They ſay, that *Hanibal* ſaid when he ſaw a trench filled with mans bloud. *Oh faire ſpectacle.* How farre more worthie a thing had it ſeemed to him, had he ſeene a Riuer or Lake filled therewith? What wonder if thou take ſo ſpeciall a delight in this ſpectacle when as thou wert borne to bloud, and from thine infancie haſt beene trained vp in murthers. The proſperous fortune of thy Crueltie ſhall follow thee for twentie yeares ſpace, and ſhall euery where yeeld thine eyes a gratefull ſpectacle, thou ſhalt ſee this both about Traſimenum, and about Cannas, and laſtly about

about thy Carthage. *Volesius* of late time Proconsull in Asia vnder the gouerment of *Augustus*, after that in one day hee had beheaded three hundreth walking amongst the carcasses, with a proud countenance as if he had done some magnificent action worthie the beholding cryed out in Greeke. *Oh Kingly exploit.* What had this *Volesius* done had he beene a King? This was not wrath but a greater and more incurable euill.

CHAP. VI.

That the wise-man is not subiect to this motion of heart whence proceedeth choler.

VErtue (saith he) as it is fauourable to honest things, so is she displeased with dishonest. What if it bee said that Vertue ought both to bee humble and to be great? But he that saith thus will haue her extolled and represſed. Because joy in performing any notable action, is apparant and magnificent, anger and despight conceiued by reason of another mans sinne, is the signe of a sordid and base minde. Neither will vertue euer so farre forget her selfe as after shee hath suppressed vices, shee should imitate them. It is his dutie to chastice wrath, which is in no sort better but often times worse, then those offences, wherewith shee is displeased. It is proper and naturall for vertue to rejoyce and be glad, to bee angrie is not for her dignitie, no more then to mourne. But sadnesse is the companion of wrath, and anger after the repentance, and after the repulse conuerteth it selfe alwaies into sadnesse. And if it be the act of a wise man to be displeased against sinnes, his displeasures shall increase if they be more great, and it will follow that the wise man shall not be simply angrie, but wrathfull. But if we neither beleeue that great or frequent anger hath place in a wise-mans minde. What is the cause why we wholly discharge him, not from this affection, there say I, can be no measure, if he must be angrie according to the waight of euery mans offence. For either he shall be vnjust, if he equally be displeased with vnequall sinne, or most wrathfull if hee hath beene incensed so often as offences haue deserued displeasure. And what is more vnworthy then that a wise-mans affections should depend on another mans wickednesse. Euen *Socrates* himselfe will forbeare to bee able to bring back the same countenance home with him, which he carried out of dores.

CHAP. VII.

He concludeth by that which passed before, that a wise-man cannot be angrie with those disorders which he seeth.

BVt if a wise-man ought to bee displeased against dissolute behauiour, and incensed and agrieued at wickednesse, there is no man more miserable then he: he must needes spend the whole course of his life in anger and sadnesse. For what moment shall there be wherein he shall not see some matters that are to be disallowed: as often as he shall goe out of dores he must passe by wicked, couetous, prodigall and impudent men, and such as haue beene made happie thereby, his eies shall be turned towards no place, wherein they finde not occasions of dislike? He cannot liue if he be displeased so often as the cause requireth. These so many thousand men that trot to the Palace early in the morning, how bad causes, nay how farre worse Lawyers haue they? One of these complaineth against his Fathers will, where hee hath occasion to content himselfe therewith.

Another pleadeth against his mother: Another accuseth his Neighbour of some crime, wherein he himselfe is more manifestly faultie, and he is chosen to be Iudge in those causes wherein he himselfe hath most offended, the baddest cause is fauoured by all men, and that Counsailer that pleadeth vprightly is disgraced, why prosecute I euery particular? when thou seest the Courts of pleas stuffed with people, and the barres taken vp with all sorts of people, and that great place wherein the most part of the people shew themselues, know this that in that place there are as many vices as there are men. Amongst these men that walke in long gownes there is no peace, each of these will sell one another for a little gaine.

CHAP. VIII.

A description of the disorders of his time, prosecuted to the end to expresse that a wiseman should bee truly miserable, if he would torment himselfe to see so many mischiefs.

NO man taketh profit, but by another mans losse, they hate the happie man, they contemne the miserable; they are agrieued at their Superiours, and are grieuous to their inferiours; they are prouoked by diuers desires, and for some light profit or pleasure they would see all things in confusion. Their life is nothing different from that of the sword players, who liue and fight with one another. There is an assembly of bruit beasts, except wee say that they are peaceable amongst themselues, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men haue no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumbe creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but these are enraged against them most, by whom they haue beene relieued best. A wise-man shall neuer cease if hee once beginne to bee angrie: all the world is so full of vices and wickednesse. There is more euill committed, then may by reproofe and punishment bee healed. Impietie and iniustice are vpon their rests, & forcibly iust against vertue; day by day the desire of euill increaseth, and modestie decreaseth. Dissolution hauing driuen from her all respect of equitie and right, hath vsurped vpon all things at her pleasure; neither are hainous crimes now a-daies committed in secret; they are perpetrated in the view and eye of all men. And such preheminence and power hath wickednesse gotten in euery place, so deeply is shee possessed of all mens hearts, that innocence, which in times past, was rare, at this day is wholly extinguished. Haue all or a few men broken the law. All the world is armed, as it were vpon the sound of a trompet, to confound and mixe right and iustice with wickednesse.

The carriage of this age.

Ouid. Metamor.

Nor from his Host the gueſt may be ſecurd,
Nor he whom law and marriage hath alotted
To be a Father can remaine aſſurd,
But by his Sonne his death will be complotted.
Friendſhip twixt brothers may be hardly found,
The husband ſeekes occaſion to deprive
His wife of life, and ſhee would him confound:
Enraged Stepdames daily doe contriue
To mingle poiſons, and the ſonne againe
To get his Fathers wealth would ſee him ſlaine.

All a part of wickednesse is this? hee hath not described the camps of

of a factious common-weale, armed one against another, the fathers following one part, and the children another, all the Countrie fired by their hands that should defend it, the troups of horsmen scouting out on euery side to discouer the places, whether the condemned men were retired, the fountaines poisoned, the plague spred abroad by artificiall meanes, the trenches digged by the children against their owne fathers, that were besieged, the prisons full of captiues, the tyrannies, the secret counsailes, whence hath followed the ruine of Kingdomes and other publique estates, the whoordomes, deflourings, rauishings, infamous and execrable vncleannesse, all which things reputed for glorious and notable exploits are called wicked, when a man may hinder and extinguish them.

The miseries of ciuill warres.

CHAP. IX.

ADde now vnto these the publique periuries of the people, the breach of alliances, the pillage carried away to him, that hath the greatest power, the deceipts, the thefts, the cauils, tricks of so euill trust in so great a number, that wee had neede of three times as large places of iustice as we haue, to decide them in: if thou wilt haue a wise-man displeased so much as the indignitie of their wickednesse requireth, insteed of being angrie he will be constrained to be madde. Rather thinke thou this that he ought not to be angrie at errours. For what if a man should be angrie with those that stumble in the darke, or against the deafe, because they doe not that which they are commanded, because they vnderstand it not? or against children, who in stead of thinking on their duties, busie themselues in play and sporting with their equals, what if thou wouldest bee angrie with those that are sick, with such as are old and wearied? Amidst the rest of the incommodities of mans life, this is one; the darkenesse of our mindes, and not only the necessitie of erring, but the loue of errours. If thou wilt not bee displeased with any man, pardon all men; and excuse the infirmitie of mankinde. But if thou beest angrie, both with yong and old, because they offend; be displeased also with little infants, because hereafter they will bee vicious. Is there any man angry with children, who by reason of their tender yeares know not how to discerne things? It is a more great and iuster excuse to be a man then a child: we are borne to this condition to be creatures subiect as well to the infirmities of the mind as of the body, not blockish nor stupide, but such as abuse our vnderstanding. The one of vs serue for example of vices vnto the other. Euery one follow those that goe before, although it bee in the way of errour. Why should they not be excused if all of them go astray in the publique way?

A continuation of the former discourse, to proue that a wise man cannot possibly intangle himselfe with so many miseries.

CHAP. X.

THe seueritie of a Generall is intended against priuate offenders, but then is pardon necessarie, where his whole Armie hath forsaken him. What taketh away a wise mans wrath? the multitude of offenders. He vnderstandeth how vniust and dangerous a thing it is to be displeased with a guiltie multitude: *Heraclitus* as often as he went forth a dores, and saw about him such a multitude of euill liuers, nay rather

rather men dying wickedly, he wept; hauing compaſſion of all thoſe that met him with a ioyfull and contented countenance, being himſelfe milde in minde, and feeble in heart, and ſuch a one as deſerued to bee deplored himſelfe. Contrariwiſe it is ſaid that *Democritus* neuer lookt abroad without laughing, ſo trifling reputed he all thoſe things which were ſeriouſly done and ſought after. Where in this world is there any place for Anger? All things are eyther to be laughed at, or to be lamented. A wiſe-man will not be angrie with thoſe that offend. Why? Becauſe he knoweth that no man is borne wiſe, but is made wiſe: he knowes that in euery age there are few that become wiſe, becauſe he vnderſtandeth the condition of human life, but no wiſe-man will be angrie with nature; for what if he would wonder becauſe that apples grow not on wilde brambles? what if hee wonder why thornes and buſhes beare not exquiſite fruite? no man is angry with nature when ſhe excuſeth the imperfection: A wiſe-man therefore is peaceable, and remitteth faults, not an enemie but an admoniſher of thoſe that doe amiſſe with this minde daily walketh he out. Many will meete me in the way that are addicted to wine, many lechers, many that are vngratefull, many couetous men, and many that are poſſeſſed with the furie of ambition. All theſe men will he entertaine as courteouſly as the Phyſitian doth his ſicke patients. Is he diſpleaſed either with his Sailers or his Ship whoſe Barke hauing her timbers looſe hath a great leake, and ſinketh in much water? He rather helpeth them, he calketh the veſſell to keepe out the waues, he driueth out the reſt and ſhuts vp the holes that appeare, and reſiſteth by his continuall labour and pumping, thoſe that are yet vndiſcouered, neyther therefore intermitteth he becauſe ſo much was gotten out, as was entered in. We had neede of ſuccours of long continuance againſt ſo continuall and fruitfull euils, not that they may ceaſe, but leaſt they ouercome.

CHAP. XI.

He proſecuteth the explication of the definition of Anger, which he tearmeth an emotion of the heart, tending voluntarily and with iudgement vnto vengeance, ſhewing that this paſſion as being vnprofitable, ought not to be found among wiſe men, who could mite the emotion and the vengeance, and rather neglect then feare it.

WRath, ſaith he, is profitable becauſe ſhe eſcapeth contempt, and terrifieth euill men. Firſt of all wrath, if it be as much worth as it threatneth, for this very cauſe, becauſe it is terrible, it is therefore hatefull. But it is more dangerous to be feared then to be deſpiſed: but if it be without feare, it is more expoſed to contempt, and ſubiect to deriſion. For what thing is more vaine and ridiculous then for Anger to be in tempeſt and tumult for nothing? Moreouer, thoſe things that are terrible are not therefore more great; and I would not haue that ſaid by a wiſe-man which might be ſaid by a ſauage beaſt: that the weapon of a wilde beaſt is to be feared. What, is not the ague, the gowt, an vlcer euill? Is there therefore any goodneſſe in theſe, or contrariwiſe are not all things more diſdained, filthie and contemptible, in that they are feared? Anger is of her ſelfe deformed, and not to be feared, yet is it feared by diuers men as a deformed vizard by infants. But why doth not feare alwayes fall vpon the head of him that is the author thereof? Neyther is there any man feared that is himſelfe ſecure. Remember thee in this place of *Laberianus* verſes, which being ſpoken in the Theater, in the middeſt of the ciuill warres, no otherwiſe made all the people attentiue vnto it, then if a ſpeech had beene vttered that teſtified the publique affection.

He needs muſt feare many whom many men feare.

So

So hath nature ordained, that he who thinketh himselfe great, because he is feared, is not himselfe exempt from feare. How much tremble Lions vpon the least noyse? An vnacquainted shadow, voyce, and oder troubleth those beasts which are the fiercest. All those which affright others are affraid themselues. There is no cause therefore why any wise-man should desire to be feared.

CHAP. XII.

That there is no great thing in Anger although it moueth feare.

NEyther therefore let any man thinke that wrath is great, because she causeth her selfe to be feared, because there are certain things which are the most contemptible and yet are feared, as venomes, and some impoisoned meates, and a bite or sting of beasts. Neyther is it to be wondred at, when as a line distinguished with feathers, containeth the greatest heards of wilde beasts, and driueth them into the Toyles, and by their effects they are called feare; for vaine things are affraid of nothing. The shaking of a Chariot, and the ratling of the wheeles driueth a Lion into his denne; the crie of a Hogge terrifieth an Elephant. So therefore is Anger feared as a shadow is by infants, as a redde feather is by wilde beasts. This passion hath nothing firme and powerfull in her selfe, but she is onely the Bug-Beare of vaine mindes. Wickednesse, saith he, must be banished out of the world if thou wilt exterminate wrath, and as the one of these things is impossible so is the other. First of all a man may be warme, although that naturally it be Winter, and he may be temperate although the hottest moneths do raigne. But by the benefite of the place he is exempted from the intemperature of the yeare, or by the patience of his bodie he ouercommeth the sense of them both. But take this to the contrary, thou must needes take vertue first out of thy minde, before thou entertaine wrath, because vertues haue no correspondence with vices; and no more at the same time can an angry man be a good man, then he that is sicke be a whole man. All wrath, saith he, cannot be taken away out of the minde, neyther doth the nature of man permit him this. But there is nothing so difficult and dangerous, which a mans minde cannot ouercome, and that continuall meditation bringeth not in vse, and no affections are so fierce and obstinate which are not tamed by discipline. Whatsoeuer the minde hath enioyned himselfe he hath obtained. Some haue gotten that gouernement ouer themselues that they will neuer laugh, some haue giuen ouer wine, some lecherie, and some haue framed their bodies to forbeare all water, another by accustoming himselfe to sleep little, hath gotten so much priuiledge that he is neuer wearie of waking, some haue learned to runne vpon small and slender ropes, and to beare great and mightie burthens, farre exceeding the strength of any man, and to diue into the greatest depthes, and without any breathing to remaine long time in the bottom of the Seas.

CHAP. XIII.

How profitable a firme resolution is against vices.

THere are a thousand other things wherein an obstinate resolution surmounteth all other impediments, and sheweth that there is nothing difficult to him that hath resolued himselfe to be patient. All these of whom I haue spoken before, haue had no recompence of their trauaile, or if they haue receiued any, it was no great matter.

ter. For what honour hath that Tumbler gotten, who hath learned to daunce vpon a rope? that is exercised to beare a waighty burthen vpon his necke, that hath learned to restraine his eyes from sleeping? that is taught to diue into the bottom of the Sea? These labors get but little reward. Shall not we entertain patience, who are to expect so great a reward as the tranquilitie of a happie minde? How great a thing is it to flie from wrath, which is the greatest euill, and with her to auoyde the other passions, which accompanie her, as rage, inhumanitie, crueltie, and furie? We are not to seeke our protection from any, neyther ought we to excuse and dissemble our libertie, by saying, that eyther this is profitable or that inevitable; for what errour hath wanted a Patron? Thou art not to say that it cannot be cut off, we are sicke of curable diseases; and nature her selfe that created vs for the best, will assist vs if we will be amended. Neyther as some men haue said, is the way to vertues dangerous and difficult, they are easily come by. I will instruct you in no vaine matter. The way vnto blessed life is easie, follow the same in a good houre, and vnder the fauour of the gods. There is more difficultie in doing those things which you doe. For what is more contenting then the tranquilitie of the minde? What more laborsome then wrath? What more remisse then clemencie? What more turbulent then crueltie? Chastitie is alwaies at leisure, dissolution full of businesse; to conclude, the custodie of all vertue is easie, contrariwise, vices cost very much in entertayning them. Must wrath be remoued? This in part confesse they likewise who say, that it is to be moderated and diminished. Let it be wholly giuen ouer: because it will profite nothing: without her a man may more easily and readily roote out wickednesse, the euill shall be punished and brought to a better passe.

He weakeneth the foundation of the most part of men especially of those that are giuen ouer to Anger.

A Stoicall Paradox, as possible as for a dead man to flie.

CHAP. XIIII.

That a wise-man hath no needle of wrath to performe his duetie.

A Wise-man effecteth al those things which he ought to do, without the assistance of any euill thing; neyther will he intermixe any thing which may trouble him in the gouernment thereof. Anger therefore is neuer to be admitted, yet is it sometimes to be dissembled, if the slowe mindes of the auditorie are to be stirred vp. Euen as we pricke forth our sturdie horses by sticke and spurre, to performe their race. Sometimes they are to be put in feare, when reason cannot perswade. It is no lesse profitable to be angrie then to mourne, then to feare. What then? Do not some causes fall out which prouoke Anger? But euen then most especially are we to get the start of her. Neyther is it a hard matter to ouercom the mind, when as the wrastlers also being exercised in their basest part, yet suffer they strains and strokes that they may spend his forces with whom they contend; neyther strike they when wrath perswadeth them, but when occasion commandeth them. It is reported that *Pyrrhus* an excellent Master in wrastling and other exercises, was wont to command those that were his Schollers to refraine from Anger. For it is Anger that troubleth Art, and considereth which way she may hurt, not how she may preuent. Reason therefore oftentimes perswadeth patience, wrath reuenge, and we that might escape the first euils, are thrust into greater. Some hath the contumely of one word not disjested with discretion, cast into exile, and they that would not burie and beare a trifling iniurie in silence, haue beene ouerwhelmed with most grieuous calamities; in briefe,

briefe, being not able to endure, that a iot of their great libertie ſhould be diminiſhed, they haue drawne themſelues vnder a ſeruile yoke.

CHAP. XV.

TO make thee know (ſaith he) that wrath hath ſomewhat generous in it, thou ſhalt find that the Germanes and Scithians (which are free Nations) are much inclined vnto wrath; which commeth to paſſe becauſe their ſpirits (which by nature are ſtrong and ſolide) are eaſily moued and prone vnto Anger, eſpecially before they be tempered and mollified by diſcipline. There are certain paſſions which neuer take holde-faſt but on the ſtrongeſt ſpirits: euen as the moſt ſtrongeſt and fruitfulleſt Coppiſe grow on the land which is leaſt manured, and a Forreſt floriſheth in a fruitfull ſoyle. Therfore the mindes that by nature are moſt ſtrongeſt endure Anger, & being fierie & hote, ſuffer nothing that is little and feeble; but that vigor is imperfect, as in all things without Art, which grow only by the benefite of nature, which except they be quickly tamed, that which was diſpoſed to become valour is conuerted into audaciouſnes and raſhnes. What, are not thoſe ſpirits which are gentle and tractable leſſe vicious? and are they not accompanied with mercie, loue, and honeſt ſhame? I will therefore ſhew thee a good diſpoſition euen in thoſe things that are euill; but therefore are they not vices, although they are ſignes of a better nature. Moreouer, all theſe Nations free in their fierceneſſe, according to the cuſtome of Lions and Wolues, as they cannot ſerue, ſo they cannot command: for they haue not the force of a humane vnderſtanding, but ſuch as is beaſtly and intractable; but no man can gouerne, except he that can be gouerned.

That Cooler hath nothing generous in it.

CHAP. XVI.

FOr the moſt part therefore the Empire remained amongſt thoſe Nations which liue vnder a milder clime: they that are bred towards the Northward and in colde countries, haue their mindes moſt vntractable, as the Poet ſaith,

And like vnto their heauen.

They (ſaith hee) are reputed to be the moſt generous beaſts that are moſt wrathfull. He is deceiued that induceth them for an example to men, who for reaſon vſe violence: man in ſtead of violence hath reaſon. Neyther is that paſſion profitable in them: all fierceneſſe helpeth Lions, feare Harts, violence the Hawke, flight the Doue: neyther is that true, that the moſt excellenteſt creatures are the moſt ſubiect to Anger. Shall I thinke thoſe wilde beaſts better which liue by rapine, becauſe they are moſt fell? I had rather commend the patience of the Oxe and thoſe Horſes that are gouerned by the bridle. But what is the cauſe thou ſhouldeſt reuoke man to ſuch vnhappie examples, when thou haſt the world and God, who amongſt all other liuing creatures, he onely imitateth and onely vnderſtandeth? They are accounted the moſt ſimpleſt men of all other that are moſt angrie. For they are compared to fraudulent

There is no Nation of pliable inclination that are not capable of gouernment, and fit to be gouerned by the moſt excellent amongſt them.

fraudulent and cunning fellowes, and ſeeme to be ſimple, becauſe they are diſcouered, whom I would not call ſimple but improuident. For we aſſigne this name to fooles, to letchers and prodigall ſpenders, and ſuch as are not cunning enough in their follies.

CHAP. XVII.

Whether it be a thing fitting for him that is publiquely to declaime to be moued, and how.

AN Orator (ſaith he) that is moued and angrie is ſometimes the better, why not if he counterfeit his Anger? For Players in pronouncing their ſpeeches, although they be not angrie, yet moue the people; but in acting the wrathfull man cunningly. And before the Iudges likewiſe, and before the people, and whereſoeuer we are to confirme other mens mindes in our opinion, ſometimes wee our ſelues will faine to be diſpleaſed, ſometimes counterfeit feare, ſometimes compaſſion to confirme the ſame in other men. And oft-times that which true affection could not haue effected, imitation of affection hath performed. It is a faint minde, ſaith he, that is without Anger. It is true, if he haue nothing more powerfull then Anger in him; neyther muſt he be a thiefe, neyther ſuch a one as is robbed, neyther mercifull, nor cruell, the heart of the one is too tender, the other too obdurate. Let the wiſe-man bee temperate, and in executing that which he hath to doe reſolutely, let him entertaine courage and not Anger.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſecond part of this Booke ſetteth downe the remedies againſt Anger.

BEcauſe we haue examined thoſe queſtions which concerne Anger, let vs now deſcend vnto the remedies thereof. They are two in my iudgement: the one, that we fall not into Anger, the other, not to ſinne when we are angrie. As in the cure of our bodies, there are ſome precepts to maintain health, other ſome how to reſtore it when it is decayed, ſo to ſurmount diſpleaſure there is one meanes to repulſe it, another to repreſſe it. Some ſhall be taught which are pertinent, and neceſſarie for the whole life, and they ſhall be deuided into education, and the yeares that follow. Education requireth great diligence, and is greatly profitable and neceſſarie: for it is an eaſie matter to faſhion & order tender minds, and thoſe vices are hardly rooted out in vs, which haue grown with vs. A fiery nature is a proper ſubiect of wrath; for whereas there are foure elements, fire, water, ayre, and earth, ſo haue they their equall qualities, colde, hote, drie and moyſt. So then the mixture of the elements is the cauſe of the varietie of places, creatures, bodies, and manners; thence commeth it that mens minds are more inclined to this or that, according as the vigor of the element aboundeth more or leſſe in them; thence it is that we ſay and call ſome Regions moiſt, ſom drie, ſome hote, and ſome colde. The ſame differences are there betwixt men and beaſts.

The complexions of our bodies trouble from the qualities that are predominant in them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

IT importeth very much to vnderſtand how much humiditie or heate euery one hath in him, and according to the element that is moſt predominant in a man, ſuch are his manners. The mixture of heat will make wrathfull men; for fire is actiue and permanent. The mixture of colde maketh men colde; for colde is of a ſlow and heauie nature. Some therefore of our ſect are of the opinion, that wrath is enkindled in the breaſt, by reaſon of the blood that boyleth about the heart. The cauſe why this place is eſpecially aſſigned vnto Anger, is no other, then that of all the whole bodie the breaſt is the hoteſt. They that haue more moiſture in them, their Anger increaſeth by little and little, becauſe their heat is not prepared, but is gotten by motion. The diſpleaſures therefore of children and women are more ſharpe then they are continuing, and more feeble in the beginning. In drier ages wrath is vehement & ſtrong, but without increaſe, not adding much vnto it ſelfe, becauſe colde followeth the declining heate. Olde men are teſtie and alwayes complaining as ſicke men doe, and ſuch as begin to recouer their health, or that by laſſitude or bloud letting haue loſt a part of their heat. In the ſame eſtate are they that are extremely tranſported with thirſt and hunger, and who haue no bloud in their bodies, neither thriue by that they eat, but conſume daily. Wine enkindleth wrath, becauſe it increaſeth heate according to euery mans nature.

The ſource whence wrath ſpringeth and his ſeate.

Becauſe the Sun of the leſſer world inhabiteth in it.

CHAP. XX.

MVch moued are ſome when they are drunk, ſome when they are feaſting: neither is there any other cauſe, why they are moſt wrathfull that haue yellow haire and redde faces, who haue ſuch a color by nature, as other men are wont to haue, when they are diſpleaſed; for their bloud is ſwift and much troubled. But euen as nature diſpoſeth ſome men vnto choler, ſo happen there many cauſes which may do the like that nature doth. Some hath ſickeneſſe and the iniurie of the bodie drawne into this, otherſome labor and continuall watching, nights ſpent in great thought, and deſires, and loues; and whatſoeuer elſe that were hurtfull to the bodie or minde, or prepareth the ſicke mans heart to complaints. But all theſe are but beginnings and cauſes, and cuſtom can do very much, which if it be depraued nouriſhes the vice. It is a hard thing to change nature, neuer is it poſſible to diſſeuer the elements, whereof things are compoſed, after they are once mixed. But it will be profitable to know this, to the end we may forbid them wine that are of hote natures, which *Plato* ſuppoſeth to be hurtfull to children, and therfore forbiddeth vs to adde fire to fire. Neither are they to be crammed with meats, for their bodies are eaſily diſtended, & their minds like their bodies ſuddenly are puffed vp. Let labour exerciſe them without laſſitude, that their heate may be diminiſhed & not conſumed, & that the ouer great feuer in them skimmed and ſetled. Paſtime likewiſe will profit them, becauſe a moderate pleaſure quickneth the mind, and temperateth it alſo. Thoſe that are of a moiſt, drie, and colde complexion, there is no danger in their diſpleaſures, yet are greater vices to be feared in them, as feare, difficultie, deſperation and ſuſpicions.

Diuers appearances of wrath according to the habituate of perſons, and that we ought to know our owne nature, and to flie the cuſtom.

11 de legibus. *How children are to be vſed.*

Metaphora à vino ſumpta.

CHAP. XXI.

The continuation of his discourse, and of the remedies against childrens anger. The first is a good instruction.

SVch mindes therefore are to bee tempered and nouriſhed, and to be animated with delights. And becauſe wee are to vſe ſome remedies againſt Anger, ſome other againſt ſadneſſe, and that theſe are not only to be cured by different, but contrary meanes. We will alwayes haue a care of that, which is increaſing. It ſhall profit very much ſay I, to haue our children well inſtructed in the beginning. But the manner of gouerning is difficult, becauſe wee muſt indeuour that wee nouriſh not Anger in them, or dull and dampe their ſpirits. The matter had need of diligent obſeruation. For both that which is to bee extolled and that which is to be depreſſed is nouriſhed with the like, and ſuch things as reſemble doe oftentimes deceiue him, that is moſt diligent. The mind increaſeth by libertie, and is embaſed by ſeruitude. Praiſe the ſame, and it rowſeth it ſelfe, and filleth vs with great expectation, yet both theſe two expedients ingender inſolence and wrath. So therefore is he to be gouerned betweene both, that ſometimes we vſe a bridle, ſometimes a ſpur, that his minde may ſuffer nothing that is baſe and ſeruile. Let him neuer haue need to intreat any thing humbly, neither let it profit him though hee hath ſo ſubmiſſiuely intreated. If wee grant him any thing, let it bee rather by alleadging vnto him, that he hath juſt cauſe to demaund the ſame, and that we haue regard vnto his former behauiour, and hope that hee will doe better hereafter, as hee promiſeth. In his exerciſes amongſt his companions, let vs neither ſuffer him to be ouercome, nor to bee angrie. Let vs indeuour that he may bee alwayes familiar with thoſe with whom hee is wont to contend, and that in his exerciſes hee accuſtome himſelfe not to haue a will to hurt, but to ouercome. As oft as he hath gotten the vpper hand, or hath done any thing that is praiſe worthie, let vs not ſuffer him to be proud or to boaſt thereof, for boaſting followeth joy, and pride and to much eſteeme of himſelfe, boaſting. We wil giue him ſome recreation, yet wil we neither ſuffer him to be ſlothfull or idle, and aboue all thinges will detaine him from the touch of pleaſures. For nothing more inkindleth wrath, then an ouer delicate and daintie education: and therefore the onely childe, to whom wee giue libertie, and theſe Pupils that are left to their owne pleaſures, are ordinarily the moſt corrupted. The childe that hath had his will in euery thing, whoſe mother hath ordinarily dried the teares from his eyes, who hath had a maſter aſſigned him according to his owne fancie, will neuer ſuffer an injurie patiently. Seeſt thou how euerie greater Fortune is attended with a greater anger? This appeareth in Rich men, in Noble men, in Magiſtrates eſpecially when as whatſoeuer vaineneſſe and levitie was in their braines, findeth a fit Winde to carrie it away. Felicitie nouriſheth wrath, as ſoone as the troopes of flatterers are incamped about proud men. They will ſay vnto thee. *What ſhall hee anſwer thee, thou reſpecteſt not thy ſelfe according to the greatneſſe of thy Eſtate, thou abaſeſt thy ſelfe ouermuch* And other ſuch like ſufficient to intangle the wiſeſt heartes, and ſuch as haue beene prudently brought vp from there infancie. Let childhood therefore be farre remoued from flatterie. Let him heare nothing but truth, let him learne feare, modeſtie, obedience to his elders, and dutie, and reuerence. Let him extort nothing from thee by frowardneſſe. That which was denied him when he wept, let it bee giuen him when he is quiet. Let him ſee his Parents riches, but not vſe them: Let him be reproued for his euill deeds.

The ſecond is to keepe meaſure and neither to animate or diſcourage them too much, and how we ought to proceed.

The third that they be not entertained either too tenderly or too roughly.

The fourth to beware of flatterers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

IT ſhall be to the purpoſe to giue children ſuch Maſters and attendants, who are peaceable and gentle. That which is tender layeth holde on that which is neareſt vnto it, and groweth with it, and becommeth like vnto it. Diuers children that haue growne in yeares, haue repreſented the manners of their Nurſes and maſters. A young childe brought vp with *Plato*, returned home to his Parents houſe, and hearing his Father exclaime and chide grieuouſly ſaid, *I haue neuer ſeene the like with* PLATO. I doubt not but that he imitated his father ſooner then *Plato*. Let his diet be alwayes ſlender. Let his attire be modeſt and anſwerable to that of his equals. He ſhall neuer bee angrie that any is compared with him, whom from the beginning thou haſt made equall with many. But theſe things appertaine vnto our children. For in regard of our ſelues the fortune of our birth, and of our bringing vp cannot giue any place vnto correction, nor for the precepts to inſtruction. Wee muſt only prouide for the time to come, and reſiſt the firſt occaſions. But the cauſe of anger is the opinion of iniurie, whereunto wee muſt not eaſily giue credit nor entertaine the firſt reports and proofes how euident and manifeſt ſoeuer they be. For ſome things that are fallen haue an appearance of truth, wee muſt alwayes giue time: for time diſcouereth truth. Let not our eares bee open vnto Tale-bearers. Let this vice of humane nature be ſuſpected by vs, and made knowne vnto vs, that is to ſay, that what we vnwillingly heare, we vnwillingly beleeue, and before wee iudge, we are angrie.

What maſters we ought to prouide for our children.

How children ſhould be fed and clothed.

A remedie of Anger is not to giue credit to tale-bearers.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHat? are we not only moued and inforced by accuſations, but alſo trauailed with ſuſpitions? and interpreting wee not the worſt of other mens lookes and ſmiles; are wee not diſpleaſed with thoſe that are innocent? We muſt therefore plead with our ſelues, the cauſe of him that is abſent, and hold our anger in ſuſpence. For a man may exact the puniſhment which is delaied, but hee cannot remedie it after it is executed. The Tyrant killer is well knowne, who being apprehended before his attempt was performed and tortured by *Hippias* to the end hee ſhould diſcouer his confederates: hee reckoned vp the names of all the Tyrants friends that ſtood about him, who in his knowledge were moſt carefull of his proſperitie and life, and when he had commanded euerie one of them to bee ſlaine, whom he had nominated, he asked him: *Is there any more, yet remaining? Thy ſelfe* (ſaid he) *only for I haue left none elſe aliue that is deare vnto thee:* Wrath was the meanes that made the Tyrant to lend his aſſiſtance to the Tyrant killer, and to murther his owne Guard, with his owne ſword. How more couragiouſly dealt *Alexander?* who when hee had read his mothers Epiſtle; wherein he was admoniſhed that he ſhould beware to bee impoyſoned by his Phyſitian *Philip*, drunke of his preſented potion without any affright. Hee had more confidence in his friend, and worthie was hee to enioy ſo vpright a Phyſitian, and worthie to make ſuch a one. This praiſe I in *Alexander* the more, becauſe no man was more ſubiect vnto anger, and the rarer gouernment

The ſecond to flie ſuſpitions.

See Laertius lib. 9. *of the lawes of the Philoſophers and* Plutarch *his liues.*

is in Kings, the more is it to be commended. The like did *Caius Cæsar* who in the Ciuill warres demeaned himselfe so mercifully. For hauing intercepted a packet of diuers letters that were written to *Pompey*, from those that seemed to haue held the contrarie part, or remained neuters, hee burned them all, and although he were accustomed to keepe a measure in his wrath, yet liked he better to admit no meanes. He held it to be a most gratefull meanes of pardon to be ignorant of that wherein euerie man had offended. Credulitie doth much mischiefe and oft times we ought not to giue care thereunto because in somethings it is better to bee deceiued then to distrust.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Enuie occasioned by opinion and suspition.

SVspition and coniecture which are two betrayers of the minde, are to be banished. *He hath not saluted me kindly enough*; *Hee hath not kissed mee heartily*; *He hath abruptly cut of our discourse*; *he inuited me not to supper*; *That mans countenance was more strange then it was accustomed.* Suspition wants no argument: we haue need of simplicitie, and the friendly interpretation of things. Let vs beleeue nothing, but that which is subiect to the eye, and manifest, and as long as our suspition appeareth to be vaine, let vs chide our credulitie. For this Chastisement will accustome vs to beleeue nothing easily.

CHAP. XXV.

The third remedie against danger is not to be aggrieued for vaine and abiect things.

FRom thence, doth this follow, that wee be not exasperated by the smallest and most sordid thinges. The Page is scarce seruiceable that either ministreth water to warme for our wine, or a bed to sit vpon vnmade, or a table negligently furnished. To bee angrie hereat, is but mādnesse, hee is sicke, and of an euill constitution whom a little breath of winde causeth to quiuer. Those eyes are verie weake, which are dimmed by beholding a white vesture: he is ouer delicate that sweateth to see another man labour. It is reported that there was a certaine man of Sibaris who was called *Mindyrides* who beholding one that digged the Earth, and lifted his mattocke too high, began too commplaine himselfe as if he himselfe had trauelled much, and forbad the other to worke any more in his presence. The same man likewise complained oftentimes, because he lay vpon a bed of rose leaues. Whereas pleasures haue inthraled both the minde and the bodie there is nothing that seemeth tolerable, not because they are hard, but in that effeminate men suffer them. For what is the cause, why any mans cough, or sneesing, or a Flie not curiously enough driuen away, should incense vs, or a cup ouerturned, or a key lost by the carelessenesse of a negligent seruant should trouble vs? Will such a man peaceably endure a publike slander, and reproches vrged against him, in declamations and open Court, that cannot abide to heare the scraping of a stoole that is drawne by him? will he suffer hunger and extreme thirst in a winters voyage, who is angrie with his Page, because he hath not mixed his snow with his wine cunningly.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

THere is nothing therefore, that more nourisheth Anger then intemperate and impatient dissoluteness, the minde is to bee handled hardly that hee may not feele the stroke: except it bee grieuous. We are angrie with these from whom we neither could receiue injurie, or those from whom we might receiue it. Some of the first are without sence, as wee haue beene wont often times to cast by a booke that is written in small letters, and haue torne a faultie, or as we cut our garments by reason they are not pleasing vnto vs in their fashion. How fond a thing is it to be angrie with these which haue not deserued our displeasure, neither feele the same? But we are angrie with those that made them. First, we are angrie almost ordinarily before we bethinke our selues of this distinction, againe happily the very workmen themselues will giue vs sufficient satisfaction. One of them could not doe better then he did, neither was he negligent in his occupation, vpon purpose to displease thee. Another did it not to offend thee. In conclusion, what is more braine-sick then to discharge and vent the choler, we haue gathered vpon things that haue no sense? And as it is a folly to be angrie with these that are inanimated creatures, so is it as fooliſh to be displeased with dumb beasts, because there is no injurie except it proceede from discourse and deliberation. They can therefore hurt vs as yron or a stone, but they cannot doe vs injurie. But some there are that thinke themselues to be contemned, whereas some horses that are easily backt by another horse-man, are sturdie to another mans riding, as if by judgement, not by custome, and the arte of handling them, some beasts are vntractable to some men.

The fourth to refrain impatience in regard of these things that are without life and in regard of men and beasts.

CHAP. XXVII.

BVt as it is a fooliſh thing to be angrie with these; so ought not a man to bee displeased with little children, or against those that haue as little spirit as infants. For all these faults in the eye of an equall Iudge are reputed for innocence of imprudent men. Some things there are which cannot hurt, and haue no power, but that which is beneficiall and holsome, as the immortall gods which neither will, neither can hurt. For their nature is milde and peaceable, and so farre remote from doing other men injurie as themselues. Madde are they therefore, and ignorant of truth, that impute vnto them the raging of the Seas, in measurable showers, a rigorous winter, when as in the meane space there are none of these which either hurt or profit vs, that are properly intended against vs. For we are not the cause in this world of the reuolution of Winter and Sommer, these seasons are gouerned and haue their order disposed by the gods; we estimate our selues too highly, if we suppose our selues worthie that so great things should be moued for vs. There are none of these things therefore is done to our prejudice, nay rather there is nothing done which is not for our good: wee haue said that there are some things which cannot hurt, some things which will not. In this ranck shall be good Princes, Parents and Masters, Iudges and Magistrates, whose chasticement ought to be considered, as the razor of a Surgeon, the diet of a Phisitian, and other remedies, which neither doe vs good nor euill. Are we chastised,

To refraine impatience and not to be angrie with infants.

Much lesse against the gods.

Nor against our superiours in this World.

chastised, let vs thinke not only on that which wee suffer, but also on that which we haue done, and let vs enter into the examination of our life. If wee will confesse a truth vnto our selues, wee haue a greater matter to charge our selues with. If we will be equall Iudges of all things, let vs first of all perswade our selues that there is none of vs without a fault. For hence groweth the greatest indignation; *I haue sinned no waies, I haue done nothing*; nay, thou confessest nothing. If any man admonish or chastise vs we are angrie, when at that very time we sinne. When as to our rebellious deedes we adde arrogancie and contumacie. Who is he that dare maintayne that he is innocent, in respect of all lawes? That this may bee thus, how defectiue is our innocence, in regard of good lawes? how more infinitely is the rule of our duties extended then that of right? how much doe pietie, humanitie, liberalitie, miserie, and faith, exact all which are not inclosed in the ordinances and constitutions of men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The fifth is to thinke in how many sorts men are guilty before God and Men.

NEither as yet can we attayne to that strict innocence of the lawes. We haue done some things, and thought other things. We haue desired some things and haue followed others. We are innocent in some affaires, because we could not effect them. Thinking hereupon, let vs be more fauourable to those that offend. More attentiue to those that reproue vs, and let vs not be displeased with our selues (for with whom will we not be angrie, if we be displeased against our selues?) aboue all things let vs beware to be angrie with the gods. For it is not by their ordinance, but by the law whereunto all mortall men are subject, that we suffer all these incommodities which befall vs. But sicknesses and sorrowes doe assault vs. They that dwell in a rotten house must seeke to flie out of it by some waies. When it shall be told thee that any one hath spoken euill of thee, bethinke thy selfe whether thou hast not begon it first, examine thy selfe by how many thou hast spoken. Let vs thinke, say I, that other men doe vs no injurie, but that they requite vs with the like, and that some doe it of malice, some by constraint, and others through ignorance, and that they likewise who willingly and wittingly doe wrong; take not an occasion by the injurie we haue done, to doe vs another. Either is he fallen through the sweetnesse of his vrbanitie, or hath done somewhat, not with an intent to hurt vs, but because he could not haue attained his desire except hee had repulsed vs. Oft-times flatterie offendeth vs whilst thee flattereth; whosoeuer shall remember himselfe how often times men haue had an euill opinion of him, and interpreted the many good seruices and offices hee hath done for injuries, how many men hee hath loued whom he hated before time, he will not be displeased vpon the first, especially if vpon euery injurie that is done vnto him, he say vnto himselfe. *These faults* likewise haue I my selfe committed. But where wilt thou finde a Iudge that is so vpright? He that coueteth euery mans wife, and thinketh it a sufficient cause for him to loue her, because shee is a stranger will not admit another man to court his. He that will haue another man keepe promise vpon a prefixed day, is no master of his word, the perfidious man persecuteth him that is a lier, and the informer cannot abide that another man should bring him in question. He will not haue his seruants credit touched who is negligent of his owne reputation. Other mens sinnes are before our eies, our owne behinde our backs.

Thence

Thence commeth it that the Father more riotous then his Sonne, yet reproueth him bitterly for his lauish expence, he seuerely taxeth another mans excesse, who is himselfe prodigall and hath no hold of his monie: the Tyrant is displeased against the murtherer, and he that is sacrilegious punisheth theft. The greater part of men are angrie with sinners, but not with the sinne. We shall be more moderate if we examine our selues, if we take counsaile of our selues, and examine whether we our selues haue not committed the like, whether we haue erred in the same manner? Is it fit for vs to condemne the same? Delay is a soueraigne remedie against displeasure, neither require thou her in the beginning to pardon thee, but to judge thee. If shee delay and admitteth any intermission, the furie thereof is abated. Striue not to attempt her all at once, her first assaults are most sharpe, but thou shalt get the day of her, if thou dismember her by little and little.

The sixth is to take time and bethinke our selues before wee be angrie.

CHAP. XXIX.

TOuching those things which offend vs, some are told vs, and some we heare, or see: we must not easily beleeue those things that are told vs, many men lie to the end they may deceiue, many because they are deceiued. This man curries fauour by accusing others, and faineth an injurie to the intent he may seeme sorrowfull for that which is done. There are some so wicked that they seeke nothing more but to sow contention amongst friends. Another is suspicious and desirous in securitie, and from a-farre to behold a single combat, performed betwixt two, whom he hath set together by the eares. If thou wert made a Iudge in a trifeling matter, thou wouldest not allow the cause, except it were approued by witnesses, and the witnesses thou wouldst not respect except they were sworne. Thou wouldest call both parties before thee, and giue them time to answere, and yeeld them audience vpon seuerall daies. For truth will the more manifestly appeare the more often it is debated vpon. Wilt thou condemne thy friend instantly before thou hast heard him, and before thou hast asked him the question? art thou angrie with him before he either know his accuser or his crime? For at this instant, yea now presently, hast thou heard what was spoken on both sides. That very man, who first informed thee, will not justifie his wordes, if he be driuen to proue them. *Thou hast no cause*, saith he, *to driue me to iustifie it, if I be brought in question I will denie the same, or otherwise hereafter I will neuer tell thee any thing.* At the same time he inciteth thee and drawes himselfe out of the trouble and danger. He that will not speake vnto thee, except it be in secret, scarcely tels thee any thing that is worthy thy beliefe. What is more vnreasonable then to beleeue a secret report, and afterwards to be openly angrie?

Reasons why wee should delay.

A notable comparison to this purpose.

CHAP. XXX.

THere are somethings whereof wee our selues are witnesses. In these we will consider the nature and will of those that do them. Is he a child? we beare with his age, he knoweth not whether he offendeth. Is he a father? either before times he hath done vs so much good, that vpon just ground we ought to forgiue him the wrong

The seuenth is to consider the persons, to endure that which is possible.

wrong he might doe vs, or peraduenture we are offended without cauſe, and he himſelfe hath an occaſion to complaine againſt vs. Is ſhe a woman? She is deceiued. Is he commanded? who except he will be iniurious will be angrie with neceſſitie. Is he hurt? It is no iniurie to ſuffer that which thou thy ſelfe profereddſt firſt. Is he a Iudge? Rather truſt thou his opinion then thine owne. Is he a King? if he puniſh thee being guiltie acknowledge his iuſtice, if being innocent, giue place to thy fortune. Is it a dumb beaſt, or a ſtone, or ſuch like? thou art like vnto it if thou be angry at it. Is it ſickeneſſe or calamitie? It will paſſe more lightly if we ſuffer it patiently. Is it God? Thou looſeſt as much time in murmuring at him, as when thou prayeſt him to be angrie againſt thy neighbour. Is he a good man that doth thee iniurie? Beleeue it not. Is it an euill? Wonder not. Another man ſhall puniſh that wrong which he offereth thee, and he himſelfe in doing euill is puniſhed by himſelfe. There are two things as I haue ſaid, that prouoke Anger: the firſt is, if we ſeeme to haue receiued iniury. Of this there is ſufficiently ſpoken. It remaineth that we ſpeake of the ſecond, that is to ſay, whether we haue beene wrongfully iniured. Some men iudge thoſe things to be iniurious, which they ought not to haue ſuffered, ſome becauſe they hoped it not. We repute thoſe things iniurious which are ſudden. Thoſe things therefore moſt greatly moue vs, which happen vnto vs, contrary to our hope and expectation; neyther is there any other cauſe why the leaſt matters offend vs amongſt our Domeſtiques, and why in our friends wee call negligence an iniurie.

Aduertiſements worthy to be conſidered of all men, eſpecially of thoſe who are ſubiect to diſpleaſure.

Of the ſecond ſort of remedies againſt anger.

CHAP. XXXI.

The firſt remedy is to renounce the loue of our ſelues, to know and condemne our ignorance and inſolence.

Againſt our ignorance.

HOw therefore, ſaith he, doe our enemies iniuries moue vs? Becauſe we expected them not, or rather becauſe we imagined not that they ſhould be ſo dangerous. The too much loue we beare our ſelues is the cauſe hereof, and that it is which maketh vs iudge that our enemies ſhould not touch vs any wayes. Euery man hath the heart of a King in him, ſo that he will haue authoritie ouer all men, and yet himſelfe will be vnder no mans ſubiection. So therefore it is eyther our ignorance in things, or our inſolence that maketh vs Angrie. As touching ignorance, are we to wonder if wicked men doe wicked acts? Is it a new thing if our enemie do vs the worſt iniurie he may? If our friend forget himſelfe ſomtimes? if our ſonne or ſeruant commit ſome fault? That great Captaine *Fabius* ſaid that this ordinarie excuſe, *I had not thought it*, was a baſe one: but I thinke it a moſt abiect thing in a man. Bethinke thy ſelfe of all things and expect, euen in good manners there will be ſomething harſh; mans nature beareth with trayterous friends, ſhe endureth vngratefull men, ſhe ſuffereth the couetous, ſhe winketh at the impious. When thou wilt cenſure the manners of one man, thinke vpon the publique; where thou wilt moſt of all reioyce, there moſt of all wilt thou feare; where all things ſeeme vnto thee peaceable, there ſhall not want ſuch things as ſhall hurt thee, yet lie they couered; thinke that will bee ſomewhat hereafter that may offend thee. A Pilot hath neuer ſo cunningly diſcharged himſelfe of all ſtraights and perrilous paſſages, but that he hath alwayes an eye to his Anchor and tackle, to haue all things in a readineſſe when neede requireth. Before all things remember thy ſelfe of this, that the power to doe euill is villeinous, execrable, and wholly vnfitting for a man by whoſe be-

Againſt inſolence.

nesites the wildest beasts are tamed. Behold the Elephants kept vnder yoake, children and women riding boldly vpon the backs of Bulls, Serpents that slide vpon the tables, and slip into the bosomes of men without doing them any harme, and Beares and Lions within doores, that suffer their mouthes to be handled, and fawne vpon their Masters. Thou wouldest be ashamed to change thy manners with bruite beasts. It is a hainous crime to hurt a mans countrey, and therefore a Cittizen likewise, for he is a part of his countrey. The parts are holy if the whole be venerable, therefore man to man, for he is a Cittizen in this great Cittie, which we call the world. What if the handes would harme the feete, and the eyes would not helpe the hands? Euen as all the members are accorded together, because that it importeth the whole body, that the partes whereof it is composed should be entire; so ought we to support one another, because we are made to liue in societie. But this societie cannot continue, if the parts of the same assist not and maintaine not one another. We would not flie from Vipers, and Serpents that haunt the water, and other creatures that are hurtfull, eyther in their biting or stinging, if we could tame them, or keep them eyther from hurting our selues or other men. We will not therefore strike a man because he hath offended, but to the end he offend no more, neyther is punishment euer reserued to the time past, but that which is to come, because it is not ordained to entertaine Anger, but to preuent it: for if euery one should be punished that hath a depraued and offensiue minde, no man should be exempt from punishment.

A worthy induction of sweetnes and good carriage toward our neighbours.

CHAP. XXXII.

BVt wrath hath some pleasure in it, and it is a contenting thing to be reuenged. It is farre otherwise. For euen as it is an honest thing in regard of benefites, to returne a good turne for a good turne; so is it not in requiting iniuries with iniuries: in the one it is a dishonest thing to suffer our selues to be ouercome, and in the other to ouercome. This word reuenge is full of inhumanitie, and yet is entertained for a wise thing, and differeth from contumely in nothing but in order. He that requiteth one iniury with another, offendeth more excusably. A certain inconsiderate fellow strook *Cato* in the Bath, for who is he that had known him that would doe him iniury? and yeelding him afterwards some satisfaction, *Cato* said vnto him, *I remember not that thou didst strike me*. He thought it a wiser part not to acknowledge the wrong then to reuenge it. Thinkest thou that he was not iniuried in receiuing this outrage? In no sort. He did himselfe much good, for he began to know what *Cato* was. It is the part of a great mind to despise iniuries: it is a contumelious kinde of reuenge, that he thought him vnworthy to reuenge himselfe on. Many whilst they reuenge themselues for euery slight offence, haue made their iniurie the greater. That man is great and noble, that after the manner of a mightie wilde beast, listneth securely the barking of lesser Dogges: but, saith he, we shall be contemned lesse, if we reuenge the iniuries we receiue. If we come thereunto as to a remedie, let vs come without Anger; not as if it were a pleasing thing to be reuenged, but because it is profitable: but oftentimes it hath bin more wisdome to dissemble then to reuenge.

The refutation of their false opinion, that thinke it a great good to worke other mens euill.

What magnanimitie is.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

An answer to the reply that to reuenge a mans selfe is to make himselfe feared by all men.

BVT those injuries that are done vs by mightie men are not only to be suffered ioyfully, but patiently. They wil doe it againe, if they beleeue they haue done it. Those mindes whom Fortune hath made insolent haue this detestable qualitie in them that they hate those whom they haue harmed. Famous and memorable is his speech who was become olde in the seruice of Kings, when a certaine man asked him: *How he had attained so rare a thing, as old age in his seruice in Court? By suffering iniuries* (saith he) *and by giuing thankes.* Oft times it is so profitable not to reuenge iniurie, that it beseemeth vs not to confesse the same. *Caius Cæsar* hauing imprisoned the sonne of one *Pastor* a famous Knight of Rome, being offended with the niceneſſe of his attire and the curious frizling of his haire. when his Father required him to grant him his sonnes life, as if he had beene admonished to punish his misdeeds, commanded him forthwith to be put to death, yet least he should seeme to behaue himselfe too cruelly towards the Father, he inuited him to supper the same day. *Pastor* came thether with a merrie countenance, *Cæsar* carowsed to him nine ounces of wine, and set an attendant expressely to see whether hee did him reason. The poore man drunke vp all, as if hee had drunke the bloud of his sonne. After this, hee sent him perfumes and a crowne; commanding the messenger to obserue whether he tooke them: he receiued them the same day, wherein he had buried his sonne. The poore guest of a hundreth yeares of age, and such a one as was troubled with the gout, lay almost sousked in wine, yet drunke he vp such large potions, that might seeme intolerable, had he banquetted at his childrens birth-day, yet shed he no teares, neither suffered he any signe of griefe to slip from him. Hee supped as if hee had gotten his sonnes pardon. Doest thou aske me why? He had an other: what did *Priamus?* dissembled hee not his displeasure? imbraced hee not the Kings knees? he applied those fatall hands to his reuerend lippes that were imbrewed with the bloud of his sonne; hee supt, and yet without perfumes, without crownes; and him did his cruell enemie exhort with many comfortable speeches to eate his meate, not to the end he might emptie hugh cuppes, setting a watch ouer his head to obserue him. He had contemned *Pastor* had he feared, but now pietie pacified his wrath. He was worthie to haue libertie, to depart from the banquet to gather vp his sonnes bones: yet suffered hee not this. Meane while that courtous and gentle yong man inuited the good old Father, prouoked the Father in merrie cups to burie and pacifie his cares. Contrariwise, *Pastor* fained himselfe merrie, and forgetfull of that which had hapned the same day. His other sonne had died likewise, had not the Father and guest pleased the tyrant *Caligula*, that inuited him.

The miserie of old Courtiers.

A notable example of Achilles.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

With whom soeuer we are to deale withall, Choler is vnnecessarie. And this consideration is the second remedie.

SO then we ought to auoid wrath whether it bee with our equall, with our superiours or inferiours. To striue against our equals is a matter doubtful, against our superiours is furie, against our inferiours is basenes. It is the part of a silly and miserable man to bite him that biteth him. Gnats and Ants turne there heads backe

to

to bite if a man layholde of them. Weake Creatures ſuppoſe themſelues hurt if they be touched. It will make vs more vnited, if wee bethinke our ſelues, how much he may profit vs hereafter with whom we are angrie, and the offences will bee redeemed with mercies. Let vs alſo thinke on this what commendation the fame of Clemencie will yeeld vnto vs, and how many hath pardon made profitable friends. Neither let vs be angry with the children of our adverſaries and enemies. Amongſt the examples of *Syllaes* crueltie this is not on of the leaſt, that he depriued all their children who were proſcribed from all publike office and authoritie. It is an extreme injuſtice for a man, to make any one the heire of that hatred which he hath borne to his Father? As oftentimes as wee ſhall be ſlow in pardoning, let vs bethinke vs whether it ſhould be good for vs, that all the men of the World ſhould be ſo affectioned againſt vs. How often times doth he require pardon, who would not pardon? and how often hath a man humbled himſelfe at ſuch another mans feet, whom hee before time hath driuen out of his preſence. What is more glorious then to change enmitie into amitie. What more faithfull confederates haue the people of Rome, then theſe who were their moſt mortall enemies. What ſhould the Empire bee at this day, except wholeſome prouidence had mixed the conquered with the conquerors. Shall any man be angrie with thee? reconcile thou him by thy benefits. The diſpleaſure ſodainly qualeth when as the one part forbeareth to contend. No man fighteth except he be reſiſted. If both parts are contentious he hath the better hand, that firſt retireth him ſelfe, and hee is conquered that ouercommeth. Hath he ſtriken thee? flie backe, for in ſtriking him againe thou ſhalt giue him both occaſion to ſtrike often & an excuſe for ſtriking: thou canſt not be parted from him when thou wilt. Would any man ſtrike his enemie ſo grieuouſly, that hee ſhould leaue his hand in the wound, and could not recall himſelfe from the ſtroke? but wrath is ſuch a weapon as it cannot ſcarcely be recalled.

Here is ſome abrupt breaking of.

The third remedie to giue them the vpper hand, whom wee haue the aduantage of.

The fourth to giue place to ſuch as are quarrelſome.

CHAP. XXXV.

WE furniſh our ſelues with conuenient armes with a ſword not long or ouer ſhort, ſhall wee not auoid the impulſions of the minde more grieuous, more furious, and irrevocable then theſe? wee take pleaſure in that Gelding that ſtaieth as ſoone as he is rayned in, that keepeth him in his ordinarie pace, that knoweth when to turne, and which may eaſily be brought backe to the place where hee began his firſt carier. We know that our nerues are out of frame, when as they are moued againſt our willes. Hee is either aged or of a weake conſtitution who when he would walke, runneth: we ſuppoſe thoſe motions of the minde to be the healthfulleſt and ſtrongeſt, which are diſpoſed at our pleaſure and not as they liſt. But nothing hath profited vs ſo much as firſt, to behold the deformitie of a thing, and afterwardes the danger. There is no paſſion more deformed then this which ſpoyleth the faireſt faces of the World and maketh thoſe eyes dreadfull which before time were peaceable. All ſeemelines abandoneth thoſe that are angrie, and if he bee as decently arrayed as any man can deſire, he will draw his gowne aſide, and will caſt of all care of himſelfe. If the haire of his head be naturally or artificially well trimmed, a man ſhall ſee it ſtare and ſtand vpright. If the ſpirit be moued, the veines ſwell, the breaſt is ſhaken with violent

The firſt to diſcharge our ſelues of that which hindereth vs ſo much as Anger doth.

The ſixth conſideration, the deformitie of Anger.

The diſcription of wrath both in bodie and mind.

lent breathing, the voice in issuing forth puffeth vp the necke with furie. The joynts tremble, the hands shake, all the bodie is tossed like a Pinnace in a tempest. In what estate thinkest thou is the minde inwardly, when such deformitie sheweth it selfe outwardly? How more terrible is the inward countenance? how more violent the breath? how more intended the passion, which would burst it selfe, vnlesse she inforced her passage? Such is their countenance, as the enemie hath, or wilde beastes imbrued with slaughter, or of such as are addressed to spoile and slaughter. So deformed furies as the infernall monsters are imagined by the Poets, begirt with Serpents and breathing fire. Such as the most dreadfull monsters of Hell assume vnto themselues, when they issue forth to inkindle warres, to sow discord amongst Nations and to dismember peace. In such manner should wee picture out anger, that hath fierie furie in her eyes, a crie compounded of puffing, lowing, mourning, and other such confused and dreadfull noyces, shaking in both her handes her dierfull weapons without care of couering her bodie, frowning, couered with bloud and wounds: yea mortified with strokes which shee hath giuen her selfe, her gate ridiculous and furious, all her behauiour confused and confounded, running here and there to ouerthrow all that which she meeteth with all, hated of all, and aboue all things wishing her owne death. And if she cannot doe worse, desirous to teare Heauens, Seas and Earth, from their places, in breefe no lesse hurtfull then hatefull. Or if a man will behold her in such sort as our Poets describe her:

A liuing description of anger.

She in her hand shaketh a bloudie whip.
or,
Hauing her cote or in many peeces rent,
And with the bloud of guiltlesse men bespreut.

Or if any man may imagine any more horrible face of a horrible passion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The vse of a glasse good to reframe Choler.

SOme (saith *Sextius*) that were angrie haue profited themselues by looking into a looking glasse, for they were troubled in beholding so great a change in themselues, in that they knew not themselues at that time. But how little was that which this image reflected from the glasse to represent and expresse their true filthinesse and deformitie? if the minde might haue beene seene, and might shine, and shew it selfe in any matter, she would confound vs in beholding her so sordid, so inraged, so deformed, and puffed vp. And now as yet her lothsomenesse is so great, that she passeth thorow bones, and flesh, and whatsoeuer other impediments. But what if shee were seene naked. For I beleeue that no man is terrified from wrath by beholding a glasse: what then? hee that came vnto a looking glasse to reforme himselfe, had alreadie conformed himselfe. They that are angrie haue no seemely countenance, their lookes are dreadfull and cruell, and such would they seeme to be as they desire to be. Rather ought we to consider this how many men wrath hath armed to wound themselues. Some thorow to much rage haue burst there veines, and by force of crying haue vomited bloud, and abundance of humour being thrust into their eyes hath dulled and dimmed the sight and the cleerenesse thereof, and such as were sicke haue relapsed

The seuenth remedie, is to consider how many men he hath ruined.

relapſed into diſeaſes. There is no more ſwifter way vnto madneſſe then this. Many therefore haue continued the furie of their wrath, neither could recouer againe that vnderſtanding that they themſelues exiled. Furie prouoked *Aiax* to death, and wrath put him in furie. They wiſh death to their children, pouertie to themſelues, ruine to their houſes; and denie themſelues to be Angrie, reſembling thoſe that are furious; who being enraged ſay they are not mad. Moſt friendly to their enemies, moſt dangerous to their deareſt friendes, forgetfull of Lawes except they may hurt thereby, incenſed vpon the leaſt occaſion: neyther affable in ſpeech nor companie or intertainment. They doe all things forcibly, they are addreſſed to fight with their ſwords & to die on their ſwords. For a mightie euill hath ſurpriſed them, and ſuch as exceedeth all other vices. Other ſinnes enter by little and little, the force hereof is ſodaine and vniuerſall. To conclud ſhe keepeth all other affections in ſubjection, and conquereth the moſt vehementeſt loue. They haue therefore murthered the bodies whom they haue loued, and euen enfolded in there armes: whom they haue fitted to their graues. Wrath hath ſpurned at auarice, the moſt indurate and leaſt flexible euil, inforcing her to ſcatter her riches, and to ſet fire on his houſe and goods, when they were all gathered together. What hath not the ambitious man caſt away his ſo long affected tokens and titles of majeſtracie, and repulſed that honour which was offered vnto him? There is no affection ouer which wrath hath no power.

The conclusion is that choler is an extreme euill and the rather because it spareth no other vices.

The end of the ſecond Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

The third Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE proſecuteth the other part of the remedie againſt Anger, which hee placed in the midſt of his former Booke, but differred the ſame. That we ſinne not in Anger, that is that wee reſraine the ſame and repreſſe it; which is performed in diuers ſorts. But it muſt bee done alwayes and preſently in a head-long, and vnbridled affection which ARISTOTLE *excuſeteh: But he accuſeth him, and once more diſcouereth the loathſomenes of Anger. Theſe things performeth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then groweth hee to diuiſion alleadging that he will ſpeake of three things. Firſt, how we may not bee angrie. Secondly, how we may be freed from Anger. Thirdly, how we may pacifie and pleaſe ſuch a one as is Angrie. Theſe although in other places he performeth with repetition of the former, yet performeth he it worthily, and profitably till the end of the Booke: and thou ſhalt haue golden and diuine admonitions and ſayings.*

CHAP. I.

To reſraine wrath in ſuch manner as wee ought, we muſt learne the natures of men that are attainted therewith.

NOW, my *Nouatus*, will wee attempt to doe that which thou thy ſelfe haſt moſt inſtantly deſired, namely, how wee may roote out Anger out of our mindes, or at leaſtwiſe bridle it and inhibite the aſſaults thereof. This muſt bee done ſometimes openly and in all mens ſight, when as yet the force of the euil is as yet ſo ſmal as it cannot endure it: ſometimes ſecretly when as it is to much inflamed and is exaſperated and increaſeth vpon euerie impediment. We muſt conſider what forces ſhe hath, and how intire they be. Whether ſhe is to be chaſtiſed and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to giue place vnto her, whilſt the firſt tempeſt be pacified for feare leaſt ſhee carrie away thoſe remedies with her, that ſhould reclaime her: and conſideration is to

to be had, according to euery ones manners. For ſome are ouercome by prayers, ſome inſult, and are exaſperated by ſubmiſſion: Some are ouercome with terrors, ſome hath reproofe, other ſome confeſſion, the third hath ſhame revoked from their purpoſe, and ſome by delay, which is the true though ſloweſt remedie of theſe ſo head-long paſſions, wherevnto at the laſt wee muſt deſcend. For other affections admit delay, and may bee healed by little and little, but the ſodaine and head-long violence of Anger proceedeth not leaſurely, but is wholy intire in the beginning. Neither doth ſhe ſolicite mens minds after the manner of other vices, but ſhe tranſporteth them, but vexeth them being no Maſters of themſelues, and that are as deſirous of their owne euill as of an others. Shee ſheweth her ſelfe not only furious againſt that ſhe vndertaketh, but againſt all that which caſually encountereth her in the way. All other vices incite the minde, wrath caſteth it downe head-long. The reſt although they cannot reſiſt their affections, at leaſt the paſſions themſelues maintaine themſelues, this no otherwiſe then lightning and tempeſt and other impreſſions of the ayre (which are ſodaine and fall in an inſtant) reinforceth it ſelfe and increaſeth more and more. Theſe other vices are eſtranged from reaſon, this is wholy deſtitute, and is a furie. The reſt haue light acceſſions and decieueable increaſes; in wrath the mindes of men are proſtituted and dejected. There is no paſſion more aſtoniſhed, that vrgeth more, nothing that imployeth his forces more deſperately, and ſwiftly, or whether it bee that ſhee get the vpper hand (which maketh her more proud) or whether ſhee hath beene repulſed (which inflameth her with furie) ſhe giueth not ouer, neither retireth although ſhe haue beene repulſed; and when Fortune preſenteth her not with any aduerſarie ſhee ſtriketh and biteth her ſelfe, prouided that ſhee may maintaine her ſelfe: For her beginnings are ſmall, but ſhe becommeth maruellouſly great.

CHAP. II.

SHee ouerſlippeth no age, ſhee excepteth no kind of men. Some Nations thorow the benefit of pouertie are exempted from diſſolution, neither know they what it is: ſome others haue fled Idleneſſe, becauſe they are ſtill in trauell and wander from one Countrie to an other. They that liue rudely and ruſtikely haue neuer vſed trumperies, nor fraud, nor any of thoſe miſcheefes which are bred in places more frequented. There is no Nation vnder Heauen, whether they be Greekes or Barbarians, how puiſſant ſoeuer they be, that can ſay that they are exempted from the aſſaults and inſtigations of anger, no leſſe pernicious to thoſe, who are ſubject to certaine Lawes, as to thoſe whoſe Law is force and amongſt whom the ſtrongeſt is the greateſt. To conclude thoſe other paſſions inuade men in particular; but wrath is the only paſſion that layeth hold vpon all men. Neuer was it ſeene, that one only Nation was ſuppriſed with the loue of one only woman. Neyther hath a whole Citie fixed their hopes vpon mony and lucre. Ambiton ſeazeth this or that man only. Tyrannie hath not dominion in all places. But oftentimes anger hath poſſeſſed whole troopes, men, women, old young, Princes and their people haue gathered together to ſatisfie Anger. And a multitude being incenſed by two or three words of him that lead them the way, were moued to mutinie. Forthwith haue they addreſſed themſelues to

That all ages, men, and people are attainted with Anger which may not be ſaid by other paſſions.

A liuely repreſentation of publike furie.

fire, and he that for his eloquence was accounted gracious in al mens eyes, in the middeſt of honour and the height of his Diſcourſe, hath purchaſed the diſpleaſure of the whole Aſſemblie. The Legions haue darted their Iauelins againſt their generall. The people haue bandied againſt the Senate, and without expecting the elections or the nomination of Chieftaine of the Armie, haue ſuddenly of themſelues choſen out Captaines to execute their furious deſignes, and ruſhing into the houſes of men of honour, and the beſt Cittizens, haue executed and put them to death. They haue broken the lawes of Nations by outraging Embaſſadours, and vnſpeakeable furie hath poſſeſſed the whole Cittie, they haue not allowed time, to the end the publique inſurrection might be pacified, but incontinently haue armed their Nauie, and manned it with the firſt Souldiers they could get. Without order, without reſpect of auncient ceremonies the people haue iſſued forth, being guided and gouerned by their own furie, laying holde on whatſoeuer weapons came caſually to their hands, armed themſelues therewith, and finally by a great and miſerable ouerthrow, haue receiued a iuſt puniſhment for their raſhnes and audacious follie.

CHAP. III.

THis is the end of thoſe Barbarians, who runne thus inconſiderately to warre, as ſoone as any appearance of iniury hath ſeized their light braines: they are ſuddenly moued, and whether deſpite driueth, they ruſh in deſperation into thoſe Regions which they intend to ſpoyle, without apprehenſion of danger, or obſeruation of diſcipline; contrariwiſe, they ſeeke out misfortunes, they take pleaſure to receiue wounds, and to runne in furiouſly vpon the points of the ſword, and to make them way by the wounds which they receiued. It is not to be doubted, ſayeſt thou but that the effect of choler is very great and dangerous, ſhew vs therfore ſom remedies and means how it may be healed. But as I ſaid in my former Bookes, *Ariſtotle* ſtands forth, and pleades for Anger, and willes vs not to extinguiſh it wholly in vs. He alleadgeth that it is the ſpurre of vertue, and that if a man be depriued thereof, his heart is diſarmed, and he becommeth recreant, idle, and vnable to execute any great attempts. It is very needfull therefore to reproue the villeiny and beaſtlines of this vice, and to ſet before mens eyes how monſtrous a thing it is for a man to be ſo hatefully and violently bent againſt another, and what furie is in him who ruinateth himſelfe in ruining another, and pretending to plunge and drowne certaine things in the Sea, he cannot effect his purpoſe but by plunging and drowning himſelfe. What then? Will any man call him ſenſible or diſcreet, who being ſurpriſed as it were with a tempeſt goeth not but is driuen, and ſerueth a furious paſſion? Neyther commanded other to execute his vengeance, but he himſelfe will be agent to performe it, hauing his heart and hand ſtretched out to ſatisfie his cruelty, and without ſparing (fierce hang-man that he is) his owne and onely friends, yea, and thoſe whom after he hath maſſacred, he will preſently mourne for. Is it poſſible that any man ſhould admit this paſſion for an abbeter and companion, and vertue who ſhutteth out all counſailes, without which vertue can execute nothing. Fraile and ſiniſter are thoſe forces, and powerfull to their owne preiudice, into which the ſickeneſſe and the violence of the fit haue driuen the ſicke patient. Thinke not therefore that I employ my ſelfe vnprofitably in defaming Anger,

He vrgeth againſt Ariſtotle *who maintaineth Anger, and ſheweth the baſeneſſe and villeiny thereof.*

as

as if men alreadie doubted thereof. I doe it becauſe there are ſome found amongſt the Philoſophers of greateſt note and reputation, who hath pleaded for her and ſaid that ſhe is profitable, and animateth the mind vnto battel, and that in humane actions and all other affaires, we ought to manage them with ſome vigour. But leaſt any man ſhould be deceiued, or ſhould imagine, that either in a certaine time and place it was a thing that were profitable, it behoueth mee to diſcouer the violent and vnbrideled rage thereof, and ſet her downe with all her equipage, ſuch as are her racks, her nerues and ſtrings, her Iailes her gibbets and ſtakes to be burned at, and hookes to dragge dead bodies, diuers ſortes of ſhackles, diuers ſorts of tortures, the tearing of the fleſh and members, the branding in the forehead, the denhes of ſauage beaſts. Let Anger be placed amongſt all theſe inſtruments where ſhe may gnaſh her teeth, and whiſtle out ſome direfull and horrible noyſe, being of her ſelfe more hideous then all that whereof ſhe maketh vſe to execute her furie.

See Ariſtotle *in the fourth booke of his morals. chap. 11.*

CHAP. IIII.

CErtainly although we call the reſt in queſtion; yet is there no paſſion more deformed then this, as in our former Bookes wee haue preſented her fierce and furious, ſometimes pale, hauing ſuddenly repulſed all her bloud to the heart, then inflamed againe, as if her whole heate and ſpirit were mounted againe into her countenance, hauing her colour bloudie, her veines ſwolne, her eyes ſometimes quiuering an ſparkling, ſometimes fixed and ſetled vpon ſomething. Moreouer, ſhe hath teeth that grinde, crack one againſt another, deſiring to deuoure ſome one, and making ſuch a noyſe as wilde Beares are accuſtomed to doe when they rub and ſharpen their fangs. Adde hereunto the beating of her handes and breaſt, her often ſighes, her groanes, drawne from the depth of her heart, the agitation of her whole bodie, her ſpeech intercepted with ſudden exclamations, her trembling lips ſometime cloſed and mumbling diuers menaces. I beleeue that the wilde beaſtes being preſſed by famine, or that beare an arrow fixed in their entrailes, yea, and then likewiſe when they are at their laſt bay, are not ſo hideous as a man inflamed with choler. But if you will ſpare a time to heare her ſpeeches and menaces, which the heart vttereth with tormented rage, would not euery man incontinently retire himſelfe from ſuch a danger, when he ſhall perceiue that Anger beginneth by his owne miſerie? Wilt thou not therefore haue me admoniſh thoſe, who do all that they can, to make it knowne, that they are cholericke, and thinke it to be a proofe of their value, that a man tranſported with choler cannot be called couragious and free, but feeble and ſlaue vnto all others? Wilt thou not ſuffer me to aduertiſe thoſe that are more circumſpect to looke about themſelues, that ſome other paſſions of the minde doe inuade the wicked, but Anger ſtealeth into the hearts of the moſt learned Clerks, and that otherwiſe behaue themſelues like good men, ſo that ſome men thinke Anger to be a token of ſimplicity, and ordinarily we ſuppoſe that he that is moſt honeſt, hath his part of this infirmitie.

The continuation of this deſcription, and a liuely repreſentation of Anger.

CHAP. V.

How hurtfull wrath is, and the three principall remedies thereof.

WHereto then tendeth this Discourse? To the end that no man should suppose himselfe to be warranted from this passion, because she induceth those men that are modest and peaceable by nature, to become rude and violent. Euen as a good disposition of bodie, and the care to maintaine our selues in health, preuayleth nothing against the plague, which indifferently taketh holde both on weake and strong; so in Anger there is a danger as well for them that are disordered, as for those men that are sober and peaceable, and haue care of themselues, the more the trouble, which Anger causeth in them is great. But for as much as the first remedie is not to be angrie, the second to refraine Anger, the third to remedie another mans Anger, I will first of all shew the meanes how to auoyde Anger, secondly, how we may discharge our selues of Anger, if it beginneth to be enkindled in vs; thirdly, in what sort we may pacifie a man that is displeased, and temper and reduce him to reason. We shall subdue Anger, if from time to time we represent vnto our selues all those vices that are hatched vnder this passion, and if we consider the same as we ought, with all her dependances and appurtenances; we must accuse her before our selues, condemne her, examine her infirmities, and lay her open to view; then compare her with the most detestable vices, to the end that as yet we may be better instructed what she is. Auarice gathereth and locketh vp for a honest man that is not couetous: wrath consumeth all, and gratifieth very few, and is welcome to none. An angry Master hath driuen som of his seruants to runne away, some hath he put to death, when as he lost more by being angry, then that was for which hee was angry: wrath hath made the father mourne, the husband to bee diuorced, the magistrate to be hated, and the Candidate to be repulsed. It is worser likewise then ryot, because she taketh pleasure in her owne delights, this in another mans sorrow. She surpasseth malignitie and hatred; for they are contented to see any man become vnhappie, this will make them vnhappy; the other two reioyce at those euils which come casually, she cannot expect fortune, she will hurt him whom she hateth, and will not be hurt. There is nothing so grieuous as secret hatred, but wrath concealeth it. What is more lamentable then warre? therein is it that men discouer their displeasures. Moreouer, that publique and priuate Anger is a weake and forceleſſe warre. Furthermore without recounting those damages which we will adde hereafter, nor of ambushes, nor of perpetuall cares which engender so many quarrels, wrath intending to reuenge her selfe punisheth her selfe, she is the canker of humane nature. For Nature inuiteth vs to amitie, Anger to hatred; Nature commaundeth vs to assist one another, Anger to hate one another, the one commandeth vs to profite, the other to hurt. Adde hereunto, that whereas indignation proceedeth from an ouer-great suspicion of himselfe, and seemeth to be couragious, yet is she weake and infirme; for no man is lesse then he by whom he suspecteth himselfe to be contemned. But a man that is truely valiant, and that knoweth his owne worth, reuengeth not an iniurie, because he feeleth it not. Euen as arrowes recoile backe if they be shot at some stonie and hard marke and such solid things as are strucken, procure his griefe that striketh them; so is there no iniury that may pierce a great heart, it is farre weaker then that she attempteth. How farre more worthy a thing is it to dispise all iniuries and contumelies, as if the mindo were impregnable. Reuenge

is

is a confession of paine. The minde is not great which is animated by iniurie. Eyther a stronger then thy selfe, or a weaker hath wronged thee; if he be weaker then thy selfe, spare him, if mightier support thy selfe.

CHAP. VI.

The effects of true magnanimitie, approued by a fit comparison.

THere is no one more certain argument of true magnanimity, then if thou resolue thy selfe, that nothing may befall thee that may moue thee. The highest and best gouerned part of the world, and neerest to the starres, is not troubled with clouds, nor subiect to tempests, nor afflicted with stormes: there is no tumult in the same, the inferiour heauens push forth lightnings. In like sort a sublimed and high spirit is alwayes quiet, and placed in a peaceable station, restrayning in himselfe that, whence Anger borroweth an occasion of contention: it is moderate, venerable and setled. But thou shalt finde none of these in an angry man: for who is he that is betraied to sorrow and furie, that hath not reiected his former modesty? Who is he that is turbulent in passion, and incensed against another man, that hath not dispossessed himselfe of all shamefastnesse? What man is he that is displeased, that keepeth any measure, or remembreth him of his duety, or containeth his tongue, who hath beene Master of any one part of his bodie, who could gouern himselfe? That notable lesson of *Democritus* to finde out the true repose will profite vs infinitely, *If we doe nothing eyther priuately or publikely that exceedeth our forces.* Neuer doe things succeede so happily vnto any man who intermedleth with many affaires, but that sometimes by some one man, or from the affaires themselues, there ariseth some fault which disposeth the heart vnto Anger. Euen as he that trauelleth hastily thorow the frequented streetes of a Cittie, must meete with many men, and in one place slip, in another be stopped, and in a third be besprinckled with dirt; so in the trauaile & walkes of this life, so confounded and confused, there happen many impediments and manie quarrels: the one hath deceiued our hope, another hath deferred it, another hath intercepted it; the euents haue not beene answerable to our expectation. Fortune is not so addicted to any man that she yeeldeth him euery way correspondence in his manifold attempts. It followeth therefore that he knoweth not what it is to endure men, nor the estate of humane affaires, who thinkes that any thing befalleth him otherwise then hee made reckoning of. To the end therfore that the mind may be quiet, it is not to be tossed, neither as I said, troubled with the managing of many affaires, nor to be charged with mighty affaires, and such as exceede her strength. It is an easie matter to carry light burthens, and to cast them from one shoulder to another, without letting them fal. But if any one hath loaded vs, and the burthen be heauy, we carry it with much labour, and finally we discharge it vpon those that are neerest vs, or if we pant vnder the burthen by reason we are ouer-loden, it is hard for vs to goe forwards or backewards without staggering.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

How requisite mediocritie and temperance are in managing the affaires of this life, and intemperating and quieting the minde.

KNow thou that the same falleth out in ciuill and domestique matters. Those affaires that are easiy and light, accompanie him that doth them, those that are ouer-great and exceede his might, that acteth them, are vneasie to compasse, and after a man hath laid holde of them, they puzzle and oppresse him that carrieth them: finally when he thinketh that he hath best hold of them, hee stumbleth, falleth, and his burthen rowleth downe vpon him, and troubleth him. Thence falleth it out often times, that hee who vndertaketh difficult matters, and would make them easie, is frustrated of the most part of his thoughts. In all thine enterprises, measure thy selfe together with those thinges which thou wilt manage, and whereunto thou addressest thy selfe, otherwise the displeasure thou shalt conceiue in leauing thy worke vnperfect, will make thee maruellously pensiue. In this place wee ought to obserue whether a man bee of a violent spirit, or setled, or fearefull: In a generous mind, repulse will inkindle wrath, in a faint and abject minde, sadnesse: Let therefore our action bee neyther too small nor too audacious, nor too wicked; let vs follow those things that are answerable to our hope, let vs attempt nothing, that when wee haue attained the same, will make vs wonder at the successe thereof.

CHAP. VIII.

Noble obseruations for all men.

LEt vs take order that wee receiue not such an injurie which wee cannot disgeast. Let vs lead our liues with temperate and familiar men, not with those that are troublesome and fooliſh: men inuest their manners with whom they are conuersant. And as some infirmities of the bodie are deriued and transported by attouchment, so the soule communicateth her infirmities and passions, to those that approch her. A Drunkard hath drawne his companion into loue with wine, and the companie of dissolute fellowes hath effeminated a man who should be as hard as the rocke. Auarice empoysoneth those that dwell neere vnto her; contrariwise, there is the same reason as is touching vertues, which moderate all things that are with them: neyther was any profitable countrey or wholsome aire more healthful for mans bodie, then for good mindes that are scarce setled to conuerse with good men, which thing how auaileable it is thou shalt vnderstand, if thou consider how wilde beasts are tamed by mens handling, and how the fiercest beast laieth by his furie, if he hath long time bin vnder the discipline of a man. That which is furious in her is lenified and tempered by little and little. Moreouer he that conuerseth with peaceable and good men, not only becommeth better by reason of their example, but in as much likewise as he findeth no occasions to be displeased; he is not in practise of the passion. He ought therefore to flie from all these, who in his knowledge are disposed and easily prouoked vnto Anger. And who are they, saist thou? many such as vpon diuers causes will doe the same. The proude man will offend thee with contempt, the rich man with contumely, the lasciuious man with iniurie, the hatefull man with malignitie, the quarrelsome by contention, the boaster and lyer by vanitie. Thou wilt not endure to be feared by a suspicious man, to be ouercome

come by an obſtinate, to be ſcorned by an effeminate man. Make choice of ſimple facile and moderate men, who wil neither prouoke thee to wrath, nor be moued though thou offend them. But as yet more profit ſhalt thou reap from ſubmiſſe, curteous, and affable men, yet not ſo pliant as they may proue flatterers, for too much flatterie offendeth angry men. I had a friend & he an honeſt man, but yet otherwaies too ready to be moued, who was as litle pleaſed with flatterie as he was with reproofe. It is well known that *Cælius* the Oratour was extremly cholerick with whom, as it is reported, there ſupped a client of his within his chamber, who was indowed with ſingular patience, but hard was it for him being met with ſuch a companion, to auoid his diſpleaſure, with whom he ſupped. He therfore thought it to be the beſt to ſmooth him vp in whatſoeuer he ſaid, & to giue way to him. *Cælius* could not indure this ſmoothing, but exclaimed. *Speake ſomewhat againſt me that we may be two.* But he alſo becauſe being angrie, he ſaw the other pacified & ſilent gaue ouer his diſpleaſure, becauſe he had no aduerſary. Let vs therefore at leaſt-wiſe make choice of theſe (if we be priuy to our own imperfections) that wil apply themſelues to our manners and diſcourſe, vndoubtedly they wiil make vs delicate and bring vs into an euill cuſtome, not to giue care to any thing that is diſpleaſing vnto vs, yet ſhall this profit vs, that they allow vs ſome intermiſſion and quiet in our errour. A hard and vntamed nature likewiſe will indure a flattering and affable entertainment. Nothing is harſh and diſpleaſing when we ſmooth and handle it gently. As oft as the diſputation ſhall bee longer or more eager, let vs reſiſt at firſt before it be inforced. Contention nouriſheth it ſelfe and layes holde on thoſe that flie her. It is eaſier for a man to abſtaine from a debate, then to retire himſelfe.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth expedient againſt Anger is neither to charge that minde or body to much.

MOreouer ſuch as are angrie ought to forbeare all ſerious ſtudies, or at leaſt wiſe they are to exerciſe them without laſſitude, and the minde ought not to be buſied in many things, but to be entertained with more pleaſing ſtudies. Let the reading of Poets pacifie him, and the ouerloking of Hiſtories content him with varieties, let him be handled more tenderly aud delicately. *Pithagoras* pacified the perturbations of the mind by his Harpe. But who knoweth not that Clarions and Trumpets doe wonderfully moue? and that there are ſome ſtraines of voice and muſick which make the mind tractable? Great things are profitable for confuſed eyes, and there are other coulors that content the feeble ſight, and the brightnes of ſome other doth blemiſh them, ſo the ſtudie of pleaſant ſtories doth comfort languiſhing ſpirits. We muſt flie the places, the pleas, and courts where audience is giuen, all which doe exulcerate the minde, and beware likewiſe to werie our bodies. For laſſitude conſumeth all that which is ſweete and plauſible in vs, and awakeneth that which is ſharpe and ſtirring. For this cauſe they that haue no good ſtomack intending to imploy themſelues in ſome matters of importance, are accuſtomed to repreſſe the cholericke humor which trauell ſtirreth ouer much, by eating ſome little thing, and the rather becauſe hunger extinguiſheth naturalheat, hurteth the bloud, and ſtaieth the courſe therof, by reaſon that the veines are trauelled, or becauſe the body being attenuated & faint incountereth the ſoule. Vndoubtedly for the ſame cauſe & conſideration ſickmen & old men are ſubject vnto anger. And therfore for the ſame cauſes are hunger & thirſt to be auoided becauſe they exaſperate & inflame mens minds.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The fifth expedient is, the knowledge that we ought to haue of our ſelues and the infirmities of our mindes.

IT is an old ſaying, *That it is eaſie to driue a wearied man into the frets.* As much may bee ſaid of him that is a hungrie, of him that is drie, and by euery man that is diſpleaſed at any thing. For as vlcers vpon euery light touch, and afterwards vpon a ſhew of touching, ſeeme painfull, ſo the minde that is affected, is offended with the leaſt things, in ſo much as a ſalutation, an Epiſtle, an Oration, and Interrogation prouoke them to diſpleaſure. Such as are pained, are neuer touched without complaining. And therefore it is the beſt to take medicine vpon the firſt ſence or appearance of the ſickneſſe, in like ſort to giue no libertie to our diſcourſes, but to refraine them carefully. But when the paſſions begin to take head, and burſt forth it is an eaſie matter to reſtraine them. There are certaine ſignes which goe before a ſickneſſe. Euen as tempeſts and ſhowers haue certaine ſignes before they fall, ſo Anger, loue, and all theſe ſtormes which vexe the minde; haue certaine tokens to preſage them. Such as are ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe vnderſtand that their fit is at hand, when as the tops of their fingers and toes are cold, when their ſight is darkned, when their memorie faileth them, when their head turneth, and their nerues are contracted; Then haue they recourſe to their accuſtomed remedies to preuent their fall: that is at hand: by potions or perfumes they driue away that ſickneſſe which in this ſort alieneth their ſences, with fomentations they reſiſt the conflict of their cold, and the rigour of their infirmitie. If theſe remedies relieue them not, they retire themſelues apart and fall where no man ſeeth them. It ſhall profit a man much if he know his diſeaſe, and if hee bee experienced to cut of the violence thereof, before it hath gotten power to exſpaciate. Let vs conſider what it is that offendeth vs moſt. One man is moued by bitter words, another by ſome outrages that are offred him. This man will haue his nobilitie ſupported, that man his beautie. Such a one deſireth to be reputed a gallant fellow, that other to be moſt learned; this man is impatient of pride, that other of contumacie. He thinketh his ſeruants vnworthie to draw him to diſpleaſure. The other is a Tyrant within doores, and gentle without. Such a one thinketh himſelfe mocked, if he bee intreated. That other a contumely if hee bee not requeſted. All men are not ſtrooken in one place.

CHAP. XI.

The ſixth meanes to bridle Anger. Be not too curious.

THou muſt therfore know what is weake in thee, to the intent that moſt of al thou maiſt preuent the ſame: it is not expedient for vs to ſee al things, nor to heare all things. Let many injuries paſſe by vs, and he that indeuoreth himſelfe not to know them, is for the moſt part waranted from thē. Wilt thou not be angrie? be not curious. Who inquireth what is ſpoken againſt himſelfe? Who wil ſound and ſearch out what euill ſpeeches are ſpoken by him ſecretly, doth himſelfe diſquiet himſelfe. An euell interpretation maketh vs ſuppoſe that a word which is ſpoken by vs is a great outrage. Some things therfore are to be differed, ſome things to be deluded, and ſomethings to be pardoned. Wrath in diuers ſorts muſt be circumſcribed, and diuers things are to be turned to jeſt and ſport. They ſay that *Socrates* hauing

hauing receiued a boxe on the eare, ſaid nothing elſe but: *That it was a great fault, that men knew not when they ſhould come abroad with a helmet vpon their heads.* It skils not how the injurie be done, but how it is ſuffered. Neither ſee I why moderation ſhould be a hard matter, when as I knew that the minds of certaine Tyrants being puffed vp by fortune and libertie, haue repreſſed that crueltie which was familiar vnto them. It is reported that *Piſiſtratus* a Tyrant in Athens, when as a certaine Drunken man, that ſat at banquet with him, had ſpoken manie thinges againſt his crueltie (and there wanted not ſome; who would haue executed whatſoeuer hee ſhould haue commaunded, and one man on this ſide, and another on the other, laboured to inkindle his diſpleaſure) that hee tooke all things patiently, and anſwered thoſe, that prouoked him after this manner: *That hee was no more angrie with him; then if a blindfolde fellow hauing his eyes tyed vp ſhould runne vpon him.* The greater part of men haue bred quarrell to themſelues; either by ſuſpecting falſe things, or by aggrauating ſmall things.

A notable example.

CHAP. XII.

OFtimes Anger ſeeketh vs out, more oftentimes ſearch wee her, which is neuer to bee called for, but euen then when wee light vpon her, then ought we to reject her. No man ſaith vnto himſelfe; *This for which I am diſpleaſed, either I haue done my ſelfe, or elſe I might haue done it.* No man eſtimateth the minde of him, that committeth the fault, but the fact it ſelfe. Yet this is to be lookt into, whether he did it wittingly or caſually; whether he were compelled or deceiued; whether he did it for hatred or reward; whether of his owne accord or by another mans inſtigation. Furthermore, the age and fortune of him that doth this is to be reſpected much, to the end we may ſupport the one with ſweetnes, the other with reſpect. Let vs put our ſelues in his place againſt whom we are diſpleaſed; now doth the wrong eſtimation of our ſelues make vs angry, and thoſe things which we would doe we will not ſuffer. Each man is not patient; but the greateſt remedie againſt wrath is delay, that the firſt furie thereof may bee repreſſed, and that miſt which dulleth our mindes eyther may be diſperſed, or be leſſe thicke. There are ſome of thoſe things which carry thee away headlong, which I ſay, not a day but an houre may rectifie, ſome of theſe will wholly vaniſh. If in this caſe we demand delay, it then appeareth that it is not Anger but reaſon that commandeth. What ſoeuer it be thou wouldeſt know what it is, deliuer it into the hands of time. A man cannot diligently obſerue that which paſſeth away ſwiftly. *Plato* could not obtain any delay from himſelfe when he was angry with his ſeruant, but commanded him preſently to lay by his coat, and to yeeld his ſhoulders to the ſtroaks of the whip, which he himſelfe would lay on. After he knew that he was angrie, he withdrew his hand that was ready to ſtrike, and ſtrooke like vnto him that was like to be ſtriken. Beeing afterwards demaunded by his friend, who came thither by chance, what he did? *I* (ſaith he) *chaſtiſe a man that is angrie.* This wiſe-man, aſtoniſhed at this his deformed countenance and ieſture, tooke no more heed to his ſlaue, becauſe he had found another, whom he ought rather to haue chaſtiſed; he therefore deprined himſelfe of that authoritie ouer his ſeruants; and notwithſtanding becauſe his ſeruant had committed ſome fault that was worthy puniſhment, hee ſaid vnto SPEVSIPPVS, *I pray thee chaſtiſe my ſeruant with ſtroakes, becauſe I am angrie.*

The ſeuenth meanes not to ſeeke out euill occaſions, and if they proffer themſelues to repulſe them.

angrie. He beateth him not for that which another had beaten him: I am angrie, ſaid he, I ſhall doe more then I ſhould. I will doe it more willingly. Let not this ſeruant be in his power that is not Maſter of himſelfe. Will any man commit reuenge to a wrathfull man, ſince *Plato* hath taken his authority from himſelfe? Let nothing be lawfull for thee as long as thou art angry: why? becauſe thou wilt haue all things lawfull for thee. Fight thou with thy ſelfe, if thou canſt not ouercome thine Anger, ſhe beginneth to ouercome thee; if ſhe be hidden, if we cannot giue her iſſue, let vs burie the ſignes thereof, and let vs as much as in vs lyeth keepe it hidden and ſecret.

CHAP. XIII.

The eighth meanes. Containe thine Anger inwardly, and ſhew it not outwardly.

THis cannot be done but with great labour; for ſhe deſireth to leap out to inflame the eyes, and to change the face: but if ſhe may once ſhew her ſelfe without vs, ſhe is aboue vs. Let vs hide her in the loweſt retreat of our breaſts, and let her there be concealed, but ſo, as ſhe tranſport vs not; and which is more, let vs change all her ſigns, & all her marks to the contrary, let our countenance be more peaceable, our voyce more tempered, or pace more ſetled; let vs by little conforme both the interior and exterior parts. It was a ſigne of Anger in *Socrates* when he humbled his voyce and ſpake ſparingly; for at that time it appeared that he reſiſted himſelfe. He was therefore both perceiued and reproued by his familiars; neyther tooke he in ill part to heare the reproofe of his concealed Anger. Why ſhould he not reioyce becauſe many vnderſtood his Anger, no man felt it, but it had beene perceiued, except he had giuen his friends power to chide him, as he himſelfe had aſſumed the authoritie to reproue them. How much more ought we to doe this? Let vs intreat euery one of our deereſt friends at that time, eſpecially to vſe his moſt libertie againſt vs, when we are leaſt able to endure him, neyther let him flatter with our Anger. Againſt ſo powerfull an euill, and ſo gratious in our eyes, let vs call for our friends helpe whilſt our eyes are opened, and we are Maſters of our ſelues.

CHAP. XIIII.

Now by example extreſſeth he the effects of choler.

THey that can hardly beare Wine, and that feare the folly and inſolence of drunkenneſſe, command their ſeruants to carry them from the place where they ſolemnize their feſtiuals. They that haue the experience, that their intemperance hath been the cauſe of their ſickeneſſe, forbad their ſeruants to giue them their wills during the time of their infirmitie. It is the beſt for it to prouide ſome impediments againſt knowne vices, and aboue all things ſo to compoſe our minds, that although it be ſhaken by the moſt grieuous and ſudden accidents that may be, it eyther feele not wrath, or to reſtraine and embaſe the weight of the iniurie, that hath beene vnaduiſedly offered him, without diſcouering his griefe. That this may be done, it ſhall appeare manifeſtly, if out of a great many examples, I ſhall produce ſome few, out of which a man may learne both how great euill anger hath in it, when ſhe vſeth the power of the moſt mightieſt men, and how much ſhe may command, as ſoone as ſhe is curbed by a greater feare. *Cambyſes* the

the King, a Prince too much subiect to wine, was admonished by *Prexaspes*, who was one of his Minions, to drinke lesse, saying, *That drunkennesse was a loathsome thing in a King, who was followed by all mens eares and eyes.* To this he answered, *To the end thou mayest know* (said he) *that I am neuer out of temper, I will presently approue that after wine both mine handes and eyes can doe their office.* Hereupon hee began to drinke more freely then otherwise he was accustomed, and in greater cups, and being thus loaden and drunke with wine, hee commanded his sonne who had reproued, to get without the doore of the Pallace, and laying his left hand on his head, to stand there vprightly; then bent he his Bow, and with the Arrow he shot, diuided he the young mans heart, as he had protested to do, and opening his breast he shewed him the head of the Arrow sticking in his heart, and looking backe vpon the father, he said, *Now Sir, is not my hand steddy?* who denied that *Apollo* could haue shot with better leuell. The gods confound him, more slauish in mind then in condition; for praysing such an action whereunto it was ouermuch for him to be an assistant. He thought he had gotten a good occasion to flatter, when his sonnes breast was diuided into two parts, and the heart as yet panted vnder the wound: he should haue contested for glorie against *Cambyses*, and challenged him to a second proofe, whether he could as rightly hit the heart of the father, as he had done of his sonne. O cruell King, worthy that all his subiects bowes should be bent against him, &c. When we haue cursed him that ended his banquets with punishments and funerals, we cannot but detest *Praxaspes* for his vnnatural commendation of the shot, as well as *Cambyses* for shooting it. We see how the father should haue demeaned himselfe, being vpon the dead bodie of his sonne, and witnesse of the murther whereof he was the cause. That which is now in question appeareth that choler may be suppressed. He cursed not the King, neyther vttered he one word of compassion, although his heart were as much wounded as that of his sonnes. It may be said, that he deseruedly deuoured his words, for had he spoken any thing as if he had beene displeased, he could haue done nothing that became a father. It may seeme, saith he, that he behaued himselfe more considerately in that case, then when he reproued *Cambyses* for his immoderate drinking; and it had been better for him to haue suffered him to drink wine then bloud, who hauing the cup in his hand, and being occupied in drinking, suffered others to liue in peace: he was therefore to be numbred for one of those, who to their great miseries haue made it manifest, how deare good counsailes cost them who are Kings fauourites.

Herodot. lib. 3.

CHAP. XV.

I Doubt not but that *Harpagus* had spoken some such like thing to his Master *Astiages* King of Persia, by reason whereof he was so much incensed, that he feasted the olde man with the flesh of his children, and afterwards asked him how hee liked the dressing. Afterwards, as soone as he saw that he was glutted with his owne miseries, he commanded their heads to be brought forth, and asked him, *How he liked them?* The wretched man wanted no words, he faltred not in his speech, but said, *With a King euery supper is pleasant.* What profited he by this flatterie? This, that he was not inuited to the relicks of the banquet. I forbid not the father to condemne the Kings action, I forbid him not to seeke a condigne re-

The second example of Astiages *and* Harpagus.

uenge for ſo horrible an iniurie, but this in the interim will I ſay, that wrath which ariſeth from extreame euils may be hidden, and be conſtrained to ſpeake wholly contrary to his minde. This reſtraint of ſorrow is neceſſary for thoſe eſpecially who haunt the Court, and are inuited to Princes Tables. Thus muſt they eate with them, thus muſt they drinke, thus muſt they anſwere, thus muſt they ſmile at their childrens funerals. Let vs conſider whether life bee a thing that ſhould be ſo much ſet by, although it concerne not this matter. Shall we take pleaſure to remaine in ſo loathſome a priſon? Shall wee counſaile our ſelues to continue vnder the yoake of murtherers? Contrariwiſe, we will make it knowne, that in all oppreſſions the way of libertie is laid open to vs. If the minde be infirme and miſerable through his owne fault, he may end his miſeries in himſelfe. I will ſay both to him that attended the King, who ſhot his arrows againſt the hearts of his frinds, and to him whoſe Maſter glutted the fathers ſtomacke with his childrens bowels. Why mourneſt thou mad man? Expecteſt thou that ſome enemie deſtroying thy nation, or that ſome puiſſant King marching out from a farre, ſhall reuenge that iniurie which is done vnto thee? On what ſide ſoeuer thou turneſt thy ſelfe, there is the end of theſe miſeries. Seeſt thou yonder ſteepie place? from thence mayeſt thou deſcend to thy libertie. Seeſt thou that Sea? Seeſt thou that Riuer or that Pit? Libertie ſitteth in the bottom therof. Seeſt thou that ſhort, withered, and fatall tree? Libertie dependeth thereon. Seeſt thou thou thy throat, thy weſand-pipe, thy heart? Theſe are the meanes to eſcape ſeruitude. Thou ſheweſt mee too dangerous and buſie meanes to eſcape, and ſuch as require a great minde and courage. Enquireſt thou which is the way to libertie? Euery veine in thy bodie.

Two ſtoicall and profane reſolutions, touch not too neere thoſe rockes, leſt they, ſinke thee.

CHAP. XVI.

AS long therefore as there is nothing in our opinion ſo intollerable that it ſhould expell vs out of life, let vs remoue Anger from vs in whatſoeuer eſtate we ſhall be. Pernicious is ſhe to thoſe that ſerue; for indignation ſerueth not but to increaſe her torment, and the commandements that are giuen her ſeem to be more grieuous and troubleſome, the more obſtinately ſhee ſuffereth them: ſo the wilde beaſt, the more he ſtruggles in the net, the more is he intangled: ſo birds, whilſt fearefully they ſhake off the bird-lime, intangle and ſnare all their feathers. There is none ſo hard a yoake that ſo much hurteth him that beares it willingly, as him that repineth againſt it. The onely remedie of the greateſt miſeries is to ſuffer them willingly, and to apply himſelfe to thoſe neceſſities which preſent themſelues. But whereas this continencie is profitable for thoſe that ſerue, ſo the bridling of affections, and of this eſpecially which is ſo furious and vnbridled, a paſſion is moſt neceſſary for Kings. All things goe to wracke when fortune permitteth as much as Anger perſwadeth; neyther can that power continue long which is exerciſed to many mens miſeries: for great men put themſelues into maruailous danger, when common feare ioyneth thoſe together who lament in their particular. Diuers therefore of them haue been ſlaine by ſeuerall perſons, and ſometimes by the whole multitude, when ſorrow hath conſtrained them to iovne their diſpleaſures in one. But diuers haue ſo exerciſed their Anger, as if it had beene a Kingly matter. Amongſt theſe was *Darius*, he (after he had extinguiſht the Empire of the Magies) ouercame the Perſians, and

Of the patience which is requiſit in aduerſities.

and a greater part of the East. For hauing denounced warre against the Scythians that dwelt about the countrey, a Noble and auncient Gentleman called *Oebasus*, besought him that he would leaue one of his children behinde him, to be a comfort to his father, and content himselfe with the seruice of two of them, he promised more then he required at his handes, and that hee would dismisse them all; hereupon he caused them to be slaine, and cast their bodies downe before their fathers eyes, to the end he might not be esteemed cruell, if he had carried them away all three.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth example of Zerxes and Pithius, Herod and Plutarch.

BVt how much more facile was *Zerxes*, who when *Pithius* the father of fiue sons, required the dismision of one of them, which soeuer he pleased, gaue him leaue to chuse him whom he best liked, and afterwards when he had made his choyce, diuiding that sonne into two pieces, he cast them on eyther side of the way, and by this sacrifice purified his armie? But this Prince was chastised according to his demerites: for after he had beene ouercome and discomforted on euery side, and behelde the heapes of dead souldiers on euery side, hee marched thorow the midst of their murthered carkasses. Such was the naturall furie of barbarous Kings, ignorant and enemies of good letters, whence ensued Anger. But I will bring thee forth *Alexander* out of *Aristotles* schoole, who in midst of his festiuals, and with his owne handes murthered his owne friend *Clitus*, who had bin brought vp with him, because hee could not flatter, and from a Macedonian and free man would not become a seruile Persian. He likewise exposed *Lysimachus* (who was as familiar with him as the other) to the furie of a Lion. But did this *Lysimachus* (who had so happie fortune to escape the teeth of a Lion) for this cause become more milde, when he obtained a kingdome? no. For hee cut of the nose and eares of *Telesphorus* the Rhodian, who was his deere friend and afterwards (as if hee had beene some strange beast) kept him closed in a cage, wherein he fed him, being vnable to obserue any thing of a man in him, by reason of the deformitie of his face, of hunger and filth, and his ordure, wherein this poore Creature lay buried; hauing his knees and handes hardned, because the cage was ouer low for him; and would not suffer him to stand, vpright. Besides by reason of often rubbing himselfe his sides were all flead so that he seemed lothsom and dreadfull to all those that beheld him, and being made a Monster by this punishment, he lost also all compassion. Yet when he was most vnlike vnto a man, who suffered these thinges, yet was hee more vnlike, who did the same.

CHAP. XVIII.

Other examples taken out of the Roman histories.

ICould haue wished that this cruell passion had remained amongst the Barbarians, and had not taken possession of the hearts of vs that are Romanes, with other vices drawne from forraine Countries, and with the furie of diuers new punishments, and meanes of reuenge. *Marcus Marius*, in whose honour the people had raised Statues in euery streete, to whom with franckinsence and wine the Romanes sacrificed as

to a god. By *Lucius Syllaes* cõmand had his legge broken, his eyes pulled out, and his hands cut off; and as if he had killed him so oft as he wounded him, by little and little, he peece-meale drew euery part of him in peeces. Who executed this commandement? Who could it be but *Cataline*? Who at this time exercised his hands in all hainous stratagems. Hee cut this poore body in peeces before the Tombe of *Quintus Catulus*, troubling with extreame insolence, the reuerend Ashes of the mildest man of his time, on which *Marius* a man culpable in manie kindes (yet agreeable to the people and not without cause, although it may be that it was more then reason) shed his bloud drop by drop. Worthy was *Marius* to endure those things; *Sylla* to command it, and *Cataline* to execute it. But vnworthie was the commonweale to receiue into her body at once, the swords both of her enemies and Citizens. Why seeke I out so farre-fet examples? Not long since *Caius Cæsar* caused *Sextus Papinius*, whose father had beene a Consull, and *Bollenius Bassus* who had beene Threasurer, and the sonne of his procurer, and other Senatours and Romane Knights, to be whipt and tormented in one day, not because they had offended, but for his minde sake. Againe, so impatient was he to differ his content, which his immeasurable crueltie incited him to take without delay, that walking in an Allie of his mothers garden, which seperateth the porch from the riuer banke, hee beheaded some, with diuers Ladies and Senatours by torch-light; what is that which prouoked him? what danger either publicke or priuate threatned him to execute those persons by night? Was it so great a matter to stay till day light? But he would not haue his Pantofles on, when hee caused Romanes and Senatours to bee murthered.

CHAP. XIX.

Here continueth he the monstrous description of Caligulaes crueltie.

HOw proude his crueltie was, it shall bee materiall to examine: although some may esteeme that wee wander from the purpose, and containe not our selues in the right path, but this shall bee a prancke of worth enraged aboue ordinarie. He had caused Senatours to be whipped: yea, so great was his insolence that it might be said, that it was an ordinarie matter. Hee had subiected them to those torments and so cruell; that might bee possibly inuented, as to traine them and brake them by ropes, to torment them by pressing, by racke, by fire, and by his furious countenance. And in this place, some may answere and say, what a trifling matter is this, if three Senatours were like base slaues whipped and burned, by such a man who daily meditated on the death of the whole Senate, who wished that the Romane people had but one head; to the end that there so many offences committed in so many places and times, might bee punished in one strooke, and at one time? What hath beene lesse heard of then night punishment? Whereas thefts are wont to bee hidden by night: and punishments, the more publicke they be, the more profit they for other mens example and amendment. In this place some will answere me; That which thou so much admirest at, is this beasts daily exercise. Hee liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; Truely there shal no other man be found that had gouernement, ouer these whom he commanded to bee punished, that stopped their mouthes with a spunge, for feare least they should haue libertie to speake. What euery dying man had not this benefit to bemoane himselfe? But hee

was

was afraide, leaſt ſome extreame paine ſhould make any man vtter his minde boldly; and he feared likewiſe leſt he ſhould heare thoſe things which he would not. He knew alſo that there were many other infinite things, which no man durſt obiect againſt him, except it were ſuch a one that was ready to ſuffer death. When as ſpunges were not in readineſſe, hee cauſed the wretches garments to be cut in pieces, and to be thruſt into their mouthes; what crueltie is this? Let it be lawfull for a man to draw his laſt breath; giue place to the Soule that ſhee may freely depart; Let her bee ſuffered to haue paſſage by ſome other way, then by the wound which the body hath receiued.

CHAP. XX.

The cauſe why he made mention of Caligulaes crueltie.

IT were too long a matter to adde vnto theſe, how many of their fathers whom hee had put to death, were murthered the ſame night by the hands of Centurions, by the command of this pitifull Prince, who thought good by theſe meanes, to deliuer the fathers from bewailing their childrens deathes? For my intention is not to diſcouer *Caius* crueltie, but the miſerie of Anger, which not onely executeth her furie againſt one man or other, but alſo ſpoyleth whole Cities and Nations, and beateth riuers alſo which are free from all ſence of paine. As *Cambyſes* King of Perſia, who cut off the noſes of all the people in Syria, by meanes whereof the place was afterwards called Rhinocolura. Thinkeſt thou that he ſpared them, becauſe he cut not off their heads? Hee tooke delight in a new kind of puniſhment. Such like ſhould the Æthiopians haue ſuffered, who by reaſon of their long life, are called *Macrobij*. For againſt theſe, becauſe they entertained not willingly the ſubiection that was offered them, but gaue free anſweres to thoſe Ambaſſadours that were ſent vnto them, which Kings call contumelious. *Cambyſes* was mad at them, and without prouiſion of prouant and victuals, without diſcouerie of the Countrie, by vnhaunted and ſandie wayes, heled all his troopes that were fit for the warre, which after the firſt dayes march wanted victuals, neither did the barraine and vnmanured Countrie, vntracted by any foote, miniſter them any thing. Firſt ſatisfied they their hunger with the tender leaues and tops of trees, then by leather molified by fire, and whatſoeuer neceſſitie had made meate. But when as amidſt the ſands both rootes and herbes failed them, and the deſert was found voide of all liuing creatures, they killed euery tenth man, and thereby had ſuſtenance more dreadfull then famine; yet notwithſtanding, all this Anger caried the King on headlong. Hauing loſt one part of his Armie, and eaten another, vntill ſuch time as he feared leaſt amongſt others that were called, the lot ſhould fall on himſelfe, then atlength ſounded hee a retreate. In the meane ſpace, the beſt fowle was kept for his vſe, and the inſtruments of his banquets were caried vpon Cammels, whileſt his Souldiers caſt lots which of them ſhould die miſerable, and which of them ſhould liue worſe.

Cambyſes *brutiſh rage.*

CHAP. XXI.

THis man was angrie with a Nation vnknowne vnto him, and innocent of themſelues, yet ſuch as had he proſpered ſhould haue taſted of his furie. But *Cyrus* was angrie with a Riuer: For marching on diligently to the warre, the greateſt moment whereof conſiſteth in taking oportunities and intending to ſurpriſe Babilon, hee attempted to paſſe ouer the huge Riuer of Gynde, which was ſcarcely paſſable in the height of Sommer, and when the water is at the loweſt. There one of thoſe white horſes which were wont to draw his Kingly Chariot, was carried away violently by the ſtreame, whereat the King was mightily mooued; and ſwore that he would bring that Riuer which had carried away his Princely baggage to that paſſe that euen verie women ſhould bee able to get oner it without wetting their ſhooes. Which ſaid, he imployed all his forces herein, and continued ſo long that hauing digged nine ſcore chanels to turne the Riuer, he afterwards reduced it into three hundreth and ſixtie armes or brookes, ſo that that great channel became drie, the waters being dreined by ſo many other wayes. Thus ſpent he the time which is an irreuocable loſſe in affaires of conſequence, thus abated he his Souldiers courage, who were broken by vnprofitable labours, and had loſt their occaſion and preparation for the aſſault, whilſt he hauing proclamed warre againſt his enemies, grew at ods with a Riuer.

CHAP. XXII.

He returneth to Caligula by his example to make Anger odious, and to inkindle others to mercy, he ſheweth the mide behauiour of Antigenus.

THis furie (for what elſe canſt thou name it?) ſeazed the Romans likewiſe. For *Caius Cæſar* ouerthrew a faire houſe of pleaſure which was builded for pleaſure neere to Ponzol, becauſe ſometimes his mother had beene kept priſoner in it, and made the fortuue thereof notable hereby. For when it ſtood: the paſſengers that ſailed by, enquired what it was, and now they demaund why it is ruined. And as well oughteſt thou to thinke on theſe examples, to the end to auoide them, as on thoſe on the contrarie part which thou art to follow, which are both moderate and gentle; who neither wanted cauſe to bee angrie, nor power to reuenge themſelues. For what was more eaſie and facile for *Antigonus?* then to command two of his Souldiers to be put to death, who leaning vpon the Royall tent, did that which men doe moſt dangerouſly and willingly that thinke euill of their Prince. *Antigonus* heard all that they ſpeake, becauſe betwixt them that talked, and him that heard there was but a Tapeſtrie, which he ſoftly pulled aſide, and ſaid *Get ſomewhat farther of for feare, leaſt the King heare you.* The ſame Prince vpon a certaine night, when hee had heard certaine of his Souldiers deteſting and curſing him diuers wayes, who had led them into that journie and durtie march, came vnto them that were moſt diſpleaſed, and whereas they knew not by whom they were helped, he ſatisfied them, and ſaid: *Now curſe* ANTIGONVS *by whoſe fault you were drawne into theſe miſeries, but wiſh him well, notwithſtanding who brought you out of this bog.* The ſame as patiently endured the reproches of his enemies, as of his Citizens. When as therfore the Græcians were beſieged in a ſmall Caſtle, and contemning the enemie

mie by reaſon of the place jeſted vpon *Antigonus* deformitie, and ſometimes derided his low ſtature, otherwhiles his hooked noſe. *I am glad ſaid he, and, conceiue ſome good hope if I haue* SILENVS *in my Campe.* After hee had ouercome theſe brablers by famine, he vſed the captiues in ſuch ſort, that he placed thoſe that were fit for warre amongſt his owne companies and the reſt he ſold by the Crier, and this he ſaid, he would not haue done vnleſſe it had beene expedient for them to haue a Gouernour who had ſo bad tongues. His Nephew was *Alexander*, who darted his Iauelin againſt his table-gueſts, who of theſe two friends which he had, as I told you a litle before, made the one a pray to a Lion, the other to himſelf. But of both theſe, he that was deliuered to the Lion liued.

This was Bacchus companion and the eldeſt amongſt the Satires.

CHAP. XXIII.

HEe had not this vice eyther from his grandfather or his father: for if there were any other vertue in *Philip* it was this, that he was patient in all reproaches, which is a mightie inſtrument for the ſafetie of a Kingdome. *Demochares*, who for the libertie and petulancie of his tongue was called *Parrheſiaſtes*, came vnto him amongſt other Athenian Embaſſadours, and hauing courteouſly giuen audience to their Embaſſage, *Philip* ſaid, *Tell me if I may doe any thing that ſhall be gratefull to the Athenians.* DEMOCHARES vndertoke the anſwer, and ſaid, *Goe and hang thy ſelfe.* They that ſtood about him were diſpleaſed at ſo vnhumane an anſwer, whom *Philip* commanded to be ſilent, willing them to diſmiſſe that *Therſites* ſafe and ſound. *But you* (ſaith he) *the reſt of the Embaſſadors, tell the Athenians that they are more proude that ſpeake thus, then they that heare them ſpoken without reuenge.* AVGVSTVS CAESAR ſpake, and did many things that were worthy memorie, whereby it appeareth that he was Maſter of his owne Anger. *Timagines* the writer of Hiſtories had ſpoken ſomwhat againſt himſelfe, ſomewhat againſt his whole family; neither loſt he that which he had ſpoken, for an audacious kind of jeſting is the ſooneſt entertained and divulged by euery man. *Cæſar* oft-times gaue him warning hereof, and wiſhed him to vſe his tongue more moderately, and ſeeing that he perſeuered, he forbad him his houſe. After that *Timagines* liued till he was very olde, in *Aſinius Pollio's* houſe, beloued of the whole Cittie, notwithſtanding *Cæſars* repulſe, euery mans doores was open to him. Afterwards he recited and burned thoſe Hiſtories which he had written, and caſt thoſe bookes into the fire which contained the acts of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: and thus waged he warre with *Cæſar*. No man for all this refuſed his friendſhip, no man fled from him, as though he were blaſted: there was alwayes that gaue him entertainment in the height of his diſgraces. All theſe, as I ſaid, *Cæſar* endured patiently, neyther was he moued therewith, notwithſtanding that *Timagines* had violated both his praiſes and actions. He neuer was diſpleaſed with him that entertained his enemie, this onely ſaid he to POLLIO, *Thou nouriſheſt a beaſt*; and when he addreſſed himſelfe to giue him an anſwere, the Emperour preuented him, and ſaid, *He is at thy command* POLLIO, *much good do it thee with him.* And when as *Pollio* ſaid, *If thou commandeſt me* CAESAR, *I will preſently forbid him my houſe. What ſaid he, thinkeſt thou? I will doe this, who haue reconciled both of you and made you friends?* For *Pollio* in times paſt had beene angrie with *Timagines*; neyther had he any other cauſe of diſlike towards him, but becauſe *Cæſar* had entertained him.

The ſecond example of great mildeneſſe and mercie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

What profite a man should take of the precedent examples, and what considerations besides the we ought to annex, the better to refram Anger

LEt euery man therefore say vnto himselfe as often as he is prouoked, Am I more powerfull then *Philip?* yet he patiently suffered disgraces without reuenging them. Can I doe more in my priuate house then *Diuus Cæsar* thorow the whole world? yet was he content to locke vp his gates against him that had slandered him. Or why should I for a bolde and jesting answer, a proude looke, or the grumbling and vntowardnesse of my slaue, expiate his fault with whips and fetters? Who am I that no man dare offend mine eares? Many haue pardoned their enemies, shall not I pardon such as are sluggish, negligent, and branglers? Let age excuse a childe, her sex a woman, libertie a stranger, familiaritie a domestick. He offended me but euen now. Let vs bethinke our selues how often he hath contented vs; But oft-times hath he offended otherwise? Let vs endure that which we haue suffered long. He was my friend: he did that which he pretended not. Is he an enemie? He did that which he ought to doe. Shall we endure a wise-man? let vs pardon a foole. What soeuer befalleth vs, let vs say vnto our selues, that the wisest commit many errours, and that no man is so circumspect whom Anger doth not sometimes take tardie: none so mature and stayed, eyther in his wordes or actions, whose grauity may by fortune be drawne into some inconsiderate action: no man so fearefull to offend, that whilst he flyeth from offences, falleth not into them.

CHAP. XXV.

A continuation of the profits we gather by the precedent consideration.

EVen as a poore man taketh comfort in his miserie, when he seeth other great mens fortune stagger, and with a more temperate minde hath bewayled his sonnes death in a corner of his chamber, who seeth the wofull funerals of the heire of a Kingdome solemnized and borne forth; so with a more peaceable and contented minde shall he endure to be harmed and contemned by another man, whosoeuer bethinketh himselfe that there is no Potentate so great, who is not, or may not be attempted with iniurie. And if the most wisest doe offend, let vs thinke with our selues that there is no fault which is not excusable. Let vs consider how oftentimes our yong yeares haue beene scarce diligent in performing duties, immoderate in speech, scarce temperate in wine: if he be angry, let vs giue him time wherein he may consider what he hath done, and hee himselfe will reproue himselfe; in conclusion, hee will punish himselfe, yet for all this must not we be angrie. This is vndoubtedly true, that he hath exempted himselfe from common men, and raised himselfe to a higher degree, that despiseth such as prouoke him. For it is the propertie of true magnitude, not to feele that he is strooken. So hath a furious beast, stalking a long with a setled pace looked backe on those Dogs that barked at him. So doe the enraged billowes of the Sea insult in vaine against an immoueable rocke. He that is not angry hath neuer beene shaken by iniurie, he that is angrie is moued: but he whom for the present I haue mounted aboue all incommoditie, with a certaine embrace entertaineth the chiefest good, being equall not onely to himselfe, but also to fortune. What soeuer thou doest, thou art not great enough to obscure the brightnesse

neſſe that enlightneth me. Reaſon to whom I haue aſſigned the conduct of my life, defendeth the ſame. The Anger will hurt me more then the offence; and why? Becauſe there is a certaine meaſure in the offence, but I know not how farre mine Anger will tranſport me.

CHAP. XXVI.

BVt, ſayeſt thou, I can endure nothing, it is a grieuous matter to me to ſuſtaine an iniurie. Thou lieſt: for who cannot endure iniury that can ſuffer Anger? Furthermore, thou pretendeſt to charge thy ſelfe with iniury and Anger both at once. Why ſuffereſt thou the cries of a ſicke man, the ſtrange ſpeeches of a lunatick, and the ſtroakes of thy little children? Forſooth becauſe they ſeeme to be ignorant of what they doe. What skilleth it by what errour any man becommeth imprudent, ſince imprudence is an equall excuſe for all thoſe that are attainted therewith? What then, ſayeſt thou, ſhall he remain vnpuniſhed? Thinke that thou wouldeſt, yet it ſhall not be ſo: for the greateſt chaſtiſement that a man may receiue who hath outraged another, is, to haue done the outrage, and there is no man that is ſo rudely puniſhed, as he that is ſubiect to the whip of his owne repentance. Moreouer, it behoooueth vs to regard and conſider the condition of humane affaires, to the end we may be vpright Iudges of all accidents. But he is vniuſt who vpbraideth a priuate man with that imperfection which is common to all. If a man be blacke amongſt the Moores, or hath a redde head, and curled after the manner of the Almaines; this is no diſhonour to him, but becommeth him well. That which is common to a whole nation, defameth not a particular: but thoſe things that I haue ſet downe before, depend but on the cuſtome of one countrey, which is but a little corner of the earth. Conſider therefore whether it be not an eaſier matter to excuſe it, which is the practiſe of the whole world. We are all of vs inconſiderate and improuident, all of vs vncertaine, irreſolute, and ambitious. But why hide I a publique vlcer vnder milder wordes? We are all of vs noughts. Whatſoeuer therefore is reprehended in another, that ſhall euery man finde within his owne boſome. Why obſerueſt thou his bleakeneſſe of colour, his leaneneſſe of bodie? It is a common plague. Let vs therefore be more temperate one towards another, we liue euill men amongſt euill men: there is one thing onely that can make vs quiet; a mutuall facilitie in conuerſation. This man hath now iniured me, but as yet I haue not harmed him; yet now perhaps haſt thou hurt ſome bodie, or at leaſtwiſe thou wilt hurt.

A pertinent anſwer to thoſe that alleage that they can endure n thing, for by this meanes they depriue themſelues of that excellent happineſſe which curteſie produceth.

CHAP. XXVII.

EStimate not this houre or this day, looke into the whole habite of thy minde, if as yet thou haſt done no euill, yet canſt thou doe it. How farre better is it that an iniurie ſhould be ſalued then reuenged? Reuenge conſumeth much time, expoſeth her ſelfe to many iniuries whilſt ſhe is ſtung with one. Wee are all of vs more long time angrie then we are hurt; how farre better is it to take another courſe, and not in this ſort to ſort vices together? Should a man be thought well in his wits if

How much the conſideration of our weakeneſſe beareth againſt Anger, which is the ninth meanes to refraine it.

if he ſhould kicke at a Moyle with his heeles that had ſtrooken him, or teare a Dogge with his teeth that had bitten him? Theſe, ſayeſt thou, know not that they offend. Firſt of all, how vniuſt is he who is diſpleaſed when men come vnto him to reconcile themſelues? Againe, if it reſtraine thee from being angrie with beaſts, becauſe they are deſtitute of reaſon; in the ſame ranke number him that doth ſomething without iudgement: for what skilleth it if he reſemble not beaſts in any other thing, in the fault which excuſeth beaſts, hee ſheweth himſelfe as brutiſh as they be? He hath offended; for this is the firſt and this is the laſt. Thou haſt no cauſe to beleeue him, although he ſaith, I will not doe it againe. Thou ſhalt ſee that he will once more offend thee, and another him, and the whole courſe of life ſhall be trauailed with errours: we muſt handle ſauage things courteouſly. That which is wont to be ſaid in ſorrow, may effectually be ſpoken likewiſe in Anger. Whether wilt thou giue ouer once or neuer? If once, it is better to leaue off Anger, then to be left by Anger: but if this fault ſhall alwayes continue, thou ſeeſt how vnquiet a life thou denounceſt to thy ſelfe, as it befalleth him who is alwayes ſwolne vp, and incenſed by wrath.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The tenth means, not to ſeeke any occaſion of diſpleaſure.

FVrthermore, if thou thy ſelfe ſeeke not the occaſions and meanes to prouoke thine Anger, and if thou enkindleſt not thy diſpleaſure, thou ſhalt ſee it depart from thee of her owne motion, and time will weaken it daily. How farre better is it for thee that thou ſhouldeſt ſurmount her, then that ſhe ſhould be Miſtreſſe of thee? Thou art angry now with this man, now with that man, now with thy ſlaues, anon after with thy francklins, now with thy father or mother, now with thy children, with thoſe of thine acquaintance, then with ſuch as thou haſt but newly met withall: for the occaſions preſent themſelues in euery place, except a peaceable minde containe and gouerne vs. Furie will driue thee hither and thither, and as new prouocations ſhall ariſe, thy rage ſhall be continued. Goe to vnhappy man and when is it that thou wilt loue? O how good time looſeſt thou in ſo bad a thing? How farre better were it now to get thee friends, and to mittigate thine enemies, to gouerne the Common weale, to transfer thy indeuours to the gouernement of thy familie, then to looke about thee what iniurie thou mayeſt doe another man. What wound thou mayeſt inflict eyther on his dignitie, or his patrimony, or his body? When as this cannot befall thee without contention and danger, although thou encounter with thine inferiour. Although thou ſee him tyed hand and foote and that he be in thy power to do with him whatſoeuer thou pleaſeſt, oftentimes it hath beene ſeene that a man in ſtriking another with all his force, hath put his ſhoulder out of ioynt, or his arme, or hand, or elſe in biting hath broken his teeth, and ſpoyled his gummes. Anger hath made many men lame, and hath weakened many; yea, euen then when ſhe hath gotten matter of patience. Adde hereunto, that there is not any thing ſo feeble in this world, that periſhes without putting him in danger that would cruſh or breake it. Sometimes griefe, and ſometimes caſualty hath matched the ſtrongeſt with the weakeſt. And which is more, the moſt part of thoſe things which moue vs, doe harme vs more then we hurt other men. But there is a great difference whether a man oppoſe himſelfe againſt my pleaſure,

The eleuenth conſideration, is, that we hurt our ſelues more then we doe our enemies.

or

or whether he hinder it not, whether he take it from me, or giue it me not. But we account it all one whether a man take from vs any thing or denie vs; whether he cut of our hopes, or differ them: whether hee be against vs, or for him selfe; whether for the loue of another man, or the hatred he beareth vs: But some haue not only just, but also honest causes to stand against vs. The one defendeth his father, the other his brother, another his vncle, the third his friend. Yet pardon we not those that doe these thinges, which should they not doe; we would condemne them: nay more which is incredible, oftimes we allow of the deed, but condemne the doer.

CHAP. XXIX

The twelfe, beware to confound thy iudgment and hate not him whom thou praisest, and least of all him whose miserie requireth thine assistance.

BVT yet assuredly euery great and just man affectioneth and wel respecteth him amongst his enemies; that most valiantly and aduenturously behaueth himselfe, for the libertie and conseruation of his Countrie, and wisheth himselfe such a Citizen and such a Camerado as that is in his dangers. It is a shamefull thing to hate him whom thou prayest, but how farre more shamefull to hate any man, for that for which he is worthie of mercie: if any one being taken prisoner, retaineth as yet some remanders of his libertie, and sheweth not himselfe so readie in base and troublesome businesses, if hauing thorow idlenesse gathered so much fat, that he cannot come so swiftly as his Masters horse or coach: if wearied with all dayes trauaile he sleepe; if he refuseth to labour in the fieldes or doth not bestow himselfe so, as a stout pesant should doe; by reason hee had liued in a Citie, where he had much ease, and that now he is tyed to a businesse that is tedious and continual, let vs consider whether he cannot doe that which we would require at his hands, or if he will not doe it: wee shall beare with diuers men; if wee indeuour our selues to judge before we be displeased. But now we beleeue that which the first assault of our passion buzzeth in our eares; afterwardes although wee bee mooued vpon no ground: yet perseuer we least wee should seeme to haue begunne without any cause, and that which is most damnable, the iniquitie of wrath maketh vs more obstinate. For wee nourish and increase the same as if it were an argument of just Anger, to bee grieuously angrie. How farre better is it to examine the beginnings, and to consider how harmelesse? That which thou seest fall out in bruit beasts, the same shalt thou discouer in man, we are troubled with friuolous and vaine things.

CHAP. XXX.

The thirteenth, Except thou wilt become a beast be not moued at friuolous and vaine matters as they are accustomed to doe that are ouertaken by Anger.

ARed colour exasperateth Bulles, the Aspe is inkindled in the shadow, a white Cloath prouoketh Beares and Lions. All thinges that nature hath made fierce and dreadfull are astonished at a little matter. The same befalleth disquiet and foolish mindes. They are strooken with suspition of thinges, and in such sort as some times they call moderate benefits injuries, in which the most frequent, but the most, yet truly the most vrgent causes of choler consist. For we are angrie with our deerest friends, because they haue done vs lesse courtesie then we expected, then other

other men haue done vs; when as there is a preſent and readie remedie for them both. Hath he fauoured another man more? let vs delight our ſelues with ours without compariſon: he ſhall neuer be happie, that tormenteth himſelfe at an other mans felicitie. I haue leſſe then I hoped for? But happily I haue hoped more then I ought. This part is moſt of all to be feared. Hence ariſe moſt dangerous diſpleaſures, and ſuch as inuade the moſt holieſt and bleſſedeſt thinges of the World. *Iulius Cæſar* was killed by a greater number of his friends, then of his enemies: whoſe immeaſurable hopes he had not ſatisfied. Such was his intention, neither euer was there any man that carried himſelfe more better, or more liberally, when hee became Maſter of his enemies, for hee challenged nothing to himſelfe, but the power to diſtribute; but here could he ſatisfie ſo many importunate deſires, when as all men deſired ſo much as one man could? Hee ſaw therefore with naked daggers, thoſe followers of his about his throne; and amongſt the reſt *Tullius Cimber*, who before time had beene an affectionate partaker of his, and thoſe other, who after the death of *Pompey* were become *Pompeians*.

CHAP. XXXI.

The fourteenth Haue more reſpect to another mans good then to thine owne and neuer thinke that thou haſt obtained to little.

THis verie paſſion hath rayſed the ſubjects againſt their Prince, and vrged the moſt faithfull to conſpire the death of thoſe, for whom and in whoſe preſence, they had deſired in times paſt to looſe their liues. He that hath reſpect to another mans good, neglecteth his owne. And thereupon wee are angrie with the gods likewiſe, becauſe ſome one man out-ſtrippeth vs, forgetting our ſelues how much and how important enuie followeth them at their backes, yet ſo great is the importunitie of men, that although they haue receiued much, yet ſuppoſe themſelues to be indignified, becauſe in their iudgements they are capable of more. Gaue he me a Prætor-ſhip? but I looked for a Conſul-ſhip. Gaue they me twelue Maces? yet they made mee not an ordinarie Conſull. Would hee haue me to vndertake the charge of numbring the yeare? but he failed mee in the election, when I ſought for the Pontificiall dignitie. Haue I beene brought into the Colledge of Biſhops and Augures? but why in companie? Hath hee conſumated my dignitie? but he hath allowed nothing towardes my charge and patrimonie: Hee gaue mee that which he ought to haue giuen to an other, he added nothing of his owne. Rather giue thankes for thoſe thinges which thou haſt receiued, exſpect the reſt, and rejoyce, becauſe that as yet thou art not full. Amongſt all other pleaſures, it is no ſmall one, to ſee that there is ſomewhat remayning, for which thou maiſt hope. Haſt thou ſped better then any other? rejoyce, becauſe thou art the firſt amongſt others that hath thy friendes heart. Doe many exceede thee? conſider that the number of thoſe that march after thee, ſurpaſſeth thoſe whom thou followeſt.

CHAP. XXXII.

The fifiteenth, to digeſt thy wrath a while & take leaſure to conſider what commandement the paſſion hath ouer thee, and whereupon it is founded.

ASkeſt thou me what is the greateſt vice in thee? thou forgeſt falſe conſiderations, thou highly prizeſt thine owne giftes, and neglecteſt others. Let one thing deter vs in an other. Let vs bee afraid to be angrie with ſome for reuerence ſake, let vs forbeare other, and for pittie ſake endure other ſome. Vndoubtedly we ſhall performe a goodly peece of worke, if we ſhut our vnhappie ſlaue in priſon. Why are we ſo haſtie to beat him: and ſo ſudden to breake his legges? this power will not be loſt, if it bee deferred. Let that time come wherein wee may be Maſters of our ſelues. Now ſpeake wee out of paſſion: when ſhee is quailed, then ſhall wee ſee how weightie this debate is. For in this eſpecially are wee deceiued. Wee come to knifes, to capitall puniſhments: and by bonds, impriſonment, and famine, we reuenge the crime which ſhould be chaſtiſed by whipping and ſlighter puniſhments. How (ſaiſt thou) commandeſt thou vs to conſider, how all thoſe things, whereby we ſeeme to be harmed, are trifling, miſerable, and childiſh? But I for mine own part would perſwade nothing more then to take vpon vs a great minde, and to examie and ſee how theſe things for which we quarrell runne and ſweat, after how humble and abjecſt they bee, and ſuch as are not to bee reſpected and thought vpon by any man, that thinketh on any high or magnificent matter. There is much brabling about monie, ſhee wearieth the Courts of Pleas, ſhee ſets the fathers and children together by the eares, ſhee mixeth venomes, ſhe deliuereth ſwords as well into the hands of the executioner, as of the ſouldier, ſhe it is that is embrewed with our bloud. For her are the marriage beds of man and wife filled with brawles, for her the Tribunals of Majeſtrates are ouer-preſſed with throng; Kings are inraged and ranſack countries, and ouerthrow Cities, which were builded by the labour of many ages, to the end that Golde and Siluer might bee ſought out in the aſhes of the Citie.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The ſixteenth, That all our goods are not worth halfe the labour we imploy vpon them and the buſie care to enioy them is a wretches miſery.

IT pleaſeth me to behold thoſe caskets of monie that lie heaped in a corner. Theſe are they for which men weepe out their eyes, for which the iudgement Hals are confuſed with muttering, for which Iudges being nominated out of remote Countries ſit in iudgment to ſentence whether of both parties auarice is moſt juſt. What if it bee not for a bag or casket of monie, but for a handfull of ſiluer, or for a pennie borrowed or lent to a mans ſlaue, an old man without heires and readie to die, is readie to burſt with Anger? what if for leſſe then the thouſand part of a mans intereſt, a ſickly Vſurer with crooked limmes and lame hands only left him to number his monie, crieth out and in the very violence of his acceſſions, cryeth out for monie to his ſuerties? If thou bring me forth whatſoeuer mony that is currant, and vſuall in all kind of mettals, if thou caſt before me whatſoeuer treaſure, which auarice would burie againe, after ſhe had digged it vp, I thinke that all this heape is not worthie to furrow vp the brow of a good man. How much are they to be laughed at, for which wee ſpend ſo many teares?

CHAP. XXXIIII.

PRoſecute the reſt ſomewhat further I pray thee, and conſider the eating and drinking, and all that proud equipage that dependeth there vpon, ſo many labours to keepe the houſe cleane, ſo many ſtroakes giuen, ſo many outragious ſpeeches, and ſo many vnſeemely countenances, ſuſpitions reſtie Iades, Idle ſlaues, wicked reporters of other mens words: for from all theſe it commeth that in the end ſome thinke that nature hath done men wrong, in giuing them the facultie of ſpeaking. Beleeue mee wee are bitterly angrie for ſuch ſlight things, and for which children are wont to be froward, and to ſcratch one another. There is nothing ſerious or great in all that which we doe with ſo much care & thought. Thence groweth your Choler & Furie becauſe you eſteeme theſe things great which are nothing. Such a one would haue taken away my goodes, that man hauing long time had a good opinion of me, hath finally defamed me, this man would haue corupted my minion. That which ſhould bee the linke of loue which is to will one thing, is the cauſe of hatred and ſedition.

CHAP. XXXV.

A more exact deſcription of this nature of wrath which is tormented at trifles and things of no moment.

THE way that is ſtraight moueth quarrell amongſt thoſe that paſſe thorow it. That which is open and large is ouer narrow for Armies that encounter together. Theſe thinges which you deſire becauſe they are ſmall, neither can be transferred to one except they be taken from an other doe incite quarrels and troubles amongſt thoſe that affect the ſame things. Thou art angrie if thy frãckling or thy wife or thy retainer anſwer thee, & afterwards thou cõplaineſt that the cõmonwealth hath loſt all libertie, which thou thy ſelfe haſt exterminated out of thine own houſe. Again if thou ſpeak vnto thy ſeruant, and he anſwere thee not thou termeſt it diſdaine and rebellion. Thou wilt haue him ſpeake, thou wilt haue him hold his peace, thou wilt haue him laugh, what before his Maſter ſaieſt thou I before the Father of the family. Why crieſt thou? why chideſt thou? what moueth thee in the midſt of thy ſupper to cal for ſcourges, becauſe thy ſeruants talke or becauſe thy attendants are not ſeruiceable, or becauſe no man anſwers thee? Haſt thou no eares but to heare Muſicke, and pleaſing ſongs and wordes well fitted and pleaſing? yet muſt thou heare men laugh, crie, flatter, plead, tell joyfull and tragicall newes, and mens tongues and the cries of diuers Creatures. Poore man why art thou affrighted at thy ſeruants crie, at the tinging of a Baſon, at the noice of a dore that is opened and locked? although thou bee ſo delicate, yet muſt thou heare the cracke of thunder. That which is ſpoken of the eares, may be transferred to the eyes, which are no leſſe troubled with obiects when they are badly addreſſed: for they are offended at a ſpot, or ſoyle, or ſiluer plate badly clenſed and their tinne platters; if they ſhine not at the ſunne. For theſe eyes that are delighted with nothing but Marble and Iaſper finely poliſhed, that like no table except it be of coſtly wood, and well carued, which will not fix themſelues in the houſe, except on theſe things that are guilded and embоſſed; without dores with content enough, behold the rugged and durtie waies and

and the moſt part of thoſe that meet with them badly clothed, and the walles of Cities halfe eaten away, ruined and vnequall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHat is the cauſe then why that which offendeth them not abroad, chafeth and troubleth them thus in their houſes, but an equitable and patient opinion in publicke, but a crabbiſh and quarrelſome diſpoſition at home? All our ſences are to bee brought to a conformitie. By nature we are patient, if our mind ceaſe to corrupt them, which is daily to be drawne vnto an accompt. This did *Sextius*, that when the day was ſpent and he retired himſelfe to reſt, was wont to examine his minde after this maner. What infirmitie in thee haſt thou healed this day. What vice haſt thou reſiſted? In what part art thou bettered? Anger will ceaſe and become more moderate, if ſhe knowes that euerie day ſhee muſt appeare before a Iudge. What therefore is more laudable then this cuſtome, to examine our daily actions? What ſleepe followeth after this ſcrutenie? how quiet, pleaſing, and free is it, when either the minde is prayſed or admoniſhed, and being a watch-man and ſecret cenſor of himſelfe, examineth his defects? I vſe this power, and daily pleade before my ſelfe, when the candle is taken from me, and my wife holdeth her tongue, being priuie to my cuſtome. I examine the whole day that is paſt, and ruminate vpon actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my ſelfe, I let ſlip nothing: For why ſhould I feare any of mine errours, when as I may ſay: See thou doe this no more: for this time, I pardon thee. In that diſpute, thou ſpeakeſt more raſhly, ſee that hereafter thou contend not with ſuch as are ignorant, they wil neuer learne, that neuer learned. Thou haſt more freely admoniſhed ſuch a one then thou oughteſt, and therefore thou haſt not amended him but offended him. In regard of the reſt, ſee not only whether it were true which thou ſpakeſt, or whether hee to whom it was ſpoken can endure to heare truth.

The eighteenth, Giue ouer to corrupt thy ſences and call thy minde euery day to a reckoning.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Good man reioyceth when he is admoniſhed, a wicked man cannot brooke a reproouer. At a banquet ſome mens bitter jeſts and intemperate words haue touched thee to the quicke. Remember to auoyde the vulgar companie: after Wine mens words are too lauiſh, and they that are moſt ſober in their diſcourſes are ſcarce modeſt. Thou ſaweſt thy friends diſpleaſed with the Porter of a Counſailers chamber, or ſome rich man becauſe hee would not ſuffer him to enter, and thou thy ſelfe being angry for this cauſe groweſt in Choler with the cullion. Wilt thou therefore be angrie with a chained dogge, who when he hath barked much will bee pacified with a peece of bread? get farther off him, and laugh. He that keepeth his Maſters doore, and ſeeth the threſhold beſieged by a troop of ſoliciters, thinketh himſelfe no ſmall bug, and he that is the Client thinketh himſelfe happie in his owne opinion, and beleeueth that ſo hard an acceſſe into the chamber is an euident teſtimonie, that the Maſter of the ſame is a man of great

The nineteenth, That it is vnpoſſible to continue in life except thou reſraine choler.

great qualitie and a fauourite of Fortune. But hee remembreth not himſelfe that the entrie of a Priſon is as difficult likewiſe. Preſume with thy ſelfe, that thou art to indure much. If a man bee cold in Winter; if hee vomit at Sea, if hee bee ſhaken in a Coach, ſhall hee maruell hereat? The minde is ſtrong and may indure all that whereunto hee is repared. If thou haſt beene ſeated in a place ſcarce anſwerable to thine honour, thou haſt beene angrie with him that ſtood next thee, or with him that inuited thee, or with him that was preferred before thee, Foole as thou art, what matter is it, in what place thou art ſet at the table, a cuſhion cannot make thee more or leſſe honeſt. Thou wert diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch a one, becauſe hee ſpake euill of thy behauiour. Art thou at that point? by this reckoning then *Ennius* in whoſe poetrie thou art no wayes delighted, ſhould hate thee, and *Hortenſius* ſhould denounce warre againſt thee, and *Cicero* if thou ſhouldeſt mocke his verſes, ſhould be at ods with thee.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The twentieth and laſt to take profit by the examples of patience and meeknesse.

WHen thou ſueſt for an office doeſt thou not peaceably entertaine thoſe that giue their voyces to the election, although they nominate not thy ſelfe? Some man hath diſgraced thee? what more then *Diogenes* the Stoicke was, who diſcourſing one day very effectually vpon the ſubject of Anger, was ſcornfully ſpit vpon by a froward yongman; this injurie entertained he both mildly and wiſely. *Truly* (ſaith he) *I am not Angrie, yet doubt I whether, I ought to be angrie.* But our friend *Cato* demeaned himſelfe better, whom as he pleaded a cauſe; *Lentulus* that factious and ſeditious fellow in the time of our fore-fathers, hawking vp from the depth of his ſtomacke a thicke and filthie ſpittle, blew it right into the midſt of his for-head. For in wiping his face he ſaid no other thing but this. *Truely* LENTVLVS *I will now maintaine it againſt all men that, they are deceiued, who ſay thou haſt no mouth.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

NOW my *Nouatus* we are alreadie inſtructed how to gouerne our mindes, if either they feele not wrath, or bee ſuperiours ouer it. Let vs now ſee how we may temper other mens Ire, for not only deſire we to be healthfull our ſelues, but to heale others. We dare not attempt to moderate and pacifie the firſt anger by perſwation: for the is deafe and mad: We wil giue her ſome time; remedies are beſt in the declination of fauours, neither will we attempt her when ſhe is inflamed, and in furie, for feare leaſt in ſtriuing to quench, wee inkindle the ſame; the like will we doe in reſpect of other paſſions. Repoſe healeth the beginning of ſickneſſes. How much (ſaiſt thou) doth thy remedie profit, if it pacifie, Anger when of her ſelfe, ſhe beginneth to be pleaſed? Firſt it is the cauſe that it ceaſeth the ſooner, then will it keepe her leaſt ſhe fall againe, and ſhall receiue the paſſion it ſelfe which he dare not pacifie it. It ſhal remoue all inſtruments of reuenge

uenge, it ſhall faine diſpleaſure, to the end that as a helper and companion in her ſorrow, it may haue more authoritie to counſaile her, it ſhall coyne delayes, and whilſt ſhe ſeeketh greater puniſhments, deferre the preſent. It ſhall by all means giue reſt and remiſſion to furie, if ſhe be more vehement it ſhall eyther induce ſhame or feare in her, againſt which ſhe ſhall not be able to reſiſt; if ſhe be weake it ſhall inuent diſcourſes, eyther gratefull or new, and winde her away with a deſire of knowledge. It is reported that a Phiſitian when he had a Kings daughter in cure, and could not performe the ſame without the meanes of a launcet, that whilſt he gently handled her Pap that was greatly ſwolne, he conuayed his launcet into a ſpunge, and ſo opened it. The mayden had repined ſhould he haue miniſtred the remedie openly, and ſhee becauſe ſhe ſuſpected it not, ſuffered the paine.

CHAP. XL.

How by words well applyed, or by authority we may haue ouer men, wrath may be pacified.

SOme things are not healed except they be deceiued. To one of theſe thou ſhalt ſay, Beware leſt thy wrath be pleaſing to thine enemie. To another, Take heed leſt the greatneſſe of thy minde, and thy reputed courage in all mens iudgement be brought in queſtion. Truely I am diſpleaſed with him, and that beyond meaſure, yet muſt we ſtay our time, and we will be reuenged. Conceale thy diſpleaſure a while whilſt thon mayeſt, and we will pay him home double. But to checke him that is angrie, and to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt him, is to caſt oyle on the fire. Thou ſhalt attempt him diuers wayes, and after a friendly manner, except happily it be ſo great a perſon, that thou mayeſt diminiſh his wrath, as *Auguſtus Cæſar* did when he ſupped with *Vedius Pollio*; one of the ſeruants had broken a cryſtall glaſſe, whom *Vedius* commanded to be carried away, and to be puniſhed by no ordinary death: for he commanded him to be thrown amongſt his Lampries, which were in kept a great Fiſh-pond. Who could otherwiſe thinke but that he did it to entertaine his exceſſiue pleaſures? The boy eſcaped out of their hands, and fled to *Cæſars* feet, deſiring nothing elſe but that he might die otherwiſe, and not be made meate for Fiſhes. *Cæſar* was moued with the noueltie of the crueltie, and commanded him to be carried away, yet willed that all the cryſtall veſſels ſhould be broken in his preſence, and that the Fiſh-pond ſhould be filled vp. So thought *Cæſar* good to chaſtice his friend, and well did he vſe his power. Commandeſt thou me to be dragged from the banquet, and to be tortured by new kinds of puniſhment? If thy cup be broken ſhal mens bowels be rent in pieces? Wilt thou pleaſe thy ſelfe ſo much as to command any man to death where *Cæſar* is preſent?

CHAP. XLI.

Now addreſſeth he himſelfe to exhortation, perſwading vs to auoyde furie.

THus ought we to oppoſe our ſelues againſt a powerfull perſon, to the end that from a more eminent place a man may aſſaile a wrath that is intractable, and ſuch a one as this whereof I lately tolde you, fierce, cruell, bloudie, which could not now receiue any cure, but by the feare of a thing more greater then it ſelfe. Let vs giue repoſe vnto our mindes, which we ſhall doe if we dilate continually

vpon the precepts of wisedome, and the acts of vertue, and likewise whilst our thoughts desire nothing but that which is honest. Let vs satisfie our conscience, let vs doe nothing for vaine glorie sake, let thy fortune be euill, so thine actions be good. But the world admireth those that attempt mightie matters, and audacious men, are reputed honourable, and peaceable are esteemed sluggards. It may be vpon the first sight, but as soone as a well-gouerned life sheweth that it proceedeth not from the weakenesse, but the moderation of the mind, the people regard and reuerence them. So then this cruell and bloudie passion is not profitable in any sort; but contrariwise, all euils, fire, and bloud feede her, shee treadeth all modestie vnder foote, embrueth her hands with infinite murthers; she it is that teareth children in sunder, and scattereth their limmes here and there; she hath left no place voyde of hainous villeynies, neither respecting glorie nor fearing infamie; incurable, when of wrath she is hardned and conuerted into hatred.

CHAP. XLII.

The continuatiõ of those persuasions which are easie to be practised, especially if we consider the shortnes and incertainty of our liues.

LEt vs abstaine wholy from this vice, let vs purge our mind and pull vp those passions that are rooted in it, whose hold-fast be it neuer so little, will spring againe wheresoeuer it is fastened; and let vs not onely moderate our Anger, but wholly root it out, and driue it from vs. For what temper is there in an euill thing? But wee may, if so be we will endeuour; neyther will any thing profite vs more then the thought of mortality. Let euery one say vnto himselfe, as if it were vnto another, What helpeth it vs, as if we were borne to liue euer, to proclaime our hatreds, and mispend so short a life? What profiteth vs to transfer those dayes which we might spend in honest pleasure, in plotting another mans miserie and torment? These things of so short continuance would not be hazarded, neyther haue we any leasure to loose time. Why rush we forward to fight? Why beget we quarrels against our selues? Why being forgetfull of our weakenesse, embrace we excessiue hatreds? And being readie to breake, our selues rise vp to breake others. It will not be long but eyther a feauor, or some other infirmitie of the bodie will preuent these hatreds which we hatch in our implacable mindes. Behold death at hand, that will part these two mortall enemies. Why tempest we? why so seditiously trouble we our life? Death hangeth ouer our heads, and daily more and more layes holde on him that is dying. That very time which thou destinatest to another mans death, shall be the neerest to thine owne.

CHAP. XLIII.

The conclusion, wherein he discouereth vnmanly the goods that proceed fro a peaceable life, & the euils that are cured by Anger.

WHy rather makest thou not vse of this short time of thy life, by making it peaceable both to thy selfe and others? Why rather endeerest thou not thy selfe in all mens loue whilst thou liuest, to the end that when thou diest thy losse may be lamented? And why desirest thou to put him lower, whose authoritie is too great for thee to contend against. VVhy seekest thou to crush and terrifie that base and contemptible fellow that barketh at thee, and who is so bitter and troublesome

troubleſome to his ſuperiors? Why fretteſt thou at thy ſeruant? thy Lord? thy King? Why art thou angry with thy clyent? Beare with him a little, behold death is at hand which ſhall make vs equals. We were wont to laugh (in beholding the combats which are performed on the ſands in the morning) to marke the conflict of the Bull and Beare when they are tied one to another, which after they haue tyred one another, the Butcher attendeth for them both to driue them to the ſlaughter-houſe. The like doe we; we challenge him that is coupled with vs, we charge him on euery ſide, mean while both the conquered and the conqueror are neere vnto their ruine. Rather let vs finiſh that little remainder of our life in quiet and peace, and let not our death be a pleaſure to any man. Oft-times they that were together by the eares haue forſaken their ſtrife, becauſe that during their debate, ſome one hath cryed fire that was kindled in a neighbours houſe, and the enteruiew of a wilde beaſt hath diuided the thiefe and the merchant. We haue no leaſure to wreſtle with leſſer euils, when greater feare appeareth. What haue we to doe with fighting and ambuſhes? Doeſt thou wiſh him with whom thou art diſpleaſed, any more then death? Although thou ſayeſt nothing to him he ſhall die; thou looſeſt thy labour, thou wilt doe that which will be done. I will not, ſayeſt thou, forthwith kill him, but baniſh, diſgrace, or puniſh him. I pardon him rather that deſireth his enemie ſhould be wounded, then ſcabbed; for this man is not onely badly but baſely minded, whether it be that thou thinkeſt of death or any one more ſlight euill, there is but a very little difference betwixt the day of thy deſire, vntill the puniſhment which ſuch a one ſhall endure, or till the time thou ſhalt reioyce with an euil conſcience at the miſeries of another man: for euen now, while we drawe our breath we driue our ſpirit from vs. Whilſt we are amongſt men, let vs embrace humanitie, let vs be dreadfull or dangerous to no man; let vs contemne detriments, iniuries, ſlaunders, and garboyles, and with great mindes ſuffer ſhort incommodities, whilſt we looke behinde vs, as they ſay, and turne our ſelues, beholde death doth preſently attend vs.

The end of SENECAES *three Bookes of Anger.*

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
To *NERO CÆSAR.*

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THese Bookes were written in the beginning of NEROES *raigne, which he himselfe manifestly proueth in his first Booke and ninth chapter, whereas he writeth that hee was entred into the nineteenth yeare of his age. And vndoubtedly both the words and matter are worthy of a Prince; and I would to God they would reade the same, and from thence gather the fruits of mercie and magnitude. He beginneth with* NEROES *praise, and that deseruedly; for his beginnings were moderate. Afterwards in his third Chapter he deuideth his writings into three parts: the one of Manuduction, the other which explicateth the nature of Clemency, which leadeth men thereunto and firmeth them. In the first, the first whole Booke intreateth thereof, and in the forefront he setteth downe the profite of Clemency, and how greatly it beseemeth Kings. That Clemency well becommeth them, because they are the heads of the Common-weale, and we as the bodie and members. But who is he that spareth not and nourisheth not his body? And that shee is necessary also where there are many offenders, whom if thou punishest alwayes, thou makest the Common-weale a solitude. By the example of the gods, who spare vs. Likewise in regard of fame, because Kings actions are the obiects of all mens eyes, and the least crueltie is too long. By their security; for they that gouerne thus are more secure, and he annexeth some notable actions of* AVGVSTVS. *Contrariwise, in tyrants who worke their owne destructions by cruelty, hatreds, and perrils. But a Prince doth therefore punish seldome, mildely and temperately, with the minde, and after the example of Parents, and that moderation is fruitfully vsed in Schooles, Campes, amongst beasts and seruants: yea, it is vsed by nature, by the example of Bees, whose King hath no sting. But now a Prince when he punisheth, eyther punisheth for his owne or another mans cause: in his owne cause he ought not to be rigorous, because he liueth in so high a fortune that he needeth not the solace of reuenge: nor in another mans cause, but according to the law, to amend them, or make other better or more secure. And all these things the seldomnesse of punishment*

niſhment will effect, they that are often, are ſet light by, and are deſpiſed. In the ſhutting vp he ſetteth downe the deteſtation of crueltie, and the miſchiſes and ouerthrowes that grow by her.

CHAP. I.

NERO CAESAR, I haue determined to write of Clemencie, to the end that in ſome ſort I may ſerue thee for a mirrour, and ſhew thee to thy ſelfe, in ſuch ſort, as thou mayeſt receiue a perfite contentment thereby: for although the true fruite of vertuous actions be to haue done them, and that without vertues themſelues there is no recompence whatſoeuer, that is worthy of themſelues, yet there is a certaine pleaſure to examine and viſit a good conſcience euery wayes, and then to fixe a mans eyes vpon this infinite multitude, turbulent, ſeditious, paſſionate, that bathe themſelues willingly in other mens blouds, yea, in their owne, if they haue broken the yoake that reſtraineth them, and to ſpeak thus in himſelfe to himſelfe. I am he amongſt all other mortall men, who haue beene agreeable to the gods, and whom they haue choſen for their liefetenant vpon the earth. I haue the power of life and death ouer all nations. It lyeth in my hands to diſpoſe the eſtate and condition of euery man; fortune pronounceth by my mouth that which ſhe intendeth, that euery man ſhall haue and poſſeſſe in this life: whole Nations and Cities conceiue occaſion of reioyce by my commandements. There is no Nation whatſoeuer that flouriſheth not by my good will and fauour; vpon the leaſt inkling I ſhall giue, ſo many thouſands of ſwords, which haue beene ſheathed by my peace, ſhall be drawne againe. It is in my power to ordaine what Nations ſhall be exterminated, which ſhall bee tranſported from one country to another, which infranchiſed, or made ſubiect; what Kings ſhall be conquered, and whoſe heads ſhall be adorned with the royall wreath; what Citties ſhall be ruinated and what builded. Being thus poſſeſſed of ſo great power, neyther hath wrath, nor youthly heate, neyther folly or inſolence of men, who haue often made the moſt temperate to looſe their patience, neither the proude deſigne to make ſhew of my power, in cauſing other men to feare, a glorie too frequent amongſt ſuch as are Monarches, haue neuer inforced mee to chaſtiſe or put any man to death wrongfully. My ſword is hidden, nay more, kept in the ſheath. The bloud of my meaneſt ſubiects is carefully ſpared by me. Although a man haue many imperfections, yet in regard he is a man, he is gracious in mine eyes: my ſeuerity is hidden and my Clemencie apparant. Such a watch haue I ouer my ſelfe, as if I were to yeelde an account to the lawes (which from obſcuritie I haue brought to light) of all mine actions. I haue pardoned one by reaſon of his youth, another becauſe he was olde, that man becauſe of his magiſtracie, that other for his obſcuritie: and when in thoſe that were faultie I found not any occaſion of mercie, I bare with them for the loue of my ſelfe. If the immortall gods ſummon me this day to yeeld vp my reckoning, I am readie to account for the whole world. *Cæſar* thou mayeſt boldly ſpeake this, that of all thoſe things which thou haſt imbraced vnder thy protection and ſafe-guard, thou haſt taken nothing from the Common-

How requiſite it is for the great men of this world to ſtudie how to moderate their minds, which they may doe the better if they meditate what prehemimence they haue aboue other men.

Common-wealth, eyther by violence or cunning. Thou haſt wiſhed and purchaſed innocence, which is a praiſe very rare, and ſuch as yet hath not bin granted to any Prince. Thou looſeſt not thy paines, and this thy ſingular bountie hath not met with ingratefull or miſconceiuing ſubiects. Each one acknowledgeth the good thou haſt done them. Neuer was man ſo beloued by another as thou art by the Romane people, whoſe great and continuall felicitie thou art. But thou haſt laide a waightie burthen on thy ſhoulders. No man ſpeaketh more now of the former yeares, either of the Empire of *Auguſtus* or *Tiberius*. Neyther ſeeke they any patterne beſides thy ſelfe, whereby they may gouerne their life. One yeare of thy gouernement ſheweth that which we hope for in the yeares that follow, which would hardly be imagined, if this thy bountie were borrowed for a time, but is naturall. For no man can long time conceale his imperfections, and the actions ſuddenly diſcouer what the hidden nature is. Thoſe things that containe verity, and which grow from that which hath ſome firmitie in it increaſe, and from time to time waxe better and better. The Romane people were very much perplexed whilſt they ſtood in expectation, whereunto thy generous nature would apply it ſelfe at the firſt. Now are all mens deſires accompliſhed and aſſured; for it is not to be feared that thou wilt forget thy ſelfe ſuddenly. Too much felicity maketh men ouer-greedie; neyther are deſires at any time ſo tempered, that they ſtay themſelues vpon that good which is befalne them. Euery one aſcendeth from great vnto greater, and they that haue attained ſuch things as they hoped not for, embrace ſtrange deſignes: yet all thy Cittizens do now confeſſe that they are happie, and that nothing can be added to their felicitie, except it ſhould be perpetuall. Many things cauſe them to confeſſe thus much, namely, their great and aſſured repoſe, with all the commodities of life, which is a good which befalls a man very hardly, and vpon the end of his yeares. Furthermore, a iuſtice placed aboue all iniurie. They repreſent vnto themſelues, and ſee an excellent forme of publique gouernement, which containeth all that which is requiſite to eſtabliſh a perfect libertie, prouided, that it be ſeconded by a continuall diligence. But principally both great and little are rauiſhed, in conſidering thine affabilitie, ſo equall and anſwerable to all mens expectations. For as touching thine other vertues, euery one partaketh them according to the proportion of his fortune, and expecteth more or leſſe of thy larges; but all of them in general depend vpon thy Clemencie: neyther is there any one ſo aſſured in his innocence, that had not rather proſtrate himſelfe before thy Clemency, which is ſo readie to excuſe and winke at euery mans faults.

CHAP. II.

Although the mercie and benignity of Princes ſerueth for ſuch as are guilty in especiall, yet both the innocent and vertuous reape a profit thereby.

BVt I know there are ſome that thinke that Clemency emboldneth thoſe men that are moſt wicked, becauſe it ſtandeth in no ſtead, except it be after that the fault is committed, and this vertue onely ceaſeth amongſt thoſe that are innocent. But firſt of all, euen as the vſe of Phyſique is as honourable amongſt the ſicke, as it is amongſt the whole; ſo although the nocent cry vpon Clemencie, yet the innocent forbeare not to reuerence it. Moreouer, Clemencie hath place in the perſon of thoſe that are innocent, becauſe the qualitie of the perſons putteth them in danger; and Clemencie not onely aſſiſteth the innocent, but oftentimes ver-

tue

tue likewiſe by reaſon, that the times may become ſuch, that ſuch things may be oppreſſed and puniſhed, which ſhould be praiſed. Moreouer, a great part of men may grow to an amendment in their liues; yet muſt we not alwayes pardon the greater number that offend. For where the difference betwixt good and bad men is taken away, there followeth a confuſion and a breaking forth of errours. There muſt therefore be ſome moderation practiſed that knoweth how to diſtinguiſh good minds from reprobate; neyther ought a Prince to haue a confuſed and vulgar, neither too reſtrained Clemency: for it is as great cruelty to pardon all, as to pardon none. We muſt holde a meane; but becauſe moderation is hard to be obſerued, whatſoeuer is like to be more then equitie requireth, muſt incline more to humanitie then rigor.

CHAP. II.

Diuiſion of the Booke.

BVt theſe things ſhall more fitly be decided in another place: for the preſent I will diuide this matter into three parts. The firſt ſhall ſerue for a Preface or Induction. The ſecond ſhall expreſſe the nature and habitude of Clemencie: for whereas there are vices that counterfeit vertues, they cannot be diſtinguiſhed except thou ſet downe ſome markes whereby they may be knowne. Thirdly, we will enquire how the minde attaineth to this vertue, how he fortifieth himſelfe thereby, and by vſe maketh her his owne. But it muſt needes appeare that of all other vertues there is none more conuenient for man, becauſe there is none more humane then it: and not onely amongſt vs Stoicks, who maintaine that a man is a ſociable creature, and is made for the common good of others; but alſo amongſt thoſe that giue men ouer to pleaſure, all whoſe ſpeeches and actions tend to their particular profite. For if a man ſeeke for repoſe and idlenes, he hath found in Clemencie a vertue agreeable to his nature which loueth peace and reſtraineth the hand. But of all others Clemencie becommeth no man more then it doth a Prince: for ſo is great power honourable and full of glorie in great Potentates, if they vſe it for the comfort of many; as contrariwiſe force is pernicious that ſerueth to no other end but to offend others. A man cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how firme and well grounded his greatneſſe is, whom all men know to be as much for them, as he is more highly raiſed aboue them, whom they obſerue to keepe continuall watch; for the ſafetie of them all in common, and of euery one in particular, vpon whoſe approach they runne not away, as if any euill neered them, or that ſome cruell beaſt broke out from his denne, but they flocke and run vnto him, as to a gracious and ſhining ſunne, readie and addreſſed to aduenture vpon their weapons who haue plotted treaſons againſt him, and to make a bridge of their bodies for him, if for the conſeruation of his life it were needfull for him to march vpon the bodies of men that were mangled and cut in peeces. They watch about him during the time that he ſleepeth, by day they inuiron his perſon on euery ſide, and leſt any one ſhould hurt him they expoſe themſelues to all dangers for him, whatſoeuer they be that preſent themſelues. This conſent of Nations and Citties, in louing and maintayning their Kings, and employing their bodie and goods in defence of a Princes life, is grounded vpon good reaſon. Neyther is this baſeneſſe and madneſſe in them for one man, yea, and he ſometimes olde and decrepit, in ſo many thouſands to attempt vpon the points of their enemies weapons,

An excellent comparison.

weapons, and to redeeme one ſoule by the death of many, and that one an olde and weake man ſometimes. Euen as the whole bodie ſerueth the ſoule, and by meanes therof ſeemeth more great and of fairer appeareance, wheras the ſoule contrariwiſe, lyes hid and inuiſible, without any certaine knowledge in what place it remaineth; and yet notwithſtanding the hands, the feete, the eyes doe ſerue the ſame, the skin as her Bulwarke defendeth her, and ſhe it is that ſtayeth or maketh vs runne hither or thither at her pleaſure; ſo that if ſhe be couetous we trauell whole Seas to become rich; if ambitious, we preſently offer our right hands to be burned, or we voluntarily leap into the fire: ſo this infinite multitude which inuiron one onely ſoule, is gouerned by the ſame, and guided by reaſon it ſelfe, which would otherwiſe depreſſe and oppreſſe her owne forces, except ſhe were ſuſtained by his counſaile.

CHAP. IIII.

The loue betweene Prince and ſubiect is the maintenance of an eſtate.

THey therefore loue their owne ſafetie, when as for one man they leade ten legions to the battell, when they runne reſolutely to the charge, and preſent their breaſts to bee wounded, to the end their Emperours coulors ſhould not be taken. For he it is that is the bond, whereby the Common-wealth is faſtened together; he is that vitall ſpirit by which ſo many thouſands liue: of her ſelfe ſhee ſhould be nothing but a burden and pray, if ſo be that ſoule of the Empire were taken from her.

The King in ſafetie, all men liue in peace,
The King once loſt, then faith and troth doth ceaſe.

To gouerne well and to obey well are the two ſinewes of an eſtate.

Such an accident ſhall extinguiſh the peace of Rome, this ſhall bring the fortune of ſo great a people vnto ruine. So long ſhall this people be freed from this danger, as long as ſhe knoweth how to endure gouernement, which gouernment if at any time ſhe ſhall ſhake off, or hauing caſt it off by any caſualtie, ſhall refuſe to vndergoe againe this vnitie and contexture of ſo great an Empire, ſhall be diuided into many partes, and euen then ſhall Rome ceaſe to commaund when ſhee refuſeth and neglecteth to obey It is not therefore to be wondered at that we loue Princes, Kings, and Tutors of publique States (by what name ſoeuer they be called) more then our priuate familiars. For if men of the beſt iudgement doe thinke that that which concerneth the Common-wealth is of greater importance then that which toucheth their owne particular, it followeth that he, vpon whoſe ſafetie the whole Common-wealth hath an eye ſhould be more deerely loued then any other. In time paſt *Caeſar* ſo vnited and enboſomed him ſelfe in the Common-wealth of Rome, that the one might not be ſeparated from the other without the ruine of them both; for as he had neede of forces, ſo had they of a head.

CHAP. V.

By the similitude of the head and members, that clemencie is wholy necessarie to Princes, since their subiects expose themselues to all dangers for them.

IT seemeth that this my Discourse is estranged too farre from mine intended purpose, but to speake the truth, it neerly concerneth the matter. For if it be so as we may truely conclude, that thou art the soule of the Common-wealth, and shee the bodie; Thou seest, as I thinke, how necessary Clemencie is: for thou seemest to spare thy selfe when thou sparest others. Thou oughtest therefore to beare with euill subiects, no otherwise then thou wouldest doe with languishing members; and if sometimes there be neede of bloud-letting, take heed lest the veine be opened more largely then the sickenesse requireth. Clemency therefore, as I said, is agreeable vnto all mens nature, but especially it best befitteth Princes, because in them she findeth more people to preserue, and a greater matter wherein to shew herselfe. For how little hurteth a priuate cruelty? but Princes displeasure is a warre. But whereas amongst all vertues there is a certaine concord and agreement, neyther is the one more better or more honest then the other, yet are there some vertues that are more fit for some persons. Magnanimity becommeth euery mortall man, yea, euen he that is the most basest and abiectest man of the world. For what is greater and more manly then to repulse aduerse fortune? Yet this magnanimity sheweth it selfe more amply in greater fortune, and appeareth more powerfull in the Tribunall then neere the earth. Into whatsoeuer house Clemencie commeth, she maketh the same more peaceable; but in the Pallace the rarer it is, the more wonderfull it is: for what is more wonderfull then he against whose wrath nothing can make head, to whose seuere sentence euen they that are condemned giue consent; whom no man will question with, why he did this, nay if he be extraordinarily angry, dare intreat for any thing; to lay hold on himselfe, and to vse his power more mercifully and mildely, and to thinke this in his heart no man can kill contrary to law, no man can pardon but my selfe? A great minde becommeth a great fortune, and if he mounteth not himselfe as high as she is, and if hee raise not himselfe aboue her, he embraceth her likewise, and bringeth her to the ground. But it is the propertie of a great minde to be pleasing, peaceable, setled, despising all iniuries and offences, as being raised to a higher estate. It is a womanish qualitie to be enraged with wrath, and after the manner of wilde beasts (and they not the most generous) to bite and trample downe those that are vnder their feete. Elephants and Lions passe by those whom they haue murthered and cast downe. Those beasts that haue no noble heart are the most obstinate. Inexorable and cruell Anger becommeth not a King; for he is not very much eminent aboue him, with whom by reason of displeasure, he maketh himselfe equall; but if he giue pardon, but if he giue dignitie to those that haue endangered and deserued to loose their estates; he doth that which no man else can do, except he that hath power and principallity: for life is often taken from him that is a superiour, but neuer giuen to him that is an inferiour. To saue is the property of an excellent fortune, which may neuer more be wondred at, then when he hath gotten the opportunity to doe that which the gods doe, by whose benefite both good and euill men are borne into this world. That Prince therefore that taketh vpon him the minde of the gods, let him willingly entertaine some of his subiects because they are good and profitable, leaue the rest as men to make vp the number, let him reioice that som are, & other som let him suffer.

CHAP. VI.

Crueltie dispeopleth Cities and Countries, mercie maketh them fortunate.

THinke what ſolitude and deſolation there would bee in this Citie (in which a World of people going and comming inceſſantly by the ſpacious ſtreetes ceaſe not to juſtle one another as oftentimes as ſomething hindereth their walke which is as a violent torrent which a man would ſtaie, in which three ſtreetes are requiſite at one time, for three Theaters and in which as much corne is conſumed as is gathered in many Countries) if a man ſhould leaue none but ſuch, as a ſeuere Iudge would abſolue. Who is hee amongſt the receiuers and treaſurers that ſhall get his *Quietus eſt*, if he be as ſtrictly examined: as he doth others? Is there euer an accuſer without a fault? And I know not whether there be any man more difficult to giue pardon then he that hath often deſerued to begge the ſame. Wee are all faultie, the one more, the other leſſe, the one of deliberate purpoſe, the other being driuen there vnto by aduenture, or drawne by other mens wickedneſſe. Sometimes we haue not conſtantly perſeuered in one good reſolution, and haue loſt our innocence with griefe, and in ſpight of our ſelues; neither only for the preſent doe we amiſſe, but vntill the laſt houre of our life, we ſhall be ſtill full of ſinne. Although a man hath ſo well purged his minde that nothing can trouble or deceiue him any more yet by ſinning hee attainted his innocencie.

CHAP. VII.

A moſt ſtrong reaſon to perſwade Princes to be mercifull to their ſubiects.

BEcauſe I haue made mention of the gods behold heare an excellent patterne which I preſent vnto a Prince, to conforme himſelfe thervnto (that is to ſay) that hee deale with his ſubiects in ſuch ſort as hee would haue the gods to deale with him: were it expedient for vs that the gods ſhould neuer excuſe our pardon or faults, but that they ſhould perſecute vs with all rigour? Should there bee any great Prince in this World be found who ſhould liue in aſſurance and whoſe members the *Aruſpices* ſhould not gather vp? But if the mercifull and juſt gods puniſh not the faults of mightie men by confounding them by lightning, how much more juſt is it, that a man who hath the charge ouer men ſhould exerciſe his Empire with mercifull minde, and thinke whether the ſtate of the World be more gracious or fairer to the eye, in a faire and bright day, or when as all things are ſhaken with thunder-crackes and lightnings flaſh on euerie ſide. But one and the ſame is the eſtate of a quiet and moderate Empire, of a faire and ſhining Heauen. A Kingdome where crueltie raigneth may be compared to a troubleſome and obſcure time, vnder which euery one trembleth and waxeth pale, by reaſon of the ſodaine crackes of thunder, and where he that troubleth others is as wonderfully troubled for his own part. We pardon thoſe priuate men more eaſily, who reuenge themſelues obſtinately, for they may bee hurt, and their ſorrow commeth from injurie. Beſides they feare contempt, and not to reuenge an injurie, ſeemeth rather to bee an infirmitie then Clemencie. But hee that may eaſily reuenge, and yet forbeareth the ſame, obtaineth a certaine commendation of mercie. Men of bare qualitie may more freely exerciſe their hands, conteſt, ſtriue, and giue libertie to their paſſion. The ſtrokes betwixt e-

quals

quals are light, but exclamation and too much intemperance in wordes, ill beseemeth Majestie.

CHAP. VIII.

THinkest thou it a grieuous matter, that the libertie of speech should bee taken from Kings and permitted to inferiours? This saiest thou, is a seruitude and not an Emperie. But their condition is different, who lie hidden in community which they exceed not, whose vertue appeare not but struggle long time, and whose vices lie hidden in obscuritie. But common report awakeneth your actions and wordes, and therefore there are no men that should bee more carefull of their reputations, of whom men speake much, and in diuers places, whether they doe well or euill, How many things are there which are vnlawfull for thee, but permitted vs by thy benefit. I may walke alone in any part of the Citie without feare, although I be accompanied by no man, and no man attend me from home, and without any sword by my side, but in the fulnesse of thy peace thou must liue armed. Thou canst not wander from thy Fortune, she will besiege thee, and whether soeuer thou goest a great traine will follow thee. Beholde whereunto soueraignetie is subject, she cannot become lesse, but this necessitie is common to thee with the gods. For they are tied vnto Heauen, it is not permitted them to descend from thence, neither is it secure for thee to descend from the throne of thy greatnesse. Thou art nayled to thy greatnesse. Few men know our dessignes and businesse, wee may goe forth and returne and change our fashion without any publique note taken of vs. Thou canst no more bee hidden then the Sunne. A great brightnesse inuironeth thee round about, towards which all men bend their eyes. Thinkest thou that thou commest forth? no thou risest like the Sunne. Thou canst not speake but all the people of the World vnderstand and marke what thou saist. Thou canst not be angrie but all men tremble. Thou canst not afflict any man, but all that are about thee shake for feare. Euen as the lightnings fall to few mens perill but to all mens feare, so the chastisements of mightie Potentates are more full of feare then of euill, and not without cause. For in him that can doe, all men consider not what he doth, but what he may do. Moreouer, patience maketh those priuate men, disposed to indure those injuries that are offered them easily enough; But Clemencie is a more assured safegard to great men. Because a frequent reuenge represseth the hatred of a few men, but prouoketh infinitie others. The will to reuenge ought sooner to faile then the cause. Otherwise as the trees that are pruned, spread forth in many more branches, and many kindes of seeds, are cut to the end they may grow more thicker, so the crueltie of a King increaseth the number of his enemies in extinguishing them. For the Parents and Children, the Allies and Friends succeed in their place, who are slaine.

CHAP. IX.

HOW true this is I will admoniſh thee by a domeſtique example. *Cæſar Auguſtus* was a mercifull Prince, if any man ſhall eſtimate him, from that time hee vndertooke the Empire (although in the common calamitie of the Common-weale, his ſword was vnſheathed.) When as he had growne to thoſe yeares of age whereunto thou haſt now attained, and had gotten nineteene yeares on his backe; and had hidden his dagger in the boſome of his friends, laid ambuſhes to defeat *Marke Anthonie* the Conſull, being one of the Confederates in the Triumuirate; about the fortieth yeare of his age, and being reſident in France, there was tidings brought vnto him, that *Lucius Cynna* a man of weake judgement had conſpired and plotted treaſon againſt him. It was told him where, when, and how he ſhould be attempted by one of thoſe, who was a partie in the confederacie. Whereupon he reſolued to reuenge himſelfe vpon him, and cauſed a counſell of his friends to bee aſſembled. He tooke no reſt that night, where as he thought with himſelfe, how hee ſhould put a young Gentleman to death of Noble parentage, and who but for this one fault was vpright enough: and beſides was *Cneius Pompeius* Nephew. Now could he not execute one man alone, becauſe at ſupper time hee had diſcouered to one that was called *Anthonie* the whole edict of the proſcription: Grieuing therefore and diſquiet in minde, he vttered diuers ſpeeches, and each of them contrarie the one vnto the other, what then (ſaith he) Shall I ſuffer him that would murther mee to walke at his pleaſure, and ſhal I liue perplexed. Shal he remaine vnpuniſhed, who not only hath reſolued to kill me, but to ſacrifice mee (for their intent was to aſſaile him at a a ſacrifice) who haue bin aſſailed in vain by ſo many ciuill warres, and attempted by ſo many battels both by Sea and Land? After ſome pauſe and ſilence he exclaimed againe more violently againſt himſelfe, then againſt *Cynna*, and ſaid why liueſt thou, if thy death be profitable and pleaſing to ſo many? When ſhall I ſee the end of ſo many puniſhments? is there not bloud enough ſhed yet? my head is the marke wherat ſo many yong Roman gentlemens ſwords are aimed. Is my life ſo deere vnto mee that for the conſeruation thereof, ſo many ſoules ſhould periſh? At laſt *Liuia* his wife interrupting his diſcourſe, ſaid vnto him: Will you vouchſafe a womans counſaile? Doe that which Phyſitians are accuſtomed to doe. Who when as vſuall remedies take no effect, doe attempt the contrarie. Hetherto thou haſt profited nothing by ſeueritie. After *Saluidienus* thou haſt ruinated *Lepidus*, after *Lepidus Murena*, after *Murana Cæpio*, after *Cæpio Ignatius*, without reckoning vp the reſt, whoſe impious and impudent attempts make me aſhamed. Now make thou triall what thy mercie will profite thee. Pardon *Lucius Cynna*, his treaſon cannot be denied; hee cannot hurt thee now, but may increaſe thy renowne *Cæſar* being glad, that he had met with ſuch an aduocate, gaue his wife thankes, and preſently diſcharging thoſe friendes he had called to counſaile, he cauſed *Cynna* alone to be called vnto him, and commaunding all the reſt out of the Chamber, after he had commaunded them to ſet *Cynna* a chaire faſt by him, he begunne thus. This firſt of all doe I require at thy hands, that thou interrupt me not, neither that thou exclaime in the midſt of my diſcourſe, hereafter thou ſhalt haue libertie to ſpeake. Thou knoweſt *Cynna* that hauing found thee in mine enemies Campe; and knowne thee not only to be a ſuggeſted, but a born enemie vnto me, how I ſaued thy life, and reſtored thee

The great wiſedome of Liuia.

thee to all thy patrimonie. At this day thou art so happie, and so rich that the Conquerours beare enuie against thee that were conquered, when thou wast a sutor for the *Pontifice*, I gaue it thee neglecting diuers others whose parents had attended me in my warres. Hauing thus and so well deserued at thy hands, thou hast resolued to murther mee. When as *Cynna* began to crie out, that such madnesse was farre from him *Augustus* staid him and said. Thou keepest not thy promise with me *Cynna?* for it was agreed betweene vs that thou shouldest not interrupt me. I tell thee thou prepareſt to kill me, he told him the place, the confederates, the day, and the order of the ambush, and who was the man should strike the stroke. And when he perceiued him troubled, and not only silent because he had promised to be so, but because he was guiltie. With what minde said he doest thou this? To the end that thou thy selfe maist bee Emperour? Truly the Common-weale should bee hardly incombred, if none but I were the let of thine authoritie and dignitie. Thou canst not gouerne thine owne house. Of late a franckling of thine hath had the credit to condemne thee in justice for particular affaires. Is this the easiest businesse thou canst vndertake to contest and contend with *Cæsar?* Take it to thee, if I bee the only man that hinder thy hopes, I surrender it; *Paulus*, *Fabius Maximus*, the *Cossi* and *Seruilians* and so many Gentlemen of value, and Children of such worthie persons, that doe honour to their Statues, thinkest thou they will indure thee? But least in repeating his Oration, I should fill vp the greater part of this volume, who was well knowne to haue debated with him for the space of two whole houres, after he had long time discoursed vpon that punishment wherewith he would content himselfe, he added. Well *Cynna* once more I giue thee thy life, before times as to mine enemie, now as to a Traitour and a Paracide. From this day forward let friendship be continued betweene vs, and let vs striue to the vttermost to make it knowne, whether I haue giuen thee thy life with a better heart, or thou accepted the same with a more assured thankfulnesse. After all this of his owne accord, and vnasked he gaue him the Consul-ship, complayning of him that hee durst demand nothing, so that euer after *Cynna* was a most affectionate and faithfull seruant of his, and made him his heire, and neuer after this did any man conspire against *Augustus*.

The effect and fruites of mercy.

CHAP. X.

THY great grand-father gaue them life, whom hee ouercame, for had he not pardoned them ouer whom should hee haue had gouernment? *Salust*, the Coccians, the Duillians and all the Souldiers of the first companie of his Gard had borne Armes against him, notwithstanding he inrowled them, & chose them to be the neareſt about his person. The *Domitians*, *Messalaes*, *Asinians*, and *Ciceroes*, and all the most famous personages in *Rome* were indebted to his Clemencie. How long time bare he with *Lepidus?* he suffered him for many yeares to walke with that Equipage that became a Prince, and would not suffer the Office of high Bishop to be transferred vnto him, except it were after his death, for hee had rather that it should bee called an honour then a spoile. This Clemencie of his brought him to that securitie and felicitie which hee inioyed, this made him gratefull and gracious in all mens eyes, although hee had laid holde on the Common-weale, who as yet knew not what it was to endure the yoake of sub-

Other testimonies of Augustus his mercy.

iection, such a name at this day doth this mercie of his giue him, that other Princes will hardly obtaine during their liues. We beleeue him to be a God, not by any decree or ordinance: we confesse that *Augustus* was a good Prince, we acknowledge him well worthy of the name of the father of his countrey, for no other cause then for this, that hee reuenged not those contumelies that were offred him (and which in Princes eares are wont to sound most harshly) no more then he did his actuall iniuries, for that he smiled at reprochfull speeches that were offered him, for that he seemed to punish himselfe when he persecuted others, for that whomsoeuer he had condemned for the adulteries of his daughter, he was so farre from executing them, that in their dismission, and for their better securitie he gaue them pasports and safe conducts. This is truely called pardoning, that when thou knowest that there are diuers that are addressed to be angrie for thee, and gratifie thee if thou hast caused any to be put to death, thou not onely contentest thy selfe to giue life, but also procurest that he to whom thou hast giuen it be maintayned and conserued.

CHAP. XI.

To perswade Nero to continue his Clemencie, he compares him with Augustus Cæsar, and shewes in that Nero had the aduantage in this respect, because his predecessor had that praise also after his cruelty committed, he in the entrance and infancie of his gouernment.

THus *Augustus* behaued himselfe when he was olde, or at leastwise when olde age began to seize vpon him: In his youth hee was hote, wrathfull, and did many things which he neuer lookt backe vnto without remorse. No man dare compare *Augustus* courtesie to thy Clemencie, although he equall thy young yeares with his more then mature age. Suppose that he were moderate and mercifull after he had dyed the *Actian* Seas with bloud of Romanes, sunke in the Scicilian both his owne and forraine ships, sacrificed a great number of men vpon the altars of Perusa, and caused many multitudes of men to be put to death in the time of the Triumuirate. But I call not this Clemencie, but wearied crueltie. The true Clemencie and mercie, O *Cæsar*, is that which thou shewest, which hath not begun with the repentance of cruelty, thine is not soyled, thou hast neuer shed the bloud of Romane Cittizens. This in a Prince is the true temperance of a minde, and an incomprehensible loue towards mankind, not to be enkindled with any desire or rashnes, not to be corrupted by the example of former Princes, not to weigh how farre his authority may extend ouer his subiects, but to dull the edge of the Emperiall sword and dignitie. Thou hast exempted thy Cittie, O *Cæsar* from all bloudie massacres, and performed this, which with a great minde thou mayest glorie in, *That thorow the whole world thou hast not shed one drop of mans bloud*: and the more great and wonderfull it is, because the sword was neuer committed to the hands of any one more yonger then thy selfe. Clemencie therefore doth not only make men more honest, but more secure; and is not onely the ornament but the assured safetie of Kingdomes, who thorow Princes haue attained long life, and left their gouernments to their children and nephews, but the power of tyrants is execrable and short. What difference is there betwixt a Tyrant and a King? In appeareance they haue one and the same dignitie, the difference is, that Tyrants take pleasure in their tyrannie, Kings doe iustice but vpon cause and necessitie.

What care Princes should haue to make their end and answerable to their beginnings.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

WHat then, are not Kings ſometimes accuſtomed to put men to death? It is true; but ſo often as they are aſſured that it is for publique profite. The Tyrants heart is ſet vpon murther. But a Tyrant differeth from a King in fact, not in name. For *Dionyſius* the elder may iuſtly be preferred before diuers Kings. And what letteth vs to call *Lucius Sylla* a tyrant, who gaue ouer killing when hee found no more enemies? Although he forſooke his Dictature, and tooke vpon him the robe of a priuate Cittizen: yet what Tyrant hath there euer beene that ſo greedily drunke vp humane bloud, then he was who commanded ſeuen thouſand Romane Cittizens to be ſlaine? And when as being in counſaile in the Temple of *Bellona*, neere vnto the place where the execution was done, hee had heard the cries of ſo many thouſands that groned vnder the ſword; & perceiuing that the Senate was affrighted thereat. *Let vs intend our buſineſſe* (ſayth he) *Fathers Conſcript, theſe are but a few ſeditious perſons, whom I haue commaunded to be ſlaine.* He lyed not herein; for theſe ſeemed but a few in *Syllaes* eyes. But hereafter we will learne by *Sylla* how we ought to be angrie with our enemies, eſpecially if being ſeparated from the bodie of Cittizens, they haue taken vpon them the name of enemies. Meane while, as I ſaid, Clemencie effecteth this, that there is a great difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, although both of them are enuironed with guards. But the one maketh vſe of theſe forces to maintaine peace, the other that by great feares hee may pacifie great hatreds. Neyther ſecurely doth he beholde that very guard, to whoſe cuſtodie he hath committed himſelfe, but one contrary thruſteth him into another; for he is both hated becauſe he is feared, and will be feared becauſe he is hated, and vſeth that execrable verſe which hath ouerthrowne many;

And let them hate me ſo they feare.

The difference betwixt good Princes and Tyrants.

Not knowing what furie is engendered in the hearts of ſubiects when their hatreds are increaſed aboue meaſure. For a moderate feare reſtraineth mens mindes, but a continuall violence, and ſuch as is raiſed euen vnto the brimme, awakeneth and emboldneth thoſe that are deepeſt aſleep, and giueth them courage to hazard all. If thou keepeſt ſauage beaſts foulded vp in gins and nets, a horſeman may aſſault them with his weapons at their backes, yet will they attempt their flight by thoſe places they were wont to flie, and will ſpurne feare vnderfoote. That courage that groweth from extreame neceſſitie is marueilous forcible. Feare muſt leaue vs ſome gap to eſcape out at, and ſhew vs leſſe danger then hope, otherwiſe he that was not determined to defend himſelfe, ſeeing himſelfe in equall danger, will aduenture vpon dangers, and hazard that life which he eſteemeth not his owne. The forces which a peaceable Prince ſhall gather for the good of his ſubiects are faithfull and aſſured; and the braue ſouldier who ſeemeth to aduenture for publique ſecurity, endureth all trauaile willingly, as being one of the guards of the father of his countrey. But as touching the violent and bloudie Tyrant, his guard muſt needes be aggrieued at him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A deſcription of the miſerie of Tyrants and cruell Princes, all intending to this point, to recommend Clemency more and more.

NO man can haue miniſters of a good and faithfull will whom he vſeth in tormenting, in racking, and butchering men to death, to whom he expoſeth men no otherwiſe then he would to beaſts. Such a one liueth in no leſſe pain and torment then thoſe whom he holdeth in priſon, becauſe hee feareth both men and gods as witneſſes and reuengers of his crimes, and who is already come to that paſſe, that he dare not change his manner of liuing. For amongſt all other things crueltie hath this curſed euill in her, that ſhe is incorrigible, ſhe perſeuereth and is not able to recouer any other better courſe. One wickedneſſe muſt be ſuſtained by another. But what is more vnhappy then he is, who cannot chuſe but be euill? O how wretched is that man, but truely to himſelfe? For as touching others, it were very ill done by them to haue pittie of him who hath exerciſed his power with ſlaughters and rapines, who hath feare of all things as well domeſtique as forraine, that fearing armes hath recourſe vnto his weapons, neither truſting to his friends faith nor his childrens pietie: that hauing regarded in all ſorts that which he hath done, and that which he pretendeth to doe, and comming to open his conſcience repleniſhed with miſchiefes and torments, oftentimes feareth death and deſireth it againe as often; more odious to himſelfe then to thoſe that ſerue him. Contrariwiſe, he that hath the care and charge of a Common-wealth, although he haue a more intent eye to the conſeruation of ſome things more then other things, yet entertaineth all the members of the State as carefully as thoſe of his bodie, enclining alwayes vnto ſweetneſſe: and if it be expedient for him to doe iuſtice, he ſheweth that hauing no enmity or beaſtlineſſe in his heart, it is to his hearts-griefe that he layeth his hand on his weapon. Such a one, deſiring to approue his gouernement to his ſubiect, exerciſeth his power peaceably and to all mens profit, reputing himſelfe in his own iudgment ſufficiently happie, if he ſhal make his fortune and condition known, affable in ſpeech, facile in acceſſe, amiable in countenance, which moſt of al winneth the peoples hearts, fauourable to honeſt enterpriſes, enemy to euill deſignes; he is loued, defended, and reuerenced by all the world. The ſame ſpeake men in ſecret of him as they doe in publique. They deſire he ſhould haue iſſue, and that ſterillity cauſed by warres and other publique euils ſhould be aboliſhed: no man doubteth but that he ſhall deſerue wel at his childrens hands, to whom he ſhall ſhew a world ſo happy. This Prince liuing in ſecurity, by his owne meanes, hath no need of guard or garriſons, he vſeth his armes as the meanes of his ornament.

CHAP. XIIII.

Another inſtruction for a Prince, to teach him to keepe a meaſure in his mercie.

WHat therefore is his duetie? That which belongs to good Parents, who are wont ſometime to admoniſh their children gently, ſometimes to chaſtiſe them with threats, and ſometimes with ſtripes. Doth any man of a ſetled iudgement diſinherite his ſonne vpon the firſt offence, except many and mightie iniuries ouercome his patience? except there be ſomewhat more that he feareth then that which hee condemneth, he will not blot him out of his Teſtament. Hee aſſayeth diuers remedies

remedies before hand to reclaime him from his dissolute and inconstant disposition, but when he hath no more hope then assaieth hee his last remedies. No man commeth to practise his extremest chastisements, except hee hath consumed all his remedies. That which the Parent doth, the same ought a Prince to doe: whom wee haue called the *Father of the Countrie* not led thereunto by vaine adulation. For those other names are giuen for honour sake. We haue called them *Great*, *Happie and Augusti*, and haue heaped vp whatsoeuer titles wee could inuent for ambitious Majestie: attributing them vnto these. We haue called him the *Father of the Country*, to the end he might know, that he had a fatherly power giuen him ouer his Countrie, and consequently very moderate, carefull of his children, and prouiding for their good, rather then his own particular. If the father must cut of some one of his members it shal be as late as he can, and after he hath cut it of, he wil desire to reuiue it againe, and in cutting it of, he wil vse and differ long time, and in diuers sorts. For he that condemneth too soone condemneth willingly also, He that chastiseth ouer seuerely, ordinarily chastiseth vniustly. In our memorie the people of Rome stabbed to death a Roman Knight called *Erixo*, with their bodkins, for whipping his sonne to death. Scarce could the authoritie of *Augustus Cæsar* redeeme the same from the handes of displeased Fathers and children.

CHAP. XV.

ARIVS hauing discouered, that his owne sonne had attempted and conspired his death, after hee knew of the fact banished him, for which acte of his all the people commended him, especially for this that hauing banished the parracide to *Marsillies*, hee furnished him, with as great an anuall pention, as hee had allowed him before hee had trespassed in this sort. This liberalitie was the cause, this liberalitie of his was the cause, that in that Citie, where the baddest causes want no aduocates, that no man doubted but that hee that was guiltie, was deseruedly condemned, since the Father who could not hate him, had the courage to condemne him. By this very example I will giue you the meanes to make a comparison betwixt a good Prince, and a good Father. When *Titus Arius* would draw his sonne into question, hee called *Augustus Cæsar* to counsell, who came from his own pallace to this priuate mans house, sat downe as a partie of the counsell; and he said not why came he not to my house? which had it hapned; the censure of the fault had beene *Cæsars*, and not the fathers. The fact being vnderstood, all circumstances examined, the yong man hauing beene heard in his defence, and his answers and accusations considered. *Cæsar* required euery one of the Counsailers to set downe their opinions in writing, to the end that no man should subscribe to his opinion, or if hee spoake that other men should follow him: and before that the billets were opened, he swore that he would not be *Titus Arius* heire, who was reputed a rich man. Some base fellow will say, that *Cæsar* was afraid, lest he should seeme to giue entrance to his hope by the condemnation of the yong man. But I thinke otherwise, that euery one of vs to defence our selues against the false opinions, that men might conceiue against vs, ought to fix our selues vpon the assured confidence of good conscience. Princes ought to doe many things, to get them a good report. He swore that he would not be his heire. That same day *Arius* lost another sonne but

Hauing compared a good Prince to a Father, he maketh mention about the end of the precedent section of an euil Father and here of a good, to the end to expresse by the same that a good Prince ought to assay all meanes in respect of his subiects before he descends to extreme rigor.

but *Cæsar* redeemed the libertie of his sentence, and after he had approued that his seueritie was without respect of recompence; of which thing a Prince shold haue an especiall care alwaies, hee sentenced him to bee banished to that place where his father should thinke fit. He iudged him not to be sowed vp in a sack, to be made a pray for Serpents, or to die in prison, remembring himselfe that he sat not there as a Iudge, but as a Counsailer to the father. Hee said that the father ought to content himselfe with the mildest kind of punishment, in regard of his sonne; who was as yet yong and drawne vnto this wicked act, in pursuite of the execution wherof, he had shewed himselfe to be fearefull, which excused him in some sort, and that it sufficed therefore to banish him from Rome, and from his fathers presence.

CHAP. XVI.

By comparison of fathers and Masters and others in authoritie, and by the example of their gouernment he teacheth a Prince how vnseemely a thing crueltie and too much seueritie is.

A Prince, worthy alwaies to bee called by fathers into their Counsaile, worthy to bee made coheire with their innocent children. This Clemencie becommeth a Prince, that whether so euer hee commeth, should make all things more mild. Let no man be so abiect in a Princes eye, that hee hath no feeling of his death or danger, what soeuer he bee, he is a part of the Empire. Let vs make a comparison, betwixt the smallest Kingdomes and the greatest Empires; There is but one kind of Gouernement. The Prince commandeth his Subiects, the father his children, the master his schollers, the Captaine or Lieutenant his Souldiers. Shall he not be reputed a wicked father, who with continuall whipping vpon the sleightest occasion, seeketh to still his children? Whether should that Master be more worthy the liberall studies, who fleaeth his Schollers, if they haue not exactly remembred their lessons; or by reason of their weake sight haue faulted in their reading; or he that had rather mend them, and teach them by admonitions and modestie? Giue me a Captaine or Lieutenant that is cruell, he will make his Souldiers forsake him, and yet these are to be pardoned. Were it a reasonable matter, to handle a man worse then we doe bruit beasts? But hee that is a good breaker of horses, terrifieth them not with often strookes, for by that meanes he will become more fearefull and stubberne, except thou handle and stroake him with a gentle hand. The same doth the Huntsman, who teacheth his hound to draw drie foote, and who vseth those whom he hath alreadie trained to the game to rowse or hunt it. Neither doth hee often threaten them, for therefore their courage is directed, and what soeuer forwardnesse is in them, is daunted by degenerate feare; neither doth hee giue them libertie to wander and stray here and there. To these maiest thou adde those that haue the driuing of slower Cattle, which being bred vnto reproach and miserie thorow too much crueltie, are inforced to refuse their yoke.

CHAP. XVII.

Since a man is the most vntamed Creature of the World, we ought to handle him gently.

THere is no liuing Creature more vntoward, none more vntractable by heart then a man is, yet no one is to be spared more then hee; For what folly is it for a man to bee ashamed to spend his spleene vpon Dogges, and Horses, or Asses, and to intreat a man more rudely? Wee cure sicknesses and yet are not angrie with them

them, but this diſeaſe of the minde requireth a gentle medicine and that hee who cureth the ſame ſhould not bee angrie with the ſicke. It is the part of an euill Phyſition to diſpaire that he ſhall not cure. The ſame ought hee to doe to whom the ſecuritie and protection of all men is committed, in thoſe whoſe mindes are affected, hee muſt not ſuddenly caſt by his hopes, neyther incontinently pronounce what deadly ſignes there are in the infirmitie. Let him ſtriue with vices and reſiſt them, let him vpbraid ſome with their infirmitie, deceiue other ſome by a gentle cure, becauſe hee is likelieſt more ſoone and better to heale them by deceiueable medecines. Let a Prince indeuour carefully not only to cure but alſo to giue a ſmooth cicatrix to the wound of offence. A King obtaineth no glorie by cruell puniſhment for who doubteth but hee may: But contrariwiſe his glorie is moſt excellent, if hee containeth his power, if hee deliuer many from the furie of their Enemies, and ruinateth no man by his diſpleaſure.

CHAP. XVIII.

IT is an honour to know how to commaund a mans ſeruants modeſtly, and in our ſlaue wee are to thinke not how much puniſhment he may endure and we inflict vpon him without reproofe, but what the nature of right and juſtice will permit thee: which commandeth vs to ſpare our Captiues and ſuch whom we haue bought to be our bond-ſlaues. How much more juſt is it for thee not to abuſe men free, ingenious, and honeſt, as thy bond-men, but to entertaine them, for ſuch as are vnder thy gouernment, to defend them as thy ſubjects, and not afflict them as thy ſlaues. It is lawfull for bond-men to flie to *Cæſars* ſtatue: Although wee haue authoritie to doe what wee liſt with our ſlaues, there is ſomewhat which the common right of liuing Creatures permitteth vs not to execute vpon a man, becauſe he is of the ſame nature that thou art. Who hated not *Vedius Pollio* more worſe then his owne ſlaues did, becauſe hee fatted his Lamproies with mans bloud? and commanded thoſe that offended him to bee caſt into the fiſh-poole to what other end then to feede Serpents? O wretched man worthie a thouſand deaths, whether he preſented his ſlaues to be deuoured by thoſe Lamproies hee would feed vpon, or whether to this only end hee nouriſhed them, that in that ſort he might nouriſh them. Euen as cruell Maſters are pointed at thorow the whole Citie, and are reputed both hatefull and deteſtable: ſo the cruell demencie of Princes, who haue contracted infamie and hatred againſt them ſelues, are inregiſtred in Hiſtories to bee a hatred to poſteritie. Had it not beene better neuer to haue beene borne then to bee numbered amongſt thoſe that are borne for a publique miſerie?

Another reaſon taken by compariſon betwixt the greater and the leſſer if all things are not lawfull in a Maſter ouer his ſeruants, they are no leſſe lawfull for a Prince ouer his ſubiects that are men.

CHAP. XIX.

THere is no man that can bethinke him of any thing that is more ſeemely for him that is in authoritie then Clemencie in what manner ſoeuer, and by what right ſoeuer hee hath the preheminence ouer others. And the more higher his dignitie is that is indued with this vertue, the more noble ſhall wee confeſſe his ornament,

Now concludes he as in a generall ſentence that which he ſaid in the beginning that mercie is the moſt noted vertue in Princes.

nament, to be which ſhould not be hurtful but compoſed according to the law of nature. For nature hath inuented Kings, which wee may know by other liuing Creatures and in particular by Bees, whoſe King hath the largeſt roome in the Hony Combe, and is lodged in the middle and moſt ſecureſt place. Beſides he laboureth not but examineth the labour of the reſt, and when their King is loſt the whole ſwarme is diſperſed: alſo they ſuffer but one, making choice of him that is the boldeſt in fight. Moreouer the King is noted for his ſeemelineſſe, in that he differeth from the reſt both in greatneſſe and goodlineſſe: yet herein is he moſt diſtinguiſhed from them; Bees are the moſt angrie and felleſt Creatures that be, according to the capacitie of their bodies, and leaue their ſtings in the wound, but their King hath no ſting. Nature would not haue him cruell nor to ſeeke reuenge that might hazard his life, and therefore tooke away his weapon, and diſarmed his wrath. All Kings and Princes ought to conſider this excellent example. It is the cuſtome of nature to diſcouer her ſelfe in little thinges, and the leaſt Creatures miniſter vnto vs the moſt nobleſt examples. Let vs not be aſhamed to learne ſome good thing of the ſmalleſt Creatures, ſince the minde of man ought to be more ſetled then euill which hee doth is hurtful and dangerous. By my conſent I would haue man reduced to this condition that his wrath ſhould be broken with his owne weapon, and that he might haue no more meanes to hurt then once in his life, nor exerciſe his hatreds by an other mans hands: for eaſily would furie be wearied; if of neceſſitie ſhe ſhould act that which ſhe her ſelfe commaundeth, and if ſhe ſhould expreſſe her power by the harzard of her life: neyther as yet is ſhee ſecured inher march. For ſhe muſt needes bee ſurpriſed with as much feare, as ſhee would haue other haue feare of her, her eyes bee fixed on euery mans hands, and at ſuch times as a man intendeth not to touch her, ſhee beleeueth that hee will aſſault her, and hath not one only minute of repoſe. Is it poſſible that any one would liue ſo vnhappily, when the meanes is offered him to paſſe his dayes without the hurt of any man, and conſequently execute the affaires of his charge in all ſecuritie, and with great contentment? He abuſeth himſelfe that ſuppoſeth that a King is ſecure in that place, where there is not any one but is afraid of him. One ſecuritie muſt be aſſured by an other mutuall ſecuritie. We need not build ſtrong Citadels, on high hils, nor fortifie vnacceſſible places, nor cut downe the ſides of Mountaines, nor enſconce our ſelues with many walles and towers. Clemencie will ſecure a King in the open field. His only inpregnable fortreſſe, is the loue of his Cittizens. What more worthie thing can a Prince wiſh for, then to liue in all mens good opinion, and in ſuch loue of his ſubjects, that their vowes and prayers ſhould inceſſantly and ſecretly bee powred forth for his ſecuritie: that if his health be craſed, they liſten not after his death, but are wonderfully affraid, leaſt they ſhould looſe him? that there is nothing ſo precious in any one of their eyes, that they would not exchange for his health, and ſecuritie; that thinketh that whatſoeuer hath befallen the Prince, is fatall to themſelues? Hereby the Prince hath approoued by continuall arguments of his goodneſſe, that the Common-weale is not his, but that hee is the Common-weales. Who dare contriue any danger towards him? who would not if hee could, preuent any diſaſter that is toward him, vnder whom juſtice, peace, modeſtie, ſecuritie and dignitie doe flouriſh, vnder whom the wealthie Cities abound in the plentie of all good thinges? neyther with other mindes reuerence they, or beholde they their gouernour, then if the immortall goddes ſhould vouchſafe them the libertie to behold themſelues. And why doth not

he

he that followeth the nature of the goddes, which is to bee gracious, liberall, and powerfull, to doe good, become a ſecond to them? This is it that becommeth a Prince to affect, this ought he to imitate: and as they deſire to bee the greateſt, ſo let them indeuour to be the beſt.

CHAP. XX.

Hauing generally diſcourſed of Clemencie and Mercie at this preſent: in way of partition, he digeſteth and gathereth together that which hath beene ſaid in diuers Chapters, and ſheweth that whether a man regard the perſon of a Prince, or of a priuate man, there ought no cruelty to be vſed.

THe Prince is accuſtomed to doe juſtice for two cauſes, eyther puniſheth he the faults that are committed againſt himſelfe, or againſt another. I will will firſt of all ſpeake of that which concerneth him. For it is a harder matter for a man to temper himſelfe, when hee chaſtiſeth others, to ſatisfie his priuate diſguſt, then to propoſe it for an example. It were in vaine in this place to admoniſh a Prince, not to beliеue lightly, to examine the truth, to fauour innocencie, that it may appeare, that he is no leſſe carefull to examine that which concerneth him that hath offended, as that which toucheth the Iudge. But this appertaineth to juſtice, and not vnto Clemencie. For the preſent we exhort him, that being manifeſtly wronged, he remaine Maſter of his own heart, and giue ouer puniſhment, if ſo be he may ſafely doe it; or at leaſt-wiſe differ it, and bee more enclined to pardon thoſe faults which are committed againſt himſelfe, as againſt others. For euen as hee is not liberall, that cutteth a large thong out of another mans leather, but hee that taketh that from himſelfe which he giueth to another: So will I call him mercifull, not that weepeth, and is agrieued at another mans affliction, but him who hauing iuſt and vrgent occaſion, paſſionateth not himſelfe, and knoweth that it is the act of a great minde in the height of his authoritie to ſuffer injuries, and that nothing is more glorious in a Prince, then to pardon thoſe who haue offended him.

CHAP. XXI.

A ſubdiuiſion of his matter, tending to that which he hath ſpoken of, and ſhewing that ſinner that by reuenge, neither increaſeth nor maintaineth his eſtate, he ought not to ſuffer himſelfe to be maſtered by ſuch a paſſion.

REuenge is ordinarily wont to produce two effects, for eyther it bringeth him comfort that hath receiued the injurie, or putteth him in ſecuritie for the time to come. A Princes Fortune is ſo great, as it needeth not ſuch like ſolace, and his power is more manifeſt, then that hee neede to ſeeke the opinion of his greatneſſe from the ruine of another. This, ſay I, when hee is aſſaulted or violated by any of his inferiours, for if he ſeeth thoſe who ſometimes were his equals, become his vnderlings, he is ſufficiently reuenged. A Seruant, a Serpent, an Arrow haue ſlaine a King. No man hath ſaued a King, except he that ſaued him were greater then himſelfe. He therefore that hath attained the power ouer life and death, ought to vſe ſo great an authoritie beſtowed vpon him by the gods couragiouſly, eſpecially towards thoſe, who in his knowledge haue ſometime oppoſed themſelues againſt his greatneſſe: hauing attained this dignitie, he is ſufficiently reuenged, and hath done that which was requiſite for an entire puniſhment. For he that ſhould die, hath loſt his life, but whoſoeuer from a high degree, hath beene proſtitute at his enemies feet, where hee attendeth the definitiue ſentence of his Crowne and life, liueth to his great glorie, that preſerueth him: and addeth more to his renowne by his life, then if he had ſentenced him

to death. For hee is the continuall ſpectacle of another mans vertue. In a triumph he had quickly paſt by. But if his Kingdome likewiſe may ſafely bee redeliuered into his handes, and hee might bee reſtored to that preheminence from whence he was fallen, his prayſe riſeth aboue all meaſure, that was contented from a conquered King to take away nothing but his glorie. This it is to triumph truly in a mans victorie: and to teſtifie that he found nothing worthie in the Conquerours hands, that was anſwerable to his worthineſſe and value. As touching our Citizens and men that are vnknown to vs, and ſuch as are of baſe condition, the more moderately muſt we deale with them, the leſſe honour we ſhall get by afflicting them. Pardon ſome men willingly, diſdaine to reuenge thy ſelfe on other ſome, and retire thy hand from them, as if they were ſome little ſilly creatures that would ſoyle thy fingers, if thou ſhouldeſt touch them; but as touching thoſe that are eyther to be pardoned or puniſhed in the eye of the State, make vſe of the occaſion of thy accuſtomed Clemencie.

CHAP. XXII.

He proſecuteth his partition, and ſhewth that a gentle chaſtiſement profiteth more, both to him that is chaſticed, and to the Prince himſelfe then cruell rigour.

LET vs paſſe ouer to thoſe injuries that are done vnto another, in puniſhing which the Law hath obſerued three things, which a Prince likewiſe ought to follow, either to amend him whom he puniſheth, or to the intent that his puniſhmēt may make the reſt better; or that by cutting of the euill, the reſt may liue more ſecurely. Thoſe, ſhalt thou more ſafly amend with leſſe puniſhment, for he liueth more diligently, that hath ſome dayes of his life pardoned him to liue in. No man careth for his decaied dignitie. It is a kind of impunitie not to be able to be puniſhed any more. But the fewneſſe of executions reformeth the Cities manners the more. For the multitude of offenders breedeth a cuſtome of offence, and the note of infamie is the leſſe, the greater the number of delinquents there be: and ſeueritie by being ouer vſuall looſeth her authoritie, which is the greateſt honour ſhe hath. That Prince ſetleth good manners in his Citie, and more happily extinguiſheth the vices thereof, if he wink at them, not as though he allowed them; but as if hee were agreiued at them, and with great heartſgriefe, was inforced to puniſh them. The Clemencie of him that gouerneth maketh them aſhamed that offend. The puniſhment ſeemeth the more grieuous, when the ſentence is giuen by a mercifull man.

CHAP. XXIII.

That continuall and cruell puniſhments, doe not ſo much repreſſe offences, as the prudent Clemencie of Princes.

BEſides, thou ſhalt ſee thoſe thinges oftentimes committed which are often times puniſhed. Thy Father within the ſpace of fiue yeares ſowed vp more paracides, then were condemned to that death in all the ages before, as farre as we can gather. As long as there was no law eſtabliſhed againſt this hainous crime, no children durſt attempt or imagine this ſo vnnaturall a wickednesſe, For thoſe Lawmakers and notable perſons moſt wiſe and well experienced, thought it better to make no mention of this crime in their Lawes, as a moſt incredible matter, and ſuch as man ſhould not be ſo curſed, as to imagine, then to publiſh by the eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhment of ſeuere lawes againſt the ſame, that ſo horrible an offence might be committed. Parricides therfore began with their law, and their puniſhment taught them their offence: Piety was in a deſperate eſtate after we ſaw theſe ſackes more often then gallowſes. In thoſe Citties where men are puniſhed very ſeldome, euery one agreeth to liue innocently, and they entertaine innocencie as a publique good. Let the Cittie thinke her ſelfe innocent and ſhe ſhal be: if ſhe ſee the number of ſuch as are diſſolute is but ſmall, ſhee is vexed the more. Beleeue me, it is a dangerous matter to let a Cittie ſee that there are more wicked then good.

CHAP. XXIIII.

He proueth for the third point both by ſimilitudes and examples, that puniſhments aſſure not good men.

THere was a decree ſet downe in times paſt by the Senate, that our ſlaues and free-men ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by their attire, but afterwards it appeared what danger was imminent if our ſeruants ſhould haue begun to haue numbred vs. Know this, that if no man be pardoned, this is likewiſe to be feared, that it will quickly appeare what aduantage the worſer part hath ouer the better: no leſſe diſhonourable are many puniſhments to a Prince, then many funerals to a Phyſitian. He that gouerneth more mildely, is obeyed more willingly. Mans minde is naturally rebellious, ouerthwart and proude, he followeth more willingly then he is led. And as generous and noble horſes are better guided by an eaſie bit, ſo voluntary innocence followeth Clemencie of her owne motion: in the Cittie this ſweetneſſe is a good that deſerueth to bee maintayned. So then there is more gotten by following this way. Crueltie is humane euill, it is vnworthy ſo milde a minde; this is a beaſt-like rage to reioyce in bloud and wounds, and laying by the habite of a man, to tranſlate himſelfe to a wilde beaſt.

CHAP. XXV.

FOr tell me *Alexander*, I beſeech thee, whether of theſe two is more ſtrange, eyther that thou command *Lyſimachus* to bee caſt vnto the Lions, or that thou thy ſelfe teare him in pieces with thy eager teeth. The throat and crueltie of the Lion is thine owne. O how gladly wouldeſt thou haue had theſe clawes, and that great throat, capable to deuoure and ſwallow men? We requeſt thee not that this hand of thine, which hath put to death three of thy deereſt friends, ſhould doe good to any man, nor that thy felon heart, the vnſatiable ruine of Nations ſhould glut it ſelfe otherwiſe then in bloud and murthers: we will take it for thy Clemency, and ſo call it, if in murthering thy friend thou make choyce of an executioner amongſt the number of men. This is the cauſe why crueltie is moſt of all to be abhorred, becauſe ſhe paſſeth the bonds, not onely of cuſtome but of humanitie. She ſearcheth out new puniſhments, and applyeth her mind thereunto, ſhe inuenteth inſtruments to multiply and prolong paine, and to content her ſelfe in thoſe torments which other men ſuffer. Then doth that dire ſickneſſe of the minde grow into moſt deſperate rage, when crueltie is turned into pleaſure, and to murther men is reputed a May-game. For ſuch a man is attended by confuſion, hatreds, venoms, ſwords, by as many dangers is he aſſaul-

ted as he is the danger of many men, and ſometimes by priuate counſailes and ſometimes by publique calamities he is ſurpriſed and circumuented. For the ſlight and priuate ouerthrow of ſome particulars, incenſeth not whole Citties: that which beginneth to rage on euery ſide, and indifferently attempteth all men, armeth euery man againſt it. The ſmaller Serpents ſlip by vs; neyther are they much ſought after, but if any one waxeth aboue ordinarie meaſure and bigneſſe, and becommeth a monſter, when hee hath infected the fountaines by drinking in them, and ſcorched with his breath, and rent with his tallants whatſoeuer he treads vpon, we ſhoote at him with Baliſtils and Croſbowes. The ſmaller euils may ſpeake faire and ſo eſcape, but wee make head againſt the great ones. If there be but one ſicke in a houſe, it makes no great matter, but when it appeareth by the death of many that the plague is there, the Cittie cries out and euery man flies, and each man lifteth vp his handes to heauen. If ſome priuate houſe be ſet on fire, the neighbours bring in water and quench it; but when the fire is ſcattered abroad, and layes hold on many houſes, it cannot be quenched but by the ruine of a part of the Cittie.

CHAP. XXVI.

He ſheweth what danger it is for a man to take pleaſure in crueltie, and how much good Princes get by amiable and curteous entertainement. He concludeth that Clemencie is the faireſt flower in their Garland.

SEruile handes likewiſe haue reuenged the crueltie of particulars, although they ſaw their death before them. The cruelty of Tyrants, the Nations, people & thoſe that were oppreſſed, and ſuch as were moſt neerely threatned thereby, haue attempted to confound. Sometime their owne guards haue conſpired againſt them, and exerciſed vpon them that perfidiouſneſſe, impiety, and cruelty which they themſelues had learned of them. For what can any man hope from him whom he hath trained vp to be euill? wickednеſſe appeareth not long time, neyther ſinneth ſhe as much as ſhe is commanded. But put caſe that crueltie be aſſured; what a Kingdome hath ſhe? No other then the forme of ſacked Citties, and the terrible faces of publique feare. All things are ſad, troubleſome and confuſed, euen the pleaſures themſelues are feared: they banquet not ſecurely, and in their feaſts though they be drunke they muſt haue a watch ouer their tongues: they cannot truſt their Theaters where men ſeeke occaſions to accuſe and put to death nowe this man, now that man. when their banquets be prepared with greater charge, and Kingly riches, and by the excellent inuention of cunning Artiſts, who is he, I pray you, that would take pleaſure to depart from his ſports to a priſon? Good gods what a miſchiefe is this, to kill, to rage, to delight in the noyſe of ſhackles, to cut off Cittizens heads, to ſhedde bloud in euery place, whereſoeuer he commeth, to terrifie men and make them flie from his terrible lookes? What other life would there be if Lions & Beares did raigne? if Serpents and euery other noyſome creature ſhould haue power ouer vs? They being voyde of reaſon, and being condemned by vs for the crime of immanitie, abſtaine from thoſe of their owne kinde, yea, and ſimilitude is a protection amongſt the ſauage beaſts; but amongſt men only rage forbareth not his deereſt friends, but maketh one account of ſtrangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more buſily creepe into priuate mens ſlaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations. He reputeth it to be for his royaltie to caſt fire vpon houſes, and to plough vp olde Citties: he beleeueth it to be ſcarce Kingly to command one or two to be ſlaine, except at one time a troope of miſerable

ſerable men ſtand ſubject to his ſword, he accounteth his crueltie to bee inforced and reſtrained. This is not ſufficient for him, many more lines, and to call them backe from death, that are adiudged to die, and to weare a ciuill Crowne by Clemencie. There is no ornament more for the, or better ſitting the greatneſſe of a Prince then ſuch a Crowne, with this inſcription, *Ob ciues ſeruatos*, not the Chariots of barbarous Nations beſprinkled with bloud, nor ſpoyles gotten in warre. This is a diuine power to ſaue men by companies, and publikely: but to murther many, and they vnheard, is the act of a Tyrant and Murtherer.

The end of the firſt Booke of Clemencie.

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
To *NERO CÆSAR.*

The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

NEe more hee praiſeth NERO *and his excellent voice. Then paſſeth hee ouer to the ſecond part and ſheweth the Nature of Clemencie, and defineth the ſame. He explaineth it the more by the contrarie vice, and bringeth forth Crueltie and deſcribeth it. Afterwards he limiteth Clemencie, and will haue it remoued from Compaſsion, for this is a vice amongſt the Stoicks. Neither giueth he leaue to remit or giue pardon, but to ſpare and to prouide for, and which they diſtinguiſh rather in words then in matter. This is the end of the Booke, but not of the matter, and by the diuiſion it appeareth that many things are wanting, which haue beene obſcured by the iniquitie of the time. It is to be ſorrowed for in ſo worthie a Tract: which had it not beene in my iudgement this ſecond Booke had, equalled the firſt.*

CHAP. I.

He animateth Nero *to continue in his well begunne gouernment, with that placabilitie hee hath thetherto vſed, he ſecondeth his Counſailes with praiſes which ſerue as ſpurres to a good minde.*

THat which moſt chiefly mooued mee *Nero Cæſar* to addreſſe and dedicate this diſcourſe of Clemencie vnto thee, was a ſpeech of thine which not only rauiſhed mee with admiration, at ſuch time as I hard it, but as when afterwards I recited it to others. A generous ſpeech, the argumēt of a great mind and greater lenitie; which was not ſtudied for or fitted to flatter other mens eares, but ſodainly brake forth; and brought thy beautie that cōtended with thy Fortune into the publike eye and cenſure of all men. *Burrus* a Captaine of thy Gard, a man of honour and knowne by vs for ſuch a one, hauing charge to carrie two theefs to execution, laboured, that thou wouldeſt ſigne the ſentence that was giuen againſt them both: which being deferred diuers times, he inſiſted at laſt that it might be diſpatched. But after that, to thy owne heart ſ griefe

and

and thy diſtaſt he had drawne the writing out of his boſome, and deliuered it into thy hands, thou cryedſt out, *I would I could neyther reade nor write.* O ſpeech worthie to bee heard by all thoſe Nations that inhabite the Romane Empire, and by thoſe neighbour Countries, that are ſcarcely aſſured of their libertie, and by thoſe likewiſe who both in minde and might arme themſelues againſt their proſperitie. O verie worthie to be reuiued in the open aſſembly of all liuing men, and whereof Kings and Princes might make vſe when they ſhould take their oath vnto their Subiects. O ſpeech worthie the ancient innocencie of Mankind, in fauour whereof the former ages ſhould wax yong againe. Truly this is the booke wherein all of vs ought to accord in equitie and Clemencie, driuing far from vs this couetouſneſſe to enioy other mens fortunes, whence all the infirmities of the minde doe ariſe. Now it is that pietie, integritie, loyaltie, and modeſtie, ſhould lift vp their heads, and that vices which haue ſo tyrannouſly dominered ouer vs long time, ſhould finally quit their place, and reſigne it to an age more happie and pure.

CHAP. II.

He preſageth the continuance of Neroes Clemencie. to the comfort of his Subiects and the amaſe of his enemies.

I Dare well hope and promiſe Cæſar that the greater part hereof ſhall come to paſſe. This Clemencie of thine ſhall by little and little be publiſhed, and ſpread thorow all the bodie of thine Empire, and all thinges ſhall conforme themſelues according to the example which thou giueſt them. Good health proceedeth from the head, and afterwardes cauſeth that all the members are nimble and ſtrong, as contrariwiſe they languiſh, if the ſpirit that quickneth them, bee amated. And both thy Cittizens and aſſociates ſhall be worthie of this bountie, and good maners ſhal be re-eſtabliſhed thorowout the whole World, & ſhal be extended in euerie place. Suffer me to inſiſt a little longer one this point, not to the intent to tickle or flatter thine eares, for it is not my cuſtome. I had rather offend thee in ſpeaking truth, then pleaſe thee by flatterie. What is the cauſe then, why I deſire thou ſhouldeſt bee ſo familiarly exerciſed in the knowledge of thy good words and actions? Truly no other but that one day thou mayeſt ſay and doe that with judgment, which now thou ſayſt and doeſt by a naturall aptitude of thy minde. This conſider I with my ſelfe that many great, but they deteſtable ſpeeches of Princes are entred into mens hearts, and are ordinarie in their mouthes as this.

With deadly hate let them purſue me,
Prouided alwayes that they feare me.

Whereunto reſembleth that Greeke verſe who willeth that when he is dead,

The ſolid Earth ſhould with the fire be mixt.

And others of this kinde: But I know not how ſuch ſpirits, ſo prodigious and ſo hatefull, haue expreſſed their violent and furious conceits in a more plentiful manner. I haue neuer as yet heard a proud word vttered by a good and mercifull Prince. What is it then that thou art to doe? Forſooth this, that as ſlackly as thou mayeſt and with ſome remorſe, and with ſome delayes alſo vntill ſuch time

time as thou art inforced thereunto, thou write that which draweth thee in hatred of good letters, yet so as thou doest in temporizing and delaying diuers times.

CHAP. III.

What Clemencie is, and the definitions thereof.

BVT least some time this goodly and pleasing name of Clemencie should happily deceiue vs, let vs see what Clemencie is, what a one she is, and to what end she tendeth. Clemencie then is a moderation of the minde, that restraineth the power which a man hath to reuenge himselfe, or it is a gracious moderation of the superiour towards his inferiour, in establishing of punishment. The surest way shall bee to set downe diuers definitions, for feare least one suffice not to expresse the same, and that the forme thereof (if we may so speake) escape vs not. One may therefore say, that it is an inclination of the minde, tending to shew himselfe mercifull when he ought to chastise. This definition will haue some opposition, although it bee such a one as draweth nearest the truth. If wee say that Clemencie is a moderation remitting somewhat of the punishment which is deserued and due, some one will reply that there is not any vertue that doth lesse then she ought. But all men know that Clemencie is that vertue which rebateth somewhat of that which she might exact. They of weakest judgment suppose that seueritie is opposed against it, but neuer was one vertue contrarie to another.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Crueltie opposed against Clemencie, and the definitions and kinds thereof laid open by examples.

WHat therfore is opposed to Clemencie? Crueltie which is no other thing then a crueltie of minde in exacting punishments. But there are some that are cruell although, they doe not punish any: such as they are who kill men whom they neuer saw, but met with in the way, not to the intent to lessen the number, but killing them because they tooke pleasure in killing. Moreouer not content to murther, they tortured more bodies as *Busiris Procrustes* did, and those Pirates who first of all beate their prisoners and afterwards burne them to death and dust. Truely this is crueltie, but because it followeth not reuenge (for she was not injured) neyther is displeased at any mans offence (for no crime hath ouerslipped before) it is not comprised in our definition, which definition contayned an intemperance of the minde in exacting punishment. Wee may well say that this is not crueltie, but beastly furie which taketh pleasure to torment the bodie, and we may likewise call it madnesse; for their bee diuers kindes thereof, and none more certaine then that which extendeth it selfe to murther and massacre men. I will therefore call them cruell, who haue no occasion to punish, yet such as keepe no measure, such as *Phalaris* was, who not contenting himselfe with putting innocents to death, exceeded in his executions all humane and probable measure. We may to auoid all cauill, say this crueltie is an inclination of the minde vnto most grieuous punishments. Clemencie driueth this crueltie farre of from her, because she hath better correspondence with seueritie. It is verie pertinent to the matter to enquire in this place what mercie is, for diuers men

prayse her for a vertue: and call a good man mercifull. But this is an imperfection of the minde, Crueltie and Mercie are the two extreames of Seueritie and Clemencie, we must flie both, the one and the other, for feare least vnder appearance of Seueritie we become cruell, and vnder colour of Clemencie shew our selues mercifull. There is not so great danger herein, but they that fall into one extremitie are as much out of the way, as they that fall into the other.

A paradoxe of the Stoickes, which Aristotle answereth in the fourth of his Ethickes and Morals.

CHAP. V.

In this Chapter, he maintaineth the Doctrine of the Stoickes, Against affection, approouing that those Philosophers were not so vnnaturall as they were reported to be.

EVen as therefore Religion reuerenceth the gods, so Superstition violateth them, so all good men should shew Clemencie and Meeknesse, but auoid mercie. For it is nought else but a basenesse of the heart which melteth in beholding an other mans miseries. It is therefore most familiar to those of the basest mettals and mindes. Such as are old women and tender hearted females, who weepe to see them weepe, that are condemned, who would willingly breake vp prisons, if so be they were permitted to doe it. Mercie regardeth not the cause but the condition, but Clemencie is conjoyned with reason; I know that amongst ignorant men, the sect of the Stoickes is condemned, for being ouer seuere and such a one as could not giue good counsailes to Kings and Princes. For it is obiected against them that they will not suffer the wise man to vse mercie, and to pardon. These objections considered a part, and by themselues are odious. For this were to cast all those headlong into despaire that haue offended, and to subject all offences to punishment. If this bee so, who are more seuere then this sect, which forbiddeth vs to remember that we are men; and exclude mutuall helpe which is the assuredest Hauen against the tempest of Fortune. But I say that there is no sect more benigne and gentle then this is, nor that loueth men better, nor that is more intent to the good of all men, in such sort as all the scope thereof, is to serue, succour and procure the good, not only of his Schollers, but also of all other men as well in generall as in particular. Mercie is an infirmitie of the minde, by reason of the appearance of other mens miseries, or a sadnesse conceiued for the euils an other man suffereth, and supposeth that he suffereth them wrongfully. For a wise man neyther troubleth nor tormenteth himselfe, his vnderstanding is alwayes cleere, neyther can any thing happen that may obscure the light thereof. Nothing becommeth a man more then greatnesse of courage; But hee cannot haue a noble heart, that feare and sorrow may animate it, or any of these passions obscure or contract it. This shall not befall a wiseman; no, not in his calamities, but he shall dart backe againe all these arrowes that Fortune hath shot against him, and shall breake them before her face. He shall retaine one and the same countenance, alwaies both peaceable and constant, which hee might not doe if sorrow were lodged in his heart. Ad hereunto that a wiseman is prouident, and hath his counsell in a readinesse; But that which is cleare and pure, neuer proceedeth from sadnesse, which is a trouble of the Soule, and is not proper to examine any action; nor to inuent profitable things, neither oportunely to auoide dangers. So then a wiseman is not mooued with sadnesse for an others miserie, because hee is exempt from miserie; but otherwise, he will willingly and with a ioyfull heart, do all that which the mercifull would doe against their wills.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The description of a wise man according to the doctrine of the Stoickes.

HE will assist his neighbour that weepeth, without weeping himselfe; he will lend him his hand that is in danger to be drowned; hee will lodge him that is famished, feede him that is poore, not with out-rage, as for the most part they doe, who would bee esteemed mercifull, who disdaine and repulse the poore when they aide them, and fearing least they should touch them, but as a man to a man he will giue, as out of the common purse. He shall pardon the Sonne for his Mothers teares, command his greiues to bee loosed; he shall preserue him from the furie of wild beasts, to whose rage he should haue beene exposed, to the content and pleasure of the people, hee will burie the carkies of him that was condemned; But he will doe all this with a peaceable minde, and without change of countenance. He will not therefore be mooued, but will helpe, will profit, as being borne for the common good and the seruice of the Commonweale, whereof he will giue euery one his apart. Yea, he will extend his bountie to the miserable by proportion, and will reforme such as are wicked and to be amended. But to those that are afflicted and oppressed, he will yeeld his assistance more willingly. As often as he may, he will not suffer aduersities to touch them. For how might he better imploy his forces and riches, then in relieuing those whom the inconstancie of worldly affaires hath ouerthrowne. Hee will neither be abashed nor dismaide, to behold the disfigured face of a sicke man, or a begger, or of an olde man leaning on his staffe, but hee will assist all those likewise that deserue, and after the maner of the gods, behold with a bountifull eye the poore that are oppressed. Mercie is a neere neighbour to miserie, for shee hath, and draweth somewhat from her. Know that those eyes are weake which are bloudshot themselues, in beholding another mans suffusion: euen as assuredly we ought not to call them ioyfull but sicke, who cough vpon euery occasion, and that yawne as soone as they perceiue an other man open his mouth. Mercie is an imperfection of the minde, that is too much affectioned vnto miserie, which if a man seeke for in a wise man, it were as much as if he should require him to crie out at the Funeralls of those whome hee neuer heard of. It remaineth to declare why a wise man pardoneth not.

CHAP. VII.

A question depending on the former discourse, whether a wise man pardoneth? He answereth by distinction to maintaine that which he said of Mercie.

LEt vs now set downe likewise what pardon is, to the ende we may know that a wise man ought not to giue it. Pardon is a remission of deserued punishments. But why a wise man ought not to pardon, is fully debated by those who decide this matter to the full. For mine owne part to speake shortly, as in a matter referued to an other mans iudgement, I say that he is pardoned that should be punished. But a wise man doth nothing but that he ought, neither pretermitteth any thing of his ductie, and therefore hee quitteth not the punishment which he ought to exact, but that which thou wouldest obtaine by the meanes of pardon, he giueth thee by a more honest expedient. For hee supporteth counsaileth, correcteth, and doth as much as if he pardoned, although he pardon not, because he that pardoneth, confesseth that hee hath omitted something which ought

ought to be done. He will be contented to admoniſh ſome without chaſtiſing them, conſidering that they are old enough to amend. Hee will diſmiſſe an other in ſafetie, although he be apparently guiltie, becauſe he hath beene deceiued, and fell into the offence being drowned in wine. He will diſmiſſe his enemies in ſafetie, and ſometimes with commendations, if they haue vndertaken Warre vpon honeſt grounds, as for their faith, confederates or libertie. Theſe are not the workes of Pardon but of Clemencie, Clemencie hath free will, ſhee iudgeth not according to vſe and cuſtome, but according to equitie and right, and ſhee may abſolue and taxe the charges at what rate ſhee liſteth. Hee doth none of theſe things, as if hee had done any thing leſſe then iuſt, but as if that which he had conſtituted were moſt iuſt; but to pardon is this, not to puniſh thoſe things which thou iudgeſt worthy of puniſhment. Pardon is the remiſſion of a deſerued puniſhment. Clemencie effecteth this principally, that ſhee declareth thoſe whom ſhe diſmiſſeth to be exempted from the puniſhmēt they ſhould ſuffer. Shee is therefore more accompliſhed and honeſt then pardon. In my iudgement, the controuerſie is vpon the word not vpon the matter. A wiſe man will forgiue many things, and ſaue many that are ſcarcely wiſe, yet ſuch as may become capable. Hee will imitate good husbandmen, who not onely cheriſh ſtraight and tall trees, but applieth vnder-props likewiſe to vphold thoſe which are made crooked by ſome accident. They loppe ſome leſt the ouer-thickneſſe of their bowes doe hinder their grouth, they nouriſh ſome that are infirme by reaſon of the ſterrilitie of the ſoyle, and to thoſe that ſpring vnder the thickneſſe of a couert, they giue them open ayre. According to theſe, a wiſe man ſhall ſee how hee ought to entertaine euery nature, and by what meanes thoſe that are depraued, may be ſtrengthened and ſtraightned. *Many things are here wanting.*

(* * *)

The end of the ſecond Booke of Clemencie.

A TRACT OF BLESSED LIFE,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA TO *IVNIVS GALLO* HIS BROTHER.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HEE wrote this Booke when he was olde, and set it downe for an Apologie against those that calumniated his welth and behauiour. He approoueth that Blessed life consisteth in vertue, yet that shee despiseth not these externall things if they befall her. It is a loftie writing, and excellent in the parts thereof, and because it containeth golden sentences and excellent sayings. There are two parts thereof; First, what Blessed life is, and how a man may attaine thereunto. As touching the former, he denieth that it is to be sought, either in Opinion or Maners; if we keepe the ordinarie way, we stray the farther from her. Reason onely is to be giuen eare vnto, shee saith that Blessed life is agreeable to nature, that is placed in vertue, not in pleasure as EPICVRVS *would haue it. No, and disputedly he refelleth this with the slaues thereof; so farre as hee will neither haue pleasure ioyned with vertue, but aboliſheth this name vtterly; This till the sixteenth Chapter. Thence followeth the other part to the attainement therof, therefore is onely Vertue to be embraced. And are the rest to be despised? He denieth it; He saith that externall things may be admitted, but not as the end. Yea, hee maintaineth, that they who as yet are but in the way, and amongst the number of those that are proficient, haue neede of some indulgence of fortune. Here cunningly and manfully enough defendeth he his owne cause, and induceth an aduersarie to say: Why hast thou spoken thus of Vertue? hast thou not other helpes. Why hast thou seruants, Money, Farmes, and Houshold-stuffe? Hee answereth diuersly? And first of all that he is no wise man, but that hee endeauoureth to be wise. Afterwards for these worthy men,* PLATO, ZENO, ARISTOTLE, *against whom in times past these were obiected. Vertue is a heigh matter; They are to bee honoured who labour to ascend, although during their attempt, they fall or are hindred. Then purposely speaketh he of Riches, whether a wise man ought to haue them; From the one and twentie Chapter. And he auerreth that they are had but not beloued, yet gotten honestly*

neſſly that they are, and muſt be ſpent bountifully. Hee whetteth his Stile againſt thoſe long-tongued bablers, and vnder the perſon of SOCRATES, *armeth the edge of his Stile againſt them. But the end is wanting, and thoſe things that are vſually added, are of an other mans writing, and of a different Argument.*

CHAP. I.

ALL men brother *Gallio* are deſirous to liue happily, yet blinde are they in fore-ſeeing that which maketh the life bleſſed & happy: and ſo difficult a matter is it to attaine this bleſſed life, that the ſwifter euery man is caried with a deſire to compaſſe her, the farther off departeth hee from her, if he haue failed in the way: which when it leadeth vs to the contrarie, the very ſwiftneſſe therof is the cauſe of our greater diſtance from her. First of all therefore we ought to conſider what that is which we require: then to looke about vs by what way wee may more ſpeedily attaine thereunto, being aſſured that in our journie (ſo the way bee true and ſtraight) to vndrſtand how much wee haue daily profited, and howe neerer wee are vnto that whereunto our naturall deſire impelleth vs. As long as wee wander hether and thther and followe not our guide, but the diſſonant bruite and clamour of of thoſe that call on vs to vndertake different wayes, our ſhort life is wearied and worne away amongſt errours, although we labour day and night to get vs a good minde. Let vs therefore aduiſe both, whether wee tend, and by which way we pretend; and walke forward vnder the conduct of ſome wiſe man who is exactly inſtructed and practized in thoſe pathes which wee are to tract. For the condition of this voyage is farre different from other peregrinations: for in them if any certaine place be limited, and we doe but inquire and queſtion with the inhabitants of that place, they will not ſuffer vs to wander; for here the worſt way, and that which ſeemeth the moſt ſhorteſt and vſuall doth moſt of all deceiue vs. There is nothing, therefore that is more to be preuented by vs, then that we follow not like innocent ſheepe, the troope of thoſe that walke before vs, walking forward not whether we ſhould addreſſe themſelues, but whether we are led by other men. But there is nothing that entangleth vs in greater miſeries, then that we couple & apply our ſelues to euerie rumour, ſuppoſing thoſe thinges to be the beſt which is moſt approued and receiued by the conceit of all men, and wherof there are moſt examples, and liue not according to reaſon, but only according to other mens faſhion. From thence proceedeth this ſo great heape of men tumbling one vpon an other. That which falleth out in a great preſſe of men, when the people themſelues, throng themſelues, where no man ſo falleth, but that he draweth downe an other after him, and the foremoſt are the cauſe of the ruine of thoſe that follow: this mayſt thou obſerue, and ſee it fall out in euerie eſtate of life. There is no man that erreth to himſelfe, but is eyther the cauſe or Authour of other mens errour. For much are we hurt becauſe wee apply our ſelues to thoſe that goe before vs, and whileſt euerie man had rather belieue, then judge, wee neuer judge of our liues but content our ſelues alwayes to belieue: thus errour deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand,

It ſufficeth not to deſire happineſſe, we ought to know what true happineſſe is, and afterwards by what meanes we attaine thereunto.

vexeth and ouerturneth vs, and wee perish by other mens examples. But wee shall be healed, prouided only that we separate our selues from the vulgar, but now the people stand out against reason in defence of their owne errour. This therefore commeth to passe that is vsuall in Common Assemblies, wherein, those men whose voices made the Pretor, admire to heare him named; when the inconstant fauour of such a multitude hath whirled it selfe about. Wee approue and condemne one and the same thing. This is the end of all judgments in decision whereof diuers men giue their opinions.

CHAP. II.

He taxeth those who think themselues wel gouerned if they follow the multitude.

When the question is of happie life, thou must not answere mee according to the custome of those debates which are censured by voyces. *This part seemeth the greater*; for therefore is it the worst: Humane affaires are not disposed so happily that the best things please the most men. It is an argument of the worst cause when the common sort applaudeth it. Let vs enquire what is best done, not what is most vsually done; and what planteth vs in the possession of eternall felicitie, not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worst interpreter of truth. I call the multitude, as well those that are attired in white, as those that are clothed other wayes, for I examine not the colours of the garments wherewith the bodies are clothed, I trust not mine eyes, to informe me what a man is, I haue a more better and truer light, whereby I shal distinguish truth from falshood. Let the soule find out the good of the soule. If once she may haue breathing time to retire her selfe into her selfe, O how will shee confesse vnto her selfe, after she hath beene examined by her selfe and say: Whatsoeuer I haue done, yet I had rather it should be vndone; Whatsoeuer I haue said when I recollect it, I am ashamed of it in others; Whatsoeuer I wished I repute it to be the execration of mine enemies; Whatsoeuer I feared, good gods, how better was it then that which I desired? I haue quarrelled with many men, and (if any societie be amongst euill men) I haue altered their hatreds and drawne my selfe into fauour with them; and yet as yet I am not friendes with my selfe. I haue indeuoured to the vttermost to get in fauour with the multitude, and make my selfe knowne vnto euerie man by some noble action: what other thing did I but oppose my selfe against weapons, and shew hatred a place wherein he might bite me? Seest thou these who praise eloquence, that follow riches, that flatter authoritie, that extoll power? all these are enemies or can be enemies, for in effect they are all one. How great soeuer the number be of those that admire, as great is there number who doe enuie.

CHAP. III.

Since we seek for that good which is truly and not apparant, good, let vs not derive our example, either from the exterior appearance or the publike applause.

Why rather seeke I not some thing out, which is good in vse that I may finde in my minde, not shew in outward appearance? These things whereat we gaze, these things whereat we staie, and with admiration one man sheweth vnto another, doe outwardly shine, but are inwardly miserable. Let vs seeke out somewhat that is good not in appearance, but solide and vnited, and faireſt in that which

which appeareth the leaſt. Let vs diſcouer this, neyther is it farre from vs, wee ſhall finde it. Yet hadſt thou need to know whether thou ſhouldeſt ſtretch thy hand. But now as if we were in darknes we paſſe by theſe things that are neereſt vs, and ſtumble vpon thoſe things which we deſire. But leaſt I draw thee thorow a Labyrinth I will let ſlippe other m ens opinions, for it were too long a matter to reckon them vp and confute them, and let thee know our owne. And when I tell thee ours, I will not tie my ſelfe to any one of our principall Stoickes: I haue authoritie enough to ſpeake what I thinke, I will therefore follow ſome one, I will command another to giue a reaſon of his, and happily being cited after all others, I will diſalow none of thoſe things which the former haue decreed, and I will ſay: *This thinke I ouer and beſide*, and in the meane while following the common conſent of the Stoickes; I will conſent to Nature which is the mother of all thinges. For it is wiſedome not to wander from her, but to forme our ſelues according to her Law and Example. The life then is happie which is according to her nature, which can no otherwiſe happē thē if the mind be firſt of all ſound, and in perpetuall poſſeſſion of her health. Againe, if ſhee be ſtrong, and vehement, and fierce, and patiently likewiſe apt for the times, curious of the bodie, and thoſe thinges that appertaine thereunto, yet not ouer carefull or diligent in thoſe things which maintaine life, diſpoſed to vſe the preſents of Fortune, without admiration of any thing: without wondering at any of them, no wayes inclined to ſeruitude. Thou vnderſtandeſt although I aime it not, that from thence there followeth a perpetuall tranquilitie and libertie, driuing away farre from vs all thoſe things that eyther prouoke or terrifie vs much. For inſtead of the fraile pleaſures, (and for thoſe thinges that are ſmall and friuolous, and that hurt vs at that time, when wee make vſe of them: to ſatisfie our paſſions) there ſucceedeth an excellent joy aſſured, and a continnall peace and repoſe of the ſoule, and a greatneſſe of the minde accompanied with mildneſſe. For all furie proceedeth from infirmitie.

CHAP. IIII.

The diuers definitions of a happie life.

A Man may likewiſe define our good after an other ſort that is to ſay expreſſe the ſame thing in other termes. Euen as one and the ſame Armie ſometimes ſpreddeth it ſelfe out at large, ſometimes reſtraineth and locketh vp her ſelfe in a little place, eyther bendeth her ſelfe like a *Creſcent* with hornes on eyther ſide and hollow in the midſt; or marcheth in a Batalion hauing wings to warrant them, and how ſoeuer ſhe is diſpoſed, yet hath ſhe alwayes the ſame force and reſolution to maintaine the partie for which ſhe is leuied, ſo our definition of the Soueraigne good may ſometimes be extended out a farre, ſometimes compriſed in few words and gathered as it were into it ſelfe. It will all come to one if I ſay: The Soueraigne good is a minde deſpiſing caſualties, and content with vertue: or an inuincible force of the minde well experienced in the affaires of this World, peaceable in his actions, full of humanitie and regard of thoſe with whom ſhe conuerſeth. It pleaſeth vs likewiſe to define it thus, that we cal him a bleſſed man, who eſteemeth nothing eyther good or euil, except a mind eyther good or euill, a reſpecter of honeſtie, content with vertue, whom neyther caſualties extol nor depreſſe, who knowes no other greater good then that which he can giue him ſelfe, who reputeth it for a true pleaſure to contemne pleaſures. Thou maieſt if thou wilt expatiate, turne this definition into one or two other

ſorts prouided that the principall remaine. For what forbiddeth vs to eſteeme him happie that hath his ſpirit free, rayſed, aſſured, and firme, eſtranged from all feare and deſire, that eſteemeth nothing but vertue and diſdaineth nothing but vice? All other the baſe multitude of things, neyther detracting any thing nor adding ought to bleſſed life, come and goe without increaſe or detained of the chiefeſt good. He that hath layed ſo good a foundation, ſhall bee alwayes followed whether he will or no, with a continuall joy, with a profound content that proceedeth from excellent thoughts, becauſe hee contenteth himſelfe which hee poſſeſſeth, neyther deſireth any more then that hee hath at home why ſhould he make a ſcruple to change willingly the light friuolous and aſſured, motions and pleaſures of the bodie with goods, ſo certaine as theſe other are? that day hee ſhall recence no pleaſure that very day ſhall hee conceiue no griefe.

CHAP. V.

He confuteth thoſe that ſet their felicitie on pleaſures of the bodie, and defineth what a happie man is.

THou maiſt then ſee into what dangerous aad miſerable ſeruitude he falleth who ſuffereth pleaſures and ſorrowes (two vnfaithfull and cruell commanders) to poſſeſſe him ſucceſſiuely. We muſt therefore iſſue out and find libertie and this doth no other thing giue vs then the neglect of Fortune. Then ſhall that ineſtimable good ariſe, namely the repoſe of the minde retired into an aſſured place, and mounted ſo high that ſhe ſeeth all the miſts of errours incontinently, ſcatter themſelues in ſuch ſort that from the knowledge of the truth, there proceedeth a great and conſtant joy a ſweetneſſe and freedome of conſcience wherein the vertuous man ſhall take pleaſure not as they are goods, but as the fruits which proceed from the ground of that good which is in him. Becauſe I haue begunne to diſcourſe liberally, I ſay that he may be called bleſſed, who by the benefite of his reaſon, neyther feareth nor deſireth any thing. I make mention of reaſon becauſe ſtones, and beaſts are both of them deſtitute of feare and ſadneſſe, and yet no man will ſay that they are happie Creatures, becauſe they haue no ſence or vnderſtanding of felicitie, put into this ranke, thoſe men whoſe dulneſſe of nature, and ignorance of themſelues hath drawne them into the number of ſheepe and beaſts. There is no difference betwixt theſe and them, becauſe the one haue no reaſon and the other their reaſon depraued, and if ſhe diſcourſeth it is onely to weaken and ruinate her ſelfe. For no man can be called bleſſed, who is exiled from the truth. That therefore is a bleſſed life which is grounded vpon an vpright, certaine, and immutable judgment. For then is the minde pure, and exempt from all euils; when it hath no feeling of any rentings or prickings. What ſoeuer reſolued to perſiſt there, where ſoeuer ſhe is ſetled, and reſolute to maintaine her abode, in ſpight of wrathfull and repyning Fortune. For in regard of pleſure, although it be diſperſed in euery place, although ſhe come from euery part, and trie and attempt by all meanes whereby ſhe may intangle vs, eyther in whole or in part: what man is he amongſt men that hath any impreſſion of manhood in him, that will ſuffer himſelfe to bee flattered and tickled therewith day and night, and forſaking the ſoule, will haue a care of the bodie?

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

BVT the ſoule likewiſe (ſaith hee) ſhall haue her pleaſures. Let her enjoy them, and let her ſit as Iudge ouer diſſolution and pleaſures. Let her glut herſelfe withall thoſe thinges that are wont to delight the ſences. Furthermore, let her looke backe to thoſe things that are paſt, and remembring her ſelfe of her decaied pleaſures let her enjoy thoſe that are neereſt her, extend her hand to the future, ruling her hopes, and lifting vp her thoughts to that which is to come whileſt the bodie tumbleth in delights and ſurfets. This in my judgment is a meere miſerie, becauſe it is a madneſſe to imbrace the euill in ſtead of the good. Neyther is any man bleſſed without health, neyther any man healthie, that longeth for hurtfull, and letted healthfull things paſſe. He therefore is bleſſed, who hath a right judgmẽt. Bleſſed is he that is contented with the preſent whatſoeuer they be, that is a friend to his owne affaires, bleſſed is hee who in the gouernment of his whole life giueth eare vnto reaſon. As for thoſe that haue ſaid that the Soueraigne good conſiſteth in pleaſure it behoueth them to conſider how ſordid and abject a place it is wherein they haue lodged a thing ſo precious. For their excuſe they alleadge that a man cannot ſeparate pleaſure from Vertue, and they ſay likewiſe that no man can liue honeſtly except hee bee pleaſant and iouiall: and that to be joyfull and honeſt, is one and the ſame thing. Yet ſee I not how theſe two things may be coupled together. And why I pray you may not pleaſure be deuided from vertue? Forſooth, becauſe euery beginning of good proceedeth from Vertue. From the rootes hereof euen theſe things ſpring which you loue, and deſire ſo much. But if theſe were inſeperable, wee ſhould not ſee that ſome thinges are pleaſing, but yet not honeſt, and ſome things moſt honeſt but difficult and ſuch as may not be recouered but by dolour and paine.

An anſwer vnto theſe that would confound the pleaſures of the bodie and the ſoule together.

CHAP. VII.

ADde hereunto likewiſe that pleaſure intermixeth it ſelfe with a moſt vicious life, but vertue admitteth it not: It is with pleaſure yea for pleaſures ſake that ſome are vnhappie. Which would not come to paſſe, if pleaſure had intermixed it ſelfe with vertue, which vertue often miſſeth neuer needeth. Why vnite you thinges different, nay more, contrarie. Vertue is a thing high, kingly, inuincible, infatigable; pleaſure humble, ſeruile, weake, fraile, whoſe actions and bounds are Tauernes and Brothell houſes. You ſhall find Vertue in the Temple, in the market place, in the Court, in the Court of Guard ſmoutered in duſt, red with heat, hauing hard hands: pleaſure of times lying hidden and affecting darkneſſe about baths and Hot-houſes, and ſuch places as feare the Conſtable, daintie, effominate, ſouzed in Wine, and Perfumes, pale, painted, and beſlabered with medicine. The chiefeſt good is immortall, it cannot periſh, neyther hath it ſatietie, neyther repentance, for the juſt mind is neuer altered; he is neuer hatefull to himſelfe, neyther being her ſelfe the beſt, hath ſhe chaunged any thing. But pleaſure at that time when ſhe moſt delighteth is extinguiſhed. Neyther taketh ſhee vp great roome, and therefore ſhe quickly filleth and loatheth, and after the firſt aſſault pineth away, and as their is nothing certaine, whoſe nature is in motion

A continuation of the former refutation where he ſheweth that pleaſure is incompatible with Vertue, and conſequẽtly is, which is eſtranged from the chiefeſt good.

so can there not bee any substance of that thing that commeth and passeth quickly, and such as is like to perish in the verie vse thereof. For he hath attained thether where he should end, and in beginning hee alreadie regardeth the end.

CHAP. VIII.

In continuing his refutation, he declareth what this maner of speech meaneth, that to liue happily, and according to Nature, is one and the same thing.

FVrthermore the euill haue their pleasures, as well as the good. And the basest take no lesse contentment in their absurdities, then great men doe in things that are excellent. And therefore the Ancients haue commanded, that we should follow the better and not the most pleasing life. For Nature must gouerne vs, she it is that ruleth and counsaileth reason. To liue then happily and according to Nature is one and the same thing. I will now tell you what this is. If wee carefully and confidently conserue the goods of the bodie, according as wee ought, and as they are agreeable vnto Nature, as gifts that haue no continuance, but communicable, from day to day: If wee inthrall our selues not to their seruitude, and if those that haue beene distributed to our neighbours possesse vs not, if that which is agreeable vnto vs, and giuen vs as an ouerplus to the bodie serueth vs only in that Nature, as spies and forlorne hopes in an Armie: in briefe, if they serue vs and command vs not, then may wee say that they are profitable and necessarie for the soule. A man that is entire ought not to be surmounted with exteriour things, he must admire nothing but himself, he ought to be confident, disposed against all casualties, a composer of his own life, and see that his resolution be accompanied with science and constancie, that that which he once hath conceiued, remain vnaltered, and that no exception accompanie his resolution. It is vnderstood likewise although I adde it not, that such a man bee addressed and ordered as he ought, gracious and magnificent in all his entertainments the true reason shall be ingrafted in his sences, and take from thence his principles. For from thence it is and from no other place, that shee extendeth her selfe, to apprehend the truth, and afterwardes returneth into her selfe. The VVorld likewise that imbraceth and comprehendeth all things, and God who is the Gouernour of this World, extendeth himselfe truly to exterior things, and yet hee returneth in euerie part intirely into himselfe. Let our minde doe the like, that after shee hath serued the senses, and by the meanes thereof, hath extended it selfe to externall things, she may possesse her selfe, in briefe that she may lie and stay her selfe vpon the chiefest good. By this meanes shee shall become a faculty and power according with her selfe; and that certaine reason shall arise which is neither shaken nor extrauagant in her opinions, apprehensions or perswasions, but being well ordered and well agreed with her parts with which shee saith, (if we may so say) in the same time, shee hath attained the fulnes of her felicitie. For shee hath no way that is rugged or slipperie to passe thorow, neyther any wherein she may stumble or fall. She shall doe all that which she listeth, and nothing shall befall her that is vnexspected, but all that which she shall doe shall turne to her good, easily, addressedly, and without delay. For idlenesse and want of resolution discouer contradiction and inconstancie; thou maiest therefore boldly maintaine that the peace of conscience is the Soueraigne good, because it must needes follow, that the vertues remaine there where consent and vnion haue their abode, vices at are oddes amongst themselues.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

BVT thou likewise (saith he) honourest Vertue for no other cause but for that thou expectest some pleasure thereby. First Vertue is not therefore sought after, because shee bringeth with her some pleasure, for she produceth it not, and yet is not without it. Neyther labourreth she for this, but her labour is, although she hath an other aime to attaine this likewise. Euen as in a field that is ploughed vp for Corne, some flowers spring vp amongst the good graines, and yet no labour is bestowed on this herbe, although it delight the eye. The purpose of him that sowed the Corne was farre otherwise, this came by chance: so pleasure is not the reward or cause of Vertue but an accession vnto Vertue. Neither is it pleasing because it delighteth; but because it is pleasing it delighteth. The chiefest good consisteth and is grounded on iudgement & the habit of a good mind, which hauing fulfilled his habitude, and confined himself within his limits, the chiefest good is consummate, neither desireth any other thing more. For without all them is nothing, no more then beyond the end. Thou art therefore deceiued when thou askest me, what that is for which I require Vertue: for thou seekest for somewhat that is aboue the chiefest. Thou askest mee what I pretend from Vertue? her selfe: for nothing is better, she is the reward of her selfe. Is this a small thing, when I say vnto thee, that the Soueraigne good is an inflexible vigour, a prouidence, a firme disposition, a libertie, a concord, and beautie of the soule? doest thou looke for any thing more, whereunto these may be referred? why nameste thou pleasure vnto me? I seeke for the good of a man, not of the belly, which is more disordered then any bruit beast.

The peace of Conscience is the chiefest good, but Seneca place h this peace in the siedge of humane reason, which we must beare with all in a Stoicke and a Pagan, who knew not what the gift of regeneration was

CHAP. X.

THou pretendest to be ignorant (saith he) of that which I say: For I denie that any man may liue pleasingly, except he liue honestly likewise: which cannot befall bruit beastes, which measure their good by their bellies. I protest I tell thee both painely and publiquely, that this life which I call pleasant, cannot consist without the adjection of Vertue. But who knoweth not that euen the very foolishest amongst you are the fullest of pleasure, and that iniquitie aboundeth in delight, and that the minde it selfe not only suggesteth some kindes of pleasure, but also many? First insolence and ouer great esteeme of a mans selfe, a pride surpassing all other, a blind and improuident loue of that which a man hath, affluent delights, a joy proceeding from trifling and childish occasions, detraction, and arrogancie, rejoycing in contumelies, sloth and dissolution of the sluggish mind; that is benummed in it selfe. But these doth Vertue discusse, shee puls vs by the eare, and estimateth pleasures before she admit them, neyther careth she much for those, she hath entertained, (although she admit them) neyther is delighted in the vse of them, but temperance is joyfull: but when as temperance diminisheth pleasures, she injurieth the chiefest good in medling with the same. Thou imbracest pleasure, I moderate it. Thou enjoyest pleasure I vse it: Thou thinkest it to bee the chiefest good I scarcely deeme it good. Thou doest all things

That there is neither content nor ioy in the pleasures of this world, when they are neuer so little separated from Vertue, which maketh vse of those pleasures with moderation

things for pleasures sake and I nothing when I say that I doe nothing for pleasures sake I speake of that Wise man to whome alone thou granteſt pleasure.

CHAP. XI.

That the voluptuous person is not wise, and consequently is deprived of vertue and hath no part in Blessed Life.

BVT I call not him a wise man that is subject to any passion aboue all things, if he be a vassall to pleasure. For being subject vnto her how shall he resist labour, danger, pouertie, and so many tempests as storme about this life? how shall hee indure the sight of death and sorrow, how shall hee sustaine the assaults of this World & of so many other dreadful aduersaries, if he be conquered by such an effeminate enemie? He will doe all that which pleasure perswadeth him vnto. Go to: seest thou not how manie follies she will perswade him to. Shee cannot saist thou perswade any thing vndecently, because she is accompanied with Vertue. Seest thou not againe what the chiefest good should be if he had neede of such a Guard to make him good. But how can Vertue gouerne pleasure, when she followeth her when as it is the part of a seruant to attend, and of a Master to commaund. You make her the seruant that should commaund. But you preferre Vertue vnto a goodly office, you make her a taster to pleasures. But we will see whether Vertue bee lodged amongst those who haue done her so many outrages since she can no more be called Vertue, if she hath giuen ouer her place. In the meane while (for it is that whereof we intreat) I will shew that there are diuers voluptuous men on whom Fortune hath powred all her goods whom thou must need, confesse to be euill. Looke vpon *Nomentanus* and *Apicius* two carefull ingrossers (as these men call them) of whatsoeuer delicate eyther Land or Sea affordeth, and who present vpon their tables all the choice Creatures, that are fit for meate in euery Countrie. Behold these very men who from there beds, behold their Kitchins, who fill their eares with Musicke, their eyes with pleasing shewes, and delight their pallats with sundrie sauces, with soft and gentle fomentations, all their bodie is suppled, and least in the meane while their nostrils should be idle, that very place is filled with diuers odours, wherein the funerall banquet of dissolution is celebrated. Thou wilt say that these men haue their pleasures, yet are they not at their ease, because they rejoyce not in goodnesse.

CHAP. XII.

That the pleasures of wicked men are not truly pleasures but follies, and furies, contrariwise those of the wise are modest.

EVill will befall them (saiest thou) because diuers thinges happen in the interim which trouble the minde, and contrarie opinions shall disquiet the spirits, which I grant that it is so. Yet notwithstanding those very fooles. Those inconstant fellowes whom repentance attendeth at the heels receiuing great pleasure that we must needs cõfesse that they are so far from al trouble as from a good mind and (that which befalleth many) they are pleasant fooles, and merie mad-men. But on the contrarie part, the pleasures of wise men are remisse and modest, feeble enough secret and lesse obserued, because they are not sought after; and if they come without calling, they are lesse made account of or entertained. For they intermixe

intermixe the pleaſures of this life, as men are wont to mingle their ſerious matters with ſports and pleaſant diſcourſes. Let them deſiſt therfore to joyne inconueniences, and to implicate Vertue with Pleaſure, for by ſuch falſe opinions they ſeduce thoſe who are alreadie to much corrupted with vice. The one of theſe abandoned vnto his pleaſures alwayes drunke and tumbling on the Earth, knowing well that he liueth voluptuouſly: beliueth alſo that hee followeth the Tract of Vertue: becauſe he beleeueth that pleaſure cannot bee ſeparated from Vertue, and afterwardes intitleth his vices with the name of wiſdome, and publiſheth thoſe things which ſhould be hidden. So theſe kind of men who haue not learned it of the Epicure, ſurfet in their delights, and being drowned in vices, hide their voluptuouſueſſe in the boſome of Philoſophie: and haue their recourſe thether where they heare that pleaſure is praiſed. Neyther eſtimate they rightly (for ſuch vndoubtedly is my opinon) how ſober and moderate his pleaſue is: but flie vnto the name ſeeking out a patronage and excuſe for their luſts. They therefore looſe that one good which they had in euils which is the ſhame of offending. For they prayſe theſe thinges whereof they were aſhamed and glorie in their vice and therefore youth cannot rowſe and recouer it ſelfe, when they aſcribe ſo faire a title to ſo foule an errour.

CHAP. XIII.

Why the prayſe of pleaſure is pernicious.

THis is the cauſe why this prayſe of pleaſure is ſo pernicious becauſe honeſt precepts remaine buried hereby, and that which moſt corrupteth is moſt apparant. But my opinion is (although I ſpeake it to the diſguſt of thoſe of my Sect) that the precepts of the Epicure are holy, right, and if thou examine them more neerely ſeuere enough. For he ſcantleth the wing of pleaſure very much, neyther giueth her any libertie, but impoſeth the ſame Law vpon voluptuouſneſſe that wee doe vpon Vertue. Hee commandeth her to obay Nature, but that which ſufficeth Nature is too little for diſſolution. What is it therefore? hee that calleth ſlothfull idleneſſe, and the varietie of gourmandize and diſſolution, felicitie; he ſeeketh a faire pretext for an euill thing, and whileſt he commeth thether being ſhrouded vnder a name of reſpect he followeth pleaſure not that which he hath learned; but that which hee had in her ſelfe, and thinking his vices had beene taught him in ſome Schoole, he pleaſeth himſelfe in them, not fearefully, not obſcurely, yea he ſurfetteth on them in the ſight and preſence of all men, I will not therefore ſay as diuers of our Stoickes doe, that the Epicures Sect teacheth nothing but wickedneſſe, but this I ſay that it hath an euill report and is vndeſeruedly defamed. No man can know this thing except he be admitted to know the ſecrets of this Schoole. The front and that which appeareth outwardly is the cauſe why men detract the ſame, and ſpeake ſo ſiniſterly of it. It is as it were a valiant man clothed in an effeminate robe. As long as thou maintaineſt modeſtie, Vertue is in ſecuritie. Thou wilt ſay that thy bodie is not addicted to any vncleaneſſe, but thou holdeſt as (ſome ſay) the Drumme in thy hand, and awakeneſt others to doe euill. Make choice therefore of an honeſt title; and let the inſcription be ſuch as may incite the minde to repell thoſe vices which weaken, as preſently as they are intertained, whoſoeuer approcheth Vertue, he giueth hope of ſome generous thing. He that followeth

pleaſure

pleasure seemeth to bee weake, broken, effeminate, disposed to doe wickedly. Except some man decipher vnto him what pleasures are, to the end hee may know which of them are limited within a naturall desire: which are carried away head-long and are infinite, and the more they are fulfilled the lesse are they satisfied. Well then let Vertue leade the way, and our steppes shall bee assured. Ouer-great pleasure is hurtfull, in Vertue it is not to be feared that there should bee any thing excessiue, for shee her selfe onely is the meane. That which is tired with his owne greatnesse is not good.

CHAP. XIIII.

How a man will agree pleasure with Vertue.

BVT to those that haue a reasonable Nature, what better thing then reason may be proposed? If this vnion bee agreeable, and if a man will trauell in such companie towardes happie life, let Vertue goe before and pleasure follow after, as the shadow doth the bodie. It is a small matter for a great minde to giue pleasure for a Hand-maid to attend on Vertue, which is the most honourableſt Mistresse that a man may meete with all. Let Vertue march before and carrie the Ensigne, yet notwithstanding, we shall haue pleasure, although wee bee Masters and gouernours of the same. Shee will presse vs to grant her something, but shee cannot constraine vs thereunto. But they that haue giuen the superioritie to pleasure, haue wanted both, For they loose Vertue; Moreouer they haue not pleasure; but pleasure is Lord ouer them, with whose want they are eyther tormented, or else in aboundance strangled. Wretched if they be forsaken by her, and more wretched if they be ouerpressed. Like these who are entangled in the Syrtes: Now are they left on drie Land, presently hurred away with the violence of the streame. But this falleth out thorow too much intemperance, and the blind loue we beare vnto the same. He that requireth euill for good, casteth himselfe into great danger if hee obtaine the same. Euen as wee hunt wilde beastes with labour and hazard, and when we haue caught them it is a hard matter to keepe them: for oftentimes they teare their Masters in peices; so fareth it with those who haue great pleasures, for they turne to their great miseries; and surprize them when they imagine they haue the mastrie ouer them. Which the more and greater they be, so the lesse is he, and more subject and slaue vnto many whom the common sort call happie. To continue and prosecute the similitude which I haue proposed: Euen as hee that searcheth the haunts of wilde beastes and accounts it a great matter to catch such dumbe Creatures in his nets, and enuiron some great Forrest with a kennell of hounds, to the end to follow their Tract, forsaketh his better affaires, and renounceth many other offices: so hee that followeth pleasure, neglecteth all other things, respecteth not his former libertie, but dependeth on his belly, neyther buyeth hee pleasures for himselfe; but selleth himselfe to pleasures.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BVT what (saith he) letteth Vertue and voluptuousnesse to bee confounded in one, to the end that from them both the Soueraigne good might be deriued, so that it might bee one thing to be honest, and to be pleasant. Because there cannot bee a part of honestie which is not honest, neither shall the chiefest good haue her sinceritie, if she discouer ought in her selfe that is vnlike the better. Neyther is that joy which proceedeth from Vertue, although it be good, a part of the chiefest and absolute good. No more then mirth and tranquilitie, although they are deriued from most excellent causes. For these are goods: yet such as attend the Soueraigne good, but perfect it not. But whosoeuer will associate Vertue, and pleasure, and not equall them; by the frailtie of the one he mortifieth all that which is actiue in the other. Finally he inthralleth that inuincible libertie that knoweth nothing more precious then her selfe. For he beginneth to haue need of Fortune which is the greatest seruitude of all others. And hee is attended by a doubtfull, fearefull, and suspitious life, fearefull of casualties, and suspended vpon the moments of time. Thou giuest not Vertue a setled and immoueable foundation, but commanndest her to stand in a slipperie place. But what is so vncertaine as the expectation of casualties, and the varietie of the bodie, and such things as affect the bodie? How can hee obay God, and entertaine euery thing that hapneth to him with a good minde, and cease to complaine of Fate, and be a faithfull interpreter of his owne casualties, if he be shaken with the smallest assaults of pleasures or sorrowes? neyther can he be a good tutor or defender of his Countrie, nor a maintaner of his friends, if hee be inclined to pleasures. Thether therefore doth the chiefest good ascend from whence she may not bee drawne by any force. Whereby there is neyther entrance giuen to sorrow, hope, or feare, nor to any other thing which may indamnifie or lessen the greatnesse of the chiefest good. And only Vertue may ascend thereunto, by her steppes this steepie rocke must be broken, shee will stand stifly, and whatsoeuer shall happen will endure it, not onely patient but also willing, knowing that euery difficultie of time is but the Law of Nature. And as a good Souldier will endure wounds, number his scarres, and though thrust throw with many weapons, will dying loue that Captaine for whose sake he breatheth his last: so will Vertue haue this Ancient precept in minde, *March* after God. But whosoeuer complaineth, weepeth, and mourneth, is compelled to doe that which he is commanded; and notwithstanding is violently enforced to doe that which is enjoyned him? But what madnesse is it rather to bee drawne then to follow? As great in truth, as if thorow sottishnesse and ignorance of thy condition, thou shouldest lament, because some misfortune is befalne thee, or shouldest be amazed and diffident, that thou couldest not endure that, which hapneth as well to the good as to the euill: that is to say sicknesse, death of parents and friends, weaknesse, and such other incumbrances of mortall life. Let vs couragiously endure all that which the common condition of all things that are created submitteth vs vnto. We are obliged vnto this, to endure all the accidents of our life without troubling our selues with those casualties, which we know how to auoid. We are borne vnder a Royall domination. It is libertie to obey God.

Against those that will ioyne Vertue with pleasure, honestie with dishonestie together.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Hee concludeth, that a happie life consisteth in Vertue, and sheweth what counsailes this Vertue giueth, and what good shee bringeth.

TRue felicitie therefore is placed in Vertue. What wil she counsaile thee to? That thou thinke that neyther good or euill that happeneth vnto thee, neyther by Vertue nor by malice. Afterwardes that by the meanes of God thou remaine alwayes firme and confident against euill; and that as farre as breath in thy power thou follow God. What then is that which is promised thee, if thou behaueſt thy selfe after this manner? Great thinges and such as are answerable to those that are diuine. Thou shalt be enforced in nothing, Thou shalt want nothing, thou shalt be free, assured and exempt from all dammage: thou shalt vndertake nothing in vaine: thou shalt doe that which thou pleaseſt without trouble or disturbance. All thinges shall fall out as thou wisheſt: Aduersitie shall not touch thee. What then? shall Vertue onely which is thus perfect and diuine suffice to liue happily? And why should it not suffice? I say this, it is more then sufficient. For what can he want that is contented with euery thing and desireth nothing whatsoeuer? he that hath gathered all things that are his into himselfe; hath no need of any externall thing. But he that tendeth vnto Vertue although he hath gotten the greater part of his way, yet hath he need of some indulgence and fauour of Fortune, who as yet is entangled amidst the cares of this life, and hath not as yet acquit himselfe of those bondes which tie him captiue to this World. What difference then is there, some are tied, some are lockt vp, and some are fettered. But hee that hath gotten more high, and is as it were lifted vp from the Earth draweth his chaine, being as yet not at full libertie, and reputed for a man that is wholly free.

CHAP. XVII.

Hauing so highly spoken of the soueraigne good and of a happie life, He taxeth those that flatter vices.

IF therefore any one of these that barke at Philosophie alleage that which they are accustomed, why then speakeſt thou better then thou liueſt? whence commeth it that thou flattereſt a man more greater then thy selfe? that thou esteemeſt money to be a necessarie aide, that thou art moued if thou looseſt the same, that thou weepeſt if thou hearest news of the death of thy wife or of thy friend, that thou art glad if thou bee praised and spoken well of in all places, and that detractions torment thee? Why are thy Countrie grounds better trimmed then the naturall vse requireth? why keepeſt thou no ordinary rule in taking thy repast? what meaneth thy house better furnished then other mens? What mooueth thee to drinke Wine more older then thy selfe? why is euery thing so well ordered in thy house? whence commeth it that thou planteſt trees, which serue for no other vse but for shade? whence is it that thy wife weareth the reuenew of a rich family hanging at her eares? And what is the cause that thy Pages are so richly apparelled? why hast thou an art in thy house to know how to serue the table, and that thy plate is not set vpon thy boord rashly, and at euerie mans pleasure, but is serued in by courses, and that thou hast a caruer to cut vp thy dainties? Adde hereunto if thou wilt: Why hast thou goods beyond Seas? And why art thou Master of so many goods that thou knoweſt not how to number them? Art thou so dishoneſt and negligent that thou knoweſt not three or foure

of

of thy ſeruants? or ſo diſſolute that thou haſt them in ſo great number that thy memorie ſufficeth not to containe their names? Hereafter I will aſſiſt thee in ſpeaking euill of me, and beſides this will propoſe againſt my ſelfe, more then thou thinkeſt. For the preſent, behold whatanſwer I wil make thee. I am not wiſe (and to ſatisfie thy diſpleaſure the better) I ſhall not be wiſe. I require not therefore of my ſelfe to be equall with the beſt, but to be better then the worſt. It ſufficeth me to cut of day by day ſome part of my vices, and to checke my imperfections; my health neither is, nor ſhall be entire. I prepare vnguents but no exact remedies for my paine of the goute, contenting my ſelf if it trouble me not often, and that it bee leſſe furious and burning then it is. If I bee compared with thee, for ſwiftneſſe of pace I am but a weake runner.

CHAP. XVIII.

That this reproach is not new, That a wiſeman in condemning other mens vices beginneth with his owne, and hath a deſire to mend himſelfe. That we ought patiently to endure ſcoffes becauſe the beſt men haue not eſcaped them.

I Speake not this for my ſelfe (for I am drowned in vices) but for him that alreadie hath gotten ground. Thou ſpeakeſt, ſaiſt thou in one kinde but beleeueſt in another. This hath beene reproched by ſome leud companions, enemies of all good men to *Plato*, to the Epicure and to *Zeno*. For all theſe ſhewed how wee ought to liue, and not how they themſelues liued, I ſpeake of Vertue not of my ſelfe. When I blame vices I firſt of all reproue mine owne, and when I may poſſibly I will liue as I ought. This malignitie infected with diuers poyſons ſhall not driue me from my laudable deſſignes. This venome which you vomit out againſt others, and wherewith you poyſon your ſelues ſhall not hinder me from prayſing that life, according to which I know that I ought to gouerne my ſelfe, although I gouerne not my ſelfe in that ſort as I ought therein. Your malignitie (I tell you) ſhall not reſtraine me from adorning that Vertue, which I follow not, although it be eſtranged and farre off from me. Shall I expect that reproach, ſhall I in any ſort reſtraine her handes which neyther reſpected *Rutilius*, nor forbare *Cato*? Why ſhould not any man in theſe mens opinion, bee ouer rich to whom *Demetrius* the Cynicke ſeemed not poore enough? O exact perſon and aduerſarie to all the deſires of Nature, ſo farre as he forbad himſelfe to demand thoſe things from the vſe whereof he had reſolued to abſtaine. For he maintaineth that the wiſeman wanteth nothing. Markeſt thou this? he profeſſed not the ſcience of Vertue but of pouertie.

CHAP. XIX.

A paradox of the Stoickes, who prayſe thoſe that murther themſelues. The iniquitie of thoſe men that accuſe others and yet amend not themſelues.

THey denie that *Diodorus* the Philoſopher and the Epicure who not long ſince haſtened his own death, by cutting his throat with his owne hands, followed not in this act the Doctrine of the Epicures. Some impute this vnto furie, ſome vnto folly, and vaine glorie. He contrariwiſe content and furniſhed with a good conſcience hath giuen teſtimonie to himſelfe in departing out of this life, and hath praſed the repoſe of his dayes and arriued at the port, pronouncing that which you haue heard, in diſpight of your teeth and that which you your ſelues alſo muſt ſay when your turne commeth.

Long haue I liu'd and fully haue I ended,
That race of life that Fortune firſt commanded.

You diſpute of an other mans life, of an other mans death, and barke like little Dogges, againſt the names of great and laudable men, as if you met with men that were vnknowne. For it is expedient for you, that no man ſhould ſeeme good, becauſe an other mans vertue ſhould not reproch your iniquities. To your great hearts griefe you compare famous things with your abſurdities, neither perceiue you that this boldneſſe of yours woundeth you wounderfully; For if the Schollers of Vertue bee couetous, voluptuous and ambitious, what name ſhall we allot you, who haue the very name of Vertue? You obiect that no man doth that which he teacheth, and that he doth otherwiſe then he ſpeaketh. Is this to be wondred at? Conſidering that they propoſe great and valorous things, which are aboue all the tempeſts of the world, and ſtriue to nayle themſelues to the Croſſe, wherein euery one of you hath planted ſome nayle: yea, before they are at the place of puniſhment, they are content to bee tied to any wood that they meete withall. They that doe not chaſtice and reproue themſelues by themſelues, are ſo many times tied vnto the Gibbet, as there are paſſions that draw them hither and thither, and are ſo ready to out-rage an other; I would belieue them, were their not ſome of them that from the gallowes curſed and ſpit on thoſe that beheld them.

CHAP. XX.

That a man hath purchaſed much that he hath gotten himſelfe good thoughts, although the effects follow not alwaies.

THe Philoſophers performe not what they ſpeake, yet performe they very much, becauſe they ſpeake that which they haue conceiued with an honeſt mind. For if their words and deedes were one, what were more bleſſed then they? In the meane ſpace, thou haſt no cauſe to deſpiſe good words, neither thoſe hearts that are full of good thoughts. You ought to praiſe the faire and honeſt occupations of the minde, and the ſtudie of good Sciences, although there follow no effect thereupon. What wonder is it if they that haue attempted high matters, attaine not to honour? Reuerence thou the hardie and difficult enterpriſes of Vertue, admire the men, although attempting great matters, they faile of their purpoſe. It is a generous thing, for a man that conſidereth not his owne, but natures forces; to attempt and vndertake high matters, and to conceiue that in his thought which the moſt ableſt men in the world cannot effect; who hath purpoſed and ſaid this vnto himſelfe; I will keepe the ſame countenance in beholding death, as I kept when I heard that ſhee approached mee. How great waight ſo euer ſhall be impoſed on me, I will yeeld my ſhoulder, and my minde ſhall ſuſtaine my body. I will make as ſmall reckoning of thoſe goods that I haue, as of thoſe that I haue not, if they lie on the ground in another mans houſe, it ſhall not trouble me, neither if they ſhine about me will I bee proude. I will neither reſpect the preſent proſperitie or future aduerſitie; I wil looke vpon euery mans land as if it were mine owne, and on mine as if it were all mens; I will ſo liue, as if I knew that I was borne for others, and for that will I giue thankes to nature that hath appropriated me to that vſe. What could ſhee doe more for me? Shee hath giuen me onely vnto all men, and all men vnto me alone, what ſo euer I haue, I wil neither keepe it too niggardly, nor ſpend it too prodigally. I will beleeue that I poſſeſſe nothing more, then that which is well giuen me. I will not eſteeme any benefits by the number or waight, nor eſtemate them any other wayes, but in reſpect of him that receiueth them.

That

That shall neuer seeme too much to me, which a worthy man receiueth at my hands; I will doe all things, not for opinion but for conscience sake. I will beleeue it is done in the sight of all men, whatsoeuer I doe vnwittingly. The end of my eating and drinking shall be to satisfie the desires of nature, not to fill and emptie my belly. I will bee pleasing to my friends, gentle and facile to mine enemies. I will graunt before I be asked, and will preuent all honest demandes. I will remember that the World is my Countrie, that the gods who gouerne the World are aboue me, and stand about me as censors of my deedes and words. And as often as nature shall redemaund my Soule, or reason dismisse it I will depart this life with this testimonie, that I haue loued and laboured to haue a good conscience, and to bee exercised in laudable actions; that no mans libertie hath beene diminished by me, nor mine by any man.

CHAP. XXI.

That good thoughts are the beginnings, and the high waies to good workes.

WHosoeuer resolueth with himselfe to doe this, hee will assay he will walke towards the gods, and aspire vnto great things, although he alwayes attaine them not. But you that hate Vertue and such as are vertuous doe nothing new. For sicke eyes are afraide of the Sunne, and those creatures which see not clearely but by night, are astonished as soone as the bright-some day appeareth, and retire themselues to their lurking holes; In briefe, those creatures that feare the light, locke them vp in their retreates. Grieue and spend your wretched tongs in detracting good men; barke and bite at them, sooner shall you breake your teeth then lay hold or hurt them. But why liueth such a one, who saith hee is a friend of Wisedome so deliciously? Wherefore saith he should a man despise riches and yet he hath them? Hee doth nought else but speake against the loue of this life, and yet he liueth. Why commendeth hee sickenesse, and yet so diligently maintaineth and longeth for health? Banishment with him is but a word of no vse, and he saith that the change of a mans Countrie is no euill thing: Notwithstanding, if hee may make choice, hee endeth his dayes in the place where he was borne. He iudgeth that there is little difference betwixt a short and long life, yet if nothing let him he extendeth his age, and flourisheth in quietnesse for many yeares. He saith that these things should be contemned, not in regard of the proprietie and possession, but in respect wee should not haue them with labour, hee will not driue them from him, but will follow them securely when they flit away. In what store-house may Fortune better locke her riches then there, from whence she may fetch them, without complaint of him that keepeth them. *Marcus Cato* when hee praised *Curius* and *Coruncatus* and that Age, wherein it was an offence worthy of censure, to haue some few plates of Siluer, was himselfe master of a million of Gold, farre lesse in respect of the treasure which *Crassus* had, yet farre more then *Cato* the Censor was Lord of. By farre more had he surpassed his great Grand-father, had they beene compared together, then he was surpassed by *Crassus*; And if greater fortunes had befallen him, he had not refused them. For a wiseman thinketh himselfe worthy of all those presents of fortune. Hee loueth not riches, and yet he preferreth them before pouertie, hee receiueth them into his house but not in his minde, neither treadeth them vnder foote in possessing them, but containeth them, and will haue an excellent subiect to exercise his vertue vpon.

CHAP. XXII.

Why a vertuous and good man despiseth not riches, and to what vse they serue him.

In this place there is a noble discourse of the vse of riches.

BVt who doubteth, but that a wise man hath a greater meanes to expresse the worthinesse of his minde, when he hath riches, then when he hath pouertie, whē as in pouertie there is but one vertue not to be deiected, not to be depressed. In riches a man may say that temperance, libertie, diligence, disposition, and magnificence, haue a spacious field to shew themselues in. A wise man will not contemne himself, although he be of a low stature, yet could hee wish that he were higher. Though he be slender in body, and haue lost an eye, yet will he be content, yet had he rather that his body were strong enough. Hee will loue it so, when he shall know that there is some thing in him more strong and more vigorous; hee shall endure sickenesse and wish for health. For some things although they be small in appearance, and such as may be taken from vs, without the ruine of the principall good, yet adde they something to perpetuall ioy which springeth from vertue. So doe riches affect and comfort him, as a faire and merrie wind doth a Sailer, as a faire day, or as a couert in cold weather and raine. But who is he say I, amongst our wise men, who account vertue for the only good, that denieth likewise that these which we call indifferent, haue some worth in them, and that some are to bee preferred before others. To some of these some honour is giuen, to some great. Doe not therefore deceiue thy selfe, riches are amongst those things that are to bee desired. Why then saiest thou, doest thou mocke me, when as they are as highly esteemed by thee as they are by me? Wilt thou know how differently they are affected? If riches slip out of my hands, they shall carrie nothing away with them but themselues; Thou wilt be astonished, and seeme vnto thy selfe to be left without thy selfe, if they depart from thee. Riches with me are in some request, with thee in high esteeme. In briefe, my riches serue me, Thou art a slaue to thine.

CHAP. XXIII.

That riches ae honest, both in regard of the getting of them, as in respect of the possession and vse of them.

GIue ouer therefore to forbid Philosophers to haue money. No man hath condemned Wisedome to perpetuall pouertie. A wise man may haue great wealth, but taken from no man, nor bought with the effusion of other mens bloud, gotten without any mans preiudice, without vnlawfull gaine, whose departure shall be as honest as their entrie, whereat no man shall grieue except he be enuious. Vrge against them as much as thou pleasest, they are honest; in which, where as there are many things which euery man would haue called his, yet is their nothing that any man may say it is his. But the wise man will not estrange the bountie of Fortune from him selfe, neither will he glorie or bee ashamed of that patrimonie that he hath gotten with honestie; yet shall hee haue wherein to glorie, if his doores being open, and the Citie admitted to enter to examine his substance, he might say; Let euery man take that hence which he knoweth to bee his! O great man, happily rich, if his actions bee answerable to these speeches of his, if after this speech he haue so much; this I say, if safe and secure he hath submitted himselfe to the Cities search, if no man hath found ought in his house, that an other man may challenge, boldly and openly, hee shall bee rich.

rich. Euen as a wiſe man admitteth no money into his houſe that is badly got, ſo will he not refuſe nor exclude great riches, which are the gifts of fortune and the fruites of vertue. For what cauſe is there, why hee ſhould enuie them a good place? Let them come and dwel with him; he will neither boaſt of them, nor hide them, the one is the ſigne of an inſolent minde, the other of a fearefull and weake minde; as if containing a great good within his boſome. Neither as I ſaid, will he caſt them out of his houſe. For what will he ſay? Whether this, you are vnprofitable; or this, I know not how to vſe riches? Euen as although he can walke his iourney on foote, yet he had rather get vp into his Coach, ſo if he may be rich he will, and he will entertaine riches yet as ſlight and tranſitorie things, neither will he ſuffer them to bee burthen ſome to any other, nor to himſelfe. He will giue then, what hearken you now? Why open you your boſomes? he will giue, but either to good men, or to thoſe whom hee may make good. He will giue, but with great deliberation, making choice of the worthieſt as remembring himſelfe, that hee is to giue an account both of his expences and receipts. He will giue vpon a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe, for to giue euilly, is a ſhamefull loſſe. Hee will haue his boſome open, but not rent, out of which much money ſhall paſſe, but nothing ſhall be loſt.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the vſe of Goods in regard of the diuers relief of our neighbours, and how we ought to giue.

HE deceiueth himſelfe, whoſoeuer thinketh that it is an eaſie matter to giue; This thing hath great difficultie in it, if ſo bee it be giuen with iudgement, not ſcattered by aduenture or raſhly. I gaine the heart of ſuch a man, I reſtore vnto an other, I ſuccour this man, I take pittie on that man; I furniſh ſuch a one, becauſe hee deſerueth to be warranted from pouertie, and to bee no more buſied in ſeeking his fortune. To ſome I will not giue although hee want; becauſe, although I ſhould giue yet will he ſtill be needie. To ſome will I offer, and other ſome will I preſſe to take, I cannot be negligent in this thing, I neuer oblige ſo many vnto my profit as when I giue. What ſaieſt thou, doſt thou giue to receiue againe? Yea, to the end I may not looſe; yet muſt the gift that is giuen be in ſuch hands whence it may not be redemaunded, it may be reſtored. Let a benefit bee beſtowed like a treaſure that is deepely hidden, which thou wilt not digge vp, except thou haſt neede of it. What? hath not a rich mans houſe abundant matter to doe good? For who would tie liberality only to Citizens and men of accompt? Nature commandeth vs to doe good vnto men, whether they be ſlaues or free-men, whether they be naturally bred, or by manumiſſion freed of in juſt libertie or giuen amongſt friends. What is that to the matter? Whereſoeuer a man is, there is a place of benefit. The wiſe man likewiſe may ſpred his money in his owne houſe, and exerciſe liberalitie, which is not ſo called, becauſe it is giuen to free-men, but becauſe it proceedeth from a free minde. This liberalitie of a wiſe man, is neuer employed vpon filthy and vnworthy perſons, neither is it euer ſo wearied, but that as often as he findeth out a worthy receiuer, it floweth abundantly, you are not therfore to giue a ſiniſter interpretation, to thoſe things that are ſpoken honeſtly, manfully, and ſtoutly, by thoſe that are louers of Wiſdome. But conſider this firſt of all, that there is a difference betwixt him that is ſtudious of wiſdom, and him that is wiſe & hath gotten wiſdome. He that hath

wiſdome will ſay vnto thee, I ſpeake iuſtly, yet am I entangled with many vices. You are not to require of mee a life that is euery way correſpondent to my words, whereas I endeuour as much as I may to make and forme my ſelfe, and addreſſe my ſelfe according to an excellent patterne. If I proceede as well as I haue intended, require this of me, that my deedes may bee anſwerable to my wordes. But he that hath attained the fulneſſe of wiſdome, will deale otherwiſe with thee, and will ſay. Firſt of all thou art not to permit thy ſelfe to giue ſentence of thy betters; for now already (which is the argument that I am in the right way) I haue gotten thus farre as to diſpleaſe euill men. But to let thee know, that I enuy no mortall man, heare what I promiſe thee, and how much I eſtimate euery thing. I deny that riches are good, for if they were, they ſhould make good men: but now ſince that which is found amongſt euill men, cannot bee called good, I deny them this name, yet confeſſe I that they are to be had, that they are profitable, and bring great commodities.

CHAP. XXV.

Although a wiſe man poſſeſſeth riches, he accounteth them not for true goods, and why he had rather haue them, then haue them not.

HEare therefore what the cauſe is, why I number them not amongſt goods, and what thing I conſider in them, more then you, ſince it is agreed betweene vs both that they are to be had. Put mee into a rich houſe; put mee there where I ſhall be ordinarily ſerued in ſiluer and golde; I will not bee proud for all this, which, although I haue by me, yet are they without me. Transferre mee to a woodden bridge, and driue mee amongſt the beggers, I will not therefore deſpiſe my ſelfe, becauſe I ſit amongſt them, who thruſt out their hand to haue an almes giuen them; for what is this to the matter, whether a cruſt of bread be wanting to him, who wants not the power to die? what then is it? I had rather haue that faire houſe then a bridge. Lodge me in a rich bed with delicate hangings, and goodly furniture, I will not ſuppoſe my ſelfe more happy, becauſe I haue ſoft and ſilken couering vpon me, and becauſe purple carpets are ſpred for my gueſts to ſit vpon. I ſhall bee no whit more miſerable, if my wearie head reſt it ſelfe vpon a locke of haye, or if I lie vpon a Circenſian and broken pad, whence the ſtraw breaketh forth, through the rotten and ragged linnen. What therefore is it? I had rather ſhow what my manner were in cleanly and decent apparrell, then with halfe couered or naked ſhoulders. Though all the dayes of my life ſhould be pleaſant, and that one honour ſhould draw on others that are new, I would not be a whit prouder for all this. Change to the contrary this indulgence of time; let my mind bee wounded euery wayes with loſſes, ſorrowes, and diuers incurſions: Let not an hower ſlip without ſome complaint, yet will I not ſay, that I am wretched amongſt the wretchedeſt; I will not therefore curſe my day, for I haue already reſolued with my ſelfe, that no day ſhould ſeeme fatall vnto me. What therefore is it? I had rather temperate my ioyes, then ſtill my ſorrowes. This will *Socrates* ſay vnto thee: Make mee the conquerour of all nations; let that delicate aud triumphant Chariot of *Bacchus* carry me as farre as *Thebes* from the ſunne-riſe; Let the *Perſian* Kings require lawes at my hands, then will I thinke my ſelfe moſt of all to bee a man when all the world ſhall ſalute me for a God. Ioyne to this ſodaine greatneſſe, a contrary change; Let them caſt mee vpon a hurdle, to be led in ſhow in the triumph of ſome proud and inſolent enemy by reaſon of his victory, I will march

march with ſuch a countenance behind his Chariot, as I did when I was mounted in mine. What therefore is it? I had rather ouercome then be taken. I will deſpiſe the whole Kingdome of Fortune, out of that if I may take my choice, I will chuſe the beſt and moſt pleaſing. What ſo euer befalleth me, I will repute it good, but I deſire they ſhould be eaſie and pleaſant, and ſuch as ſhould leaſt trouble me in the handling of them. For, thou muſt not thinke that there is any vertue without labour, but ſome vertues neede ſpurs, other ſome raines: Euen as the body that aſcendeth a hie place ought to be kept backe, and he that aſcendeth vpon ſhould beare forward: ſo ſome vertues are as it were deſcending, ſome that are troubleſome to mount. Is it to be doubted, but that patience, valour, and perſeuerance, and other vertues oppoſed to afflictions, and tread fortune vnder foot, are ſuch vertues as mount and aduance themſelues with trauell, and outſtrip many difficulties? What therefore? Is it not as apparent, that liberty, temperance and clemency march downewards? In theſe wee containe our minde, leſt it ſlip. In theſe wee encourage and incite: So then when there ſhall bee queſtion of pouerty, wee will arme our ſelues with the ſtrongeſt, beſt diſpoſed, and ſuch as know beſt how to fight: in the vſe of riches, wee will call the other which will march leaſurely, and ſuſtaine the weight.

CHAP. XXVI.

THis being thus diſtinguiſhed, I had rather haue the vſe of thoſe vertues, the exerciſe whereof is peaceable, then to aſſay thoſe other that make a man ſweat bloud and water. I therfore ſaith the Wiſe-man, liue not otherwiſe then I ſpeake, but you heare otherwiſe then you ſhould: onely the ſound of words is come to your eares, but what they ſignifie you enquire not, what difference then is there betwixt mee a foole, and thee a wiſe man, if both of vs will haue wealth? Great: for riches are to the wiſe man as his ſlaues, to the foole as his commanders. The wiſe man giueth not any authority to riches, but they maſter you wholly: you, as though ſome one had promiſed you an eternall poſſeſſion of them, accuſtome your ſelues to them, and cleaue vnto them. The wiſe-man doth then moſt of all meditate vpon pouerty, when as hee is in the midſt of his pouerty. Neuer doth an Emperour ſo truſt to peace, that he prepareth not for warre, which hee reputeth to bee already proclaimed, although as yet they are not come to handy ſtrokes. A faire houſe, as though it could neuer burne nor fall downe, maketh you inſolent. Riches doe amaſe you, as if they were out of all danger, and were greater then that fortune had power enough to conſume them. Idleing you enuy your riches, neither foreſee you the danger of them. Wherein you behaue your ſelues like Barbarians beſieged in a place, who ſet their armes a croſſe, beholding thoſe that beſiege them trauelling after certaine engines, and know not what they be, neither vnderſtand wherto men will make vſe of theſe engines of battery, which are addreſſed farre off from the Wall. The ſame befalleth you, you rot in your goods, neither thinke you what caſualties hang ouer your heads euery wayes, and that ſodainly ſhall plucke from you the faireſt and the richeſt ſpoiles. Whoſoeuer ſhall take away a wiſe mans riches, ſhal leaue him that which is his, for he liueth being contented with thoſe things that were preſent, and ſecure of the future. I haue neuer ſo much perſwaded my ſelfe ſaith *Socrates*, or any other that hath the ſame right and power

What difference there is betwixt a foole and a wiſe man, When as both would be rich.

er ouer humane affaires, as to apply my manner of liuing to your opinions. Vſe your accuſtomed habite euery way. I will not thinke them to bee the iniuries of men, but the cries of little children. Thus will hee ſpeake that hath gotten and attained wiſdome, whoſe mind beeing freede from all vice, will loath him to reprehend others, not becauſe hee hateth them, but becauſe hee would amend them. To theſe will hee adde: Your reputation moueth me, not in mine owne reſpect, but for your cauſe: When I ſee you hate and harrow vertue, it is a forſwearing of good hope. You doe me no more injurie, then they do the Gods, who ouerturn their altars; but your euill intent, and euill counſell appeareth euen there where it could not hurt. Thus beare I with your impertinencies euen as almighty *Iupiter* doth the follies of the *Poets*; Wherof one of them giueth him wings, an other hornes, an other brought him forth as an adulterer; an other, as a night-watcher; an other, as cruell towards the Gods; an other, as vniuſt towards men; an other, as a rauiſher, and corrupter of children of free condition and of good parentage; an other, for a parracide, and ſuch a one as hath inuaded other mens dominions, yea, the kingdome of his owne father: all which was to no other end, but to take from men (who belieued that the Gods were ſuch) all ſhame of doing euill. But although theſe things hurt mee nothing, yet doe I warne you for your owne ſakes, and counſell you to embrace vertue. Belieue thoſe that hauing long time followed her, cry out that they follow ſome great thing, and that one day or other, will ſhew it ſelfe more excellent, and honour her as the Gods, and reuerence thoſe that ſerue her, as you would doe the profeſſors and prieſts of the Gods: and as often as there is any mention made of the ſacred letters, keepe your ſilence: for this word is not deriued from fauour, as diuers men ſuppoſe, but ſilence is commanded, that the ſacrifice might be duely performed without any interruption.

Fauete linguis non à fauore.

CHAP. XXVII.

By reaſon of ſilence whereof he entreateth, hee ſheweth by an expreſſe compariſon, that there are not any people in the world more carefully to be liſtned vnto then wiſemen, and they that are vertuous, & thereupon hee introduceth Socrates as the moſt excellent who magnifieth vertue, and ſheweth that happy life conſiſteth in the ſame.

WHich ſo much the rather ought to be enioyned you, that as often as any thing is vttered by that Oracle, with an intent and humble voice, you may heare the ſame. When ſome Apoſtatate Prieſt maketh a man belieue, that the ſiſter of *Apollo* hath ſounded, when any one wel lerned to carue the fleſh frō his muskles, woundeth himſelfe both in armes and ſhoulders with a ſparing hand, when ſome woman creeping vpon her knees along the wayes howleth, and an old man apparrelled in linnen, carrying in his hands a lanterne and a candle at midday, crieth out that ſome one of the Gods are diſpleaſed; you flocke about him, and liſten, and entertaining one anothers mutuall amaſe; you affirme, that he is ſome Prophet. Behold *Socrates* crieth out from that priſon, into which when he entred it, he clenſed it, and made it more honeſt then any Court of plea. What madneſſe is this? What nature is this ſo oppoſite againſt Gods and men? to defame vertues, and to violate holy things with malignant ſpeeches? If you can, praiſe good men, if not paſſe by them. But if you take pleaſure to exerciſe this vnbridled liberty, aſſaile one another: for when you are mad againſt heauen (I ſay not that you commit ſacriledge) but you looſe your labours. Sometimes I miniſtred matter to *Ariſtophanes* to breake his ieſts vpon me, and all that band of comicke Poets powred out their enuenomed ſcoffes againſt me: my vertue grew more famous by theſe very meanes, whereby they aſſayled her; for it behoueth

houeth her to be produced and attempted; neither doe any men more vnderſtand what ſhe is, then they, who by prouoking her, haue tired her forces. The hardneſſe of the flint ſtone is knowne to no men more then to thoſe who ſtrike vpon it: I preſent my ſelfe vnto you in ſuch ſort, as a rocke in midſt of a tempeſtuous ſea, the which is on euery ſide, & inceſſantly beaten with the waues and yet notwithſtanding continues in his place, and neyther by length of time, nor by the aſſaults of the ſame, is any wayes conſumed. Enforce your ſelues againſt me, and leaue me at your pleaſure, I will ouercome you with patience, whatſoeuer he be that attempteth thoſe things that are firme and impregnable, imployeth his forces to the ruine of himſelfe. And therefore ſeeke out ſome more ſoft and yeelding matter, wherein you may fixe your weapons. But haue you ſo much leaſure as to examine other mens faults, and to giue your cenſures of any man: Why this Philoſopher hath ſo faire a houſe? why the other ſuppeth more daintily? you obſerue puſtules and little ſpots in other men, being your ſelues beſieged with vlcers. It is as much as if you ſhould carpe at ſome mens freckles and warts which ſhould appeare in their faireſt bodies, and you your ſelues were ouergrowne with a loathſome ſcab. Obiect againſt *Plato*, that he deſired money; againſt *Ariſtotle*, that he receiued the ſame; againſt *Democritus*, that he neglected it; againſt the Epicure, that he ſpent it; obiect againſt me *Alcibiades* and *Phædrus*. O how happy ſhould you be, when you could but counterfeit our vices? but why rather examine you not your owne vices which wound you on euery ſide; the one aſſayling you outwardly, the other burning in your bowels. The affaires of the world are not brought to that paſſe, although you are wholly ignorant of your eſtates, that you may haue ſo much leaſure as to employ the reſt of your time, and your tongues in detraction of good men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The continuation of a wiſe mãs diſcourſe in the perſon of Socrates.

THis vnderſtand you not, and you carrie an other countenance then becommeth your fortune, euen as many men doe, who ſitting in the Circus or Theater, and ſome one dead in their houſes, and are wholly ignorant of that which hath happened. But I beholding from a hie place, ſee what tempeſts either hang ouer your heads, that will ſomewhat later breake from out their cloud, to ſuch as are neere at hand, that ſhall rauiſh both you and yours away, as ſoone as they ſhall meete you. And why? ſee you not already likewiſe, although you haue little ſence thereof, a certaine tempeſt that tranſporteth your minds, and hurleth you vp, flying and purſuing the ſame things, and rauiſheth you now lifted vp on high, now battereth you againſt the ground.

The end of the Diſcourſe touching a bleſſed life.

THE TRANQVILITIE AND PEACE OF THE MINDE.

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA, AND

DEDICATED TO SERENVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

AND this Booke is to bee numbered amongſt thoſe that are profitable and worthie both for their matter and handling. It was written in the beginning of his returne from his baniſhment when he was admitted to the Court and preferred to be NEROES Schoolemaſter. This appeareth by theſe words, in his firſt Chapter. This diſſolution abaſhed me, and this abundance of delight ſpreading it ſelfe, and ſounding round about mee, rauiſhed me, comming from a place where I had long time ſetled my ſelfe to liue in obſcuritie. Hee toucheth and taxeth the diſſolution of the Court, which before times was vnknowne and hatefull vnto him. The order in the handling hereof is confuſed, yea ſcarcely is there any, and an ouer ſight or defect vnleſſe I be deceiued, appeareth in many thinges. But this is the ſumme hereof. The occaſion of his writing, he draweth from his inconſtancie and irreſolution, his minde being neyther ſetled or quiet in any ſort. This ſaith hee is their cuſtome who are in the way to wiſdome but haue not as yet attained the ſame, nor taſted the fruit thereof, which is tranquilitie. O great good, and what is it? he deſcribeth the ſame. How ſhall I attaine thereunto? by flying inconſtancie, what then is ſhee? her he punctually deſcribeth. She is driuen away by diuers remedies firſt by occupation and that eyther publique, if the times or thy vnderſtanding admit it, or priuate to the end, thou maieſt conuerſe amongſt the beſt ſtudies and meditations. Yet muſt not we ſuddenly flie from the Common-weale, that there are many parts thereof, and that we haue libertie to embrace any one of them. This vntill the fourth Chapter. Then added he if wee intend buſineſſe, three thinges are to be conſidered our ſelues, the buſineſſe, or men for whoſe cauſe, or with whom we act. In our ſelues our forces are to be examined, what and how farre they may neither let vs attempt further. In our affaires? what are we able to ouercome them, whether likewiſe there be a chaine of them and whether they lead vs farther that our returnes ought to be alwayes free. In men: whether they be worthie of our labor or expence of time. But they are not vaine, ambitious, neyther occupied in any ſerious matter. Afterwards in the ſeuenth Chapter, he addeth but ſcarce to the purpoſe. That

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an especiall and perfect friend is an entertainment of tranquilitie, and delight, but such a one as is not of an euill disposition, and such as accuseth all things: Againe, there is no perfect text, and in the eight Chapter of the meanes of Patrimonie, that it bee not great nor small to nourish Tranquilitie, but meane and apt, and that may bee maintained by Parsimonie. But excesse is to be auoyded, yea in the verie instruments of life, as in our Liberaries or Bookes. After this hee ouer-slippeth in the tenth Chapter, and proueth that troubles befall in euerie estate of life, but that they are mollified by custome, by beholding another mans Fortune, which of times is the worst. Likewise that desires are not to be banished farre from vs, but left neere vnto vs, and easie to bee laid hold on. And thus instructeth hee a proficient and young Scholler, for a wiseman hath no need to fight, for he ouercommeth all Fortune, which he fore-thinketh to be this or that, and by fore-sight thereof mollifieth and breaketh it. This vntill the twelfth Chapter. After that another Tract that we are not to trauell in vnnecessarie matters, neither as much as in vs lieth, in forraine. He vrgeth DEMOCRITVS *heauenly precept. That many things are not done, either priuately or publiquely. Presently after in the fourteenth Chapter, he driueth vs from Leuitie and Pertinacie. That is neither busily to change in life, neither if thou hast chosen euil, obstinatly to cleaue vnto that, but to behold all things with an equall and almost a pleasing countenance. For what is life, but a iest? Lastly in the sixteenth Chapter that simulation is to bee fled, and too carefull composition of a mans selfe. Let simplicitie bee entertained and sometimes mirth, yea and sometimes banquet and freer drinking. This drowneth cares, and freeth and extolleth the minde. In the end he concludeth, that he hath set downe what they are that may maintaine tranquilitie, and may restore it, by which you may see what the partition was, but truly it is not existant at this present. Therefore as many thinges of* SENECAES, *are the wordes to bee praysed in part, the order of the whole is defectiue, and that eyther by the iniuries of time or at least wise by the negligence of transcriptors.*

CHAP. I.

DEbating with my selfe *Serenus*, and examining my present life, there were some vices of mine that appeared openly, and subiect to euery eye, and such as I might touch with the hand, some more obscure and closely hidden, some other that were not continuall, but such as returned at certaine times and spaces; and these of all the rest were most troublesome, because (if I may so speake it) they resembled such enemies, as charge and assault at vnawares, which keepe me either from being alwayes ready, as in time of warre; or to liue in security, as I ought to doe, in time of peace: yet principally obserue I this habitude in my selfe, (for why should I not disclose the truth, since thou art my Physitian?) that neither I am truely and intirelie deliuered from these which I feared and hated, neither againe subiect vnto them. I am in your estate, that is not altogether so euill; yet doe I nothing but complaine my selfe, neither finde I any thing that may content me: I am not sicke, and yet I am not well. Thou must not here tell me, that all the beginnings of vertues are feeble, and that in time their continuance and strength is increased: I know well that these things which are of consequence, as honour and reputation, to be eloquent,

Seneca introduceth Serenus *or some other in his beginning, to whome he discouereth the infirmitie, of his mind, and demandeth remedy at his hands to settle them.*

loquent, and all that whereupon our neighbours ground their iudgement, are fortified by time, and those that require some prouision of true force, and they that are farded to please the eyes, respect some yeeres, vntill such time as by little and little they get some time that may giue them tincture. But I feare lest custome which bringeth constancy to things, fixe this imperfection more deepely in me. A long conuersation either with good or euill men inducth loue. But I cannot shew thee so well at once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which is houered now this way, now that way, without staying it selfe resolutely on that which is good, and without declining also vnto the euill. I will tell thee what befalleth mee, giue my infirmity afterwards what name thou pleasest. Great is my loue to parsimony, I confesse it, I like not a bed ambitiously furnished, I like not a garment newly drawne from the coffer, nor brought from the presse where to make it shine; it hath endured a thousand weights and torments; but a homely, raiment, proper for the time, that hath not beene horded vp, nor is to be worne with too much care; that meat pleaseth mee that fewe men may dresse, and lesse pages attend, thats readily prepared, and that passeth through a few mens hands, that is easily gotten, and easily dreſt, that is neither scanty nor deare, that may bee found in all places, that neither spendeth the patrimony, nor hurteth the body, nor is like to bee returned by the way it entred. I like a homelie and a home-bred seruant, olde and rusticke, plaine, such as my father vsed, without these new fashions, and the workmans marke, a table not checkered nor renowmed amongst the people, because that diuers men had beene masters of it, who loued to make good cheere, but fitte for my vse, which for the beautie thereof shall not bewitch the eyes of my guests with pleasure, nor inkindle them with enuy. After I had taken pleasure to see these things abouesaid, a great troupe of yong Pages nourished apart, more diligentlie and costlie apparrelled then they should be in a priuate house; and vassels and slaues garnished with golde, and a troupe of seruants that shined (so neatelie they were attired) sodainelie dazeled mine eies. Furthermore, a house wherein nothing was trod vpon but that which was precious, where riches were scattered in euerie corner of the house, where the roofes shined with gold, and where the flattering people haunted which follow and attend those patrimonies that fall to ruine. Why should I reckon vp the waters so cleare that a man might see the bottome, which inceſſantlie runne about those places where the feasts are solemnized? What shall I speake of the banquet, answerable to the rest of the magnificence? the things amazed mee, and this delicious abundance comming to spread it selfe, and to sound about me, who came from a place where I haue liued a long time, setled in a solitarie life, rauished me wholly, my sight is dulled somewhat, I more easilie lift vp my mind then mine eies against such pompe, I depart therefore not worse but discontent; neither walke I so ioyfull and merrie amidst my brittle household-stuffe, and a silent disgust and doubt assaileth me, whether that traine were not better then mine, none of these change me, yet euery one of them shake me. Sometimes I am ready to follow that which my Maisters haue commanded me, & to thrust my selfe into the affaires of estate. I am content to accept of honours and maiestracy, not perswaded to vndertake the same, either for purple ornaments or golden roddes, but that being thus aduanced I might be more propper and better disposed to do pleasures to my friends, my kinsfolke, my Citizens, yea, and all mortall men. I follow *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, *Crysippus*, no one of all which intermedled with the common-weale, though euery one of them counsailed

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others therunto. But when I had induced my mind therevnto, which is not accuſtomed to ſuch debates. If any vnworthy matter preſent it ſelfe (as in all humane life there are too many) or if it go not forward eaſilie, or that things ſlight and friuolous require much time to be imployed in them ; I returne backe againe to my ſolitude, and doe as beaſts that are tired and wearied, that run more ſwiftly then they haue done all the day before when they drawe neare vnto their Stable : then is my mind conceited to containe it ſelfe within mine owne walles. Let no man hence forward take one day from me, which cannot reſtore me a ſufficient recompēce for ſo great a loſſe, let my mind cleaue vnto himſelfe, let him ſeeme himſelfe : let him not intend no forraine buſineſſes, nor any thing that is ſubiect to euery mans cenſure, let Tranquillitie be loued which is voyde of priuate and publique cares. But when as reading hath rouſed and lifted vp my mind to more confidence, and noble examples haue pricked me forward : I take a pleaſure to haunt the iudgment court, to lend one man my voice, another man my labour, which although it profit him not, yet was it aimed for his profit, to reſtraine another mans pride in the iudgement court, too badly puffed vp by his too great fortunes. In ſtudies me thinkes vndoubtedly that it is better to contemplate the things themſelues and to diſcourſe vpon them, and to fit them with conuenient words, ſo as without ſearch they may bee ſubiect to the thing that is in queſtion. What neede wee to compoſe workes that ſhall continue for many ages. Wilt thou beat thy braine to the end that men may ſpeake of thee when thou art out of the world! Thou art borne to dye ; the ſecret funerall hath the leaſt troubles. If therfore thou wilt wright any thing to paſſe the time withall, write it in a ſimple ſtile for thine owne vſe, not to affect praiſe. They that ſtudie for a day need no great labour. Againe, when my ſoule is lifted vp with the greatneſſe of thoughts, ſhe is ambitious in coying words, and as her conceptions are great, ſo endeuoureth ſhe to be eloquent ; and according to the dignitie of the ſubiect is the carriage of the ſtile. Then forgetting this lawe, and this reſtrained iudgement, I am carried aloft, and ſpeake now by another mans mouth. And not to proſecute the reſt more at large, in all things this infirmity of a good mind altereth me, and I am afraid leaſt it ſhould eſcape mee by little and little, or (which is yet more tedious) that I am not alwaies in ſuſpence and doubt as he that feareth to fall, and hath as yet no more euill then I could foreſee. For we iudge of our priuate affaires and behold them familiarly, and fauour is alwaies a hinderance vnto iudgement. I thinke that many men might haue attained wiſedome except they had thought that they had attained the ſame ; except they had diſſembled ſomething in themſelues, and ouerpaſſed ſome things with open eyes. For thou muſt not thinke that other mens flattery maketh vs ſo euill as our owne doth. What man is he that dare ſpeake truth vnto himſelfe? Who is hee that being placed amidſt the troopes of his commenders and flatterers, that flattereth not himſelfe more then all the reſt? I pray thee therefore if thou haſt any remedy to ſtay this debate of my ſoule, that thou wilt honour me with this good, that I may ſay that thou art hee that haſt ſet me at quiet. I know well that the motions of my ſoule are not dangerous, prouided that they be not ouer violent. To expreſſe vnto thee in an apt ſimilitude the matter whereof I complaine, I am not tormented with the ſtorme but I haue a prouocation to vomit. Take from me then this paine whatſoeuer it be, and helpe him that is ſicke in the ſight of the land.

CHAP. II.

Hee sheweth first of all the difference that is betwixt those that feele troubles of their minds, and others that haue no apprehension thereof, or that take pleasure to be in trouble. Then declareth he how the first should be handled.

TRuely my *Serenus* I haue long ago sought for such a one without speaking a word of it, that had such and the like thought in his mind. There is nothing that admonisheth me more neerely then their example, who being deliuered from a long and grieuous sickneſſe feele as yet by times some shiuering and slight motions, and when as they haue beene freed from the reliques of their infirmitie, yet are they disquieted by some suspitions of a relaps, and being already whole offer their hand to the Phisition to feele their pulse, and suspect euery heat and motion of their bodies. Such mens bodies *Serenus* are healthfull enough, yet are they not as yet well accustomed thereto, but haue a certaine trembling agitation, resembling that of the calme sea or some lake when a tempest is ceased on it. They haue therefore need not of those harder remedies which we likewise ouer-passe, as in some place to oppose thy selfe against thy passions, in some place to be displeased, in some other place to be more grieuously angry: but we haue most need of that which commeth last, that thou trust thy selfe, and beleeue that thou art in a good way, being no waies distracted by the by-walkes of many men wandring here and there, and of some that erre about the waye. But that which thou desirest which is not to bee shaken, is a great and perfect thing, and approacheth the felicity of God. This stable seate of the mind the Grecians call εὐθυμίαν wherof *Democritus* hath written an excellent volume. I call it *Tranquillity*, nether is it necessary to imitate or to mould new words according to their forme. It sufficeth that the thing which is in questiō hath a name which expresseth the force of the Greeke word without representing the letters. So then we demand how the spirit may remaine alwaies like vnto himselfe, march with an equall traine, be fauourable to himselfe, and behold his attempts with a good eye, to be ioyfull and content, neither raising nor depressing himselfe ouer-much. This is called Tranquillitie, but let vs enquire in generall how wee may attaine hereunto: thou shalt take as much of the publique remedy as thou wilt; meane while I will discouer the whole vice whereby euerie man may know his part, and thou likewise mayst vnderstand how lesse trouble thou hast with the loathing of thy selfe, then they who tying themselues to a faire shew, and labouring vnder a great title would willingly discouer themselues, but I know not what shame entertaineth them. All are in the same cause, both they which are vexed with leuity & anxiety, and a cōtinuall change of their purpose, who are alwaies better pleased with that which they haue left, and those that watch & gape after vaine hopes. Adde vnto those men likewise who are not trāsported in their life by the meanes of inconstancie but thorow their sloath. They liue not as they would but as they beganne, moreouer there are innumerable other properties, but only one effect of the vice which is to displease themselues. This springeth from the intemperature of the mind & from fearfull and scarce prosperous desires, whereas they dare not as much as they desire, or attaine not the same, and are wholie bent vpon hope alwaies instable and mutable, which must needes befall those that liue in suspence. Their whole life is in expectation, and they teach and inforce themselues to dishoneſt and difficult things, and whereas their labour is in vaine they are vexed with their fruitlesse disgrace: neither are they sorie because they haue done euill, but that they willed the same in vaine. Then repent they themselues that they had begun and feare

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to beginne it againe, and afterward they are ſurpriſed with a confuſion of the mind which cannot find iſſue, becauſe they neither can commaund nor obay their deſirres, ſo that they lead a life which cannot bee exempt from confuſion, and haue their minds tyed and languiſhing amidſt fruitleſſe vowes and deſires: and all theſe are more grieuous vnto them, when as in deſpight of that misfortune that trauaileth them, they would haue recourſe vnto repoſe, and to ſecret ſtudies which the mind canot endure, that is fixed on the affaires of the world, deſirous to be in action, by nature vnquiet, and hauing little ſolace in himſelfe. And therefore their delights being drawne from them, which their occupations miniſtred vnto them, being buſied in certainty therein, the mind endureth neither houſe nor ſolitude, the walles are diſpleaſant to him, and being thus abandoned by himſelfe, he vnwillingly beholdeth himſelfe. From thence proceedeth this tediouſneſſe, this contempt of himſelfe, this perpetuall agitation of the mind, this ſad and feeble patience in repoſe, eſpecially when hee is aſhamed to confeſſe the cauſe, when ſhame tormenteth him inwardly, when couetous deſires cloſe vp his heart, when none of theſe finding iſſue ſtrangle one another. Thence commeth that ſadneſſe and conſumption, and a thouſand flouds and aſſaults of the vncertaine mind, held in ſuſpence by the enterpriſes he hath begunne, abated by the remembrance of the remedileſſe eſtate of his preſent affaires. Thence groweth that thought which maketh them deteſt the repoſe they enioy, complaine themſelues that they haue nothing to doe, and to beare endleſſe hatred and enuie at other mens proſperitie; For vnhappy idleneſſe is the nurſe of enuie, and all of them deſire to be dead becauſe they could not outſtrippe others. This enuie conceiued againſt other mens fortunes, and his own diſgraces cauſeth the mind to fret and murmure againſt fortune, to accuſe the mallice of the time, to retire himſelfe into ſome corner apart, and to ſtoope vnder his torment in fretting and conſuming himſelfe. For mans mind is ſwift and ready to be mooued, and reioyceth very much when any occaſion is offered to exerciſe himſelfe. But aboue all others this pleaſeth thoſe men that are malignant, whoſe minds are ſharpened and ordinarily whetted in mannaging affaires. Euen as there are certaine vlcers that are glad to bee rubbed, and deſire to bee handled, and the itch is not content except a man ſcratch it; So theſe ſpirits which are ſeazed with deſires, as with malignant vlcers, take no pleaſure but in trauaile and affliction; For there are certaine infirmities which delight our bodies with a kind of paine, witneſſe thoſe that turne themſelues on this ſide, now on that, and refreſh themſelues in changing their bed. Such was *Achilles* in *Homer*, ſometimes he lay vpon his belly, then vpon his backe, and could neuer remaine in one eſtate. It is the true act of a ſicke man not to be able to ſuffer any thing long time, but to thinke that his health conſiſteth in his toſſing and turning. Hence are diuers trauels vndertaken, and ſhoares ſought out, and lenitie which is alwaies an enemie to thoſe things which are preſent, now by ſea, and then by land, aduentureth daily. Let vs goe now into *Campania*, now that delicate ſoyle delighteth vs, let vs viſite the wood countries, let vs viſite the forreſt of *Calabria*, and let vs ſeeke ſome pleaſure amidſt the deſerts, in ſuch ſort as theſe wandring eyes of ours may be relieued in beholding at our pleaſure the ſtrange ſolitude of theſe ſauage places. We muſt go ſee *Tarentum* & that hauen ſo much eſteemed, and the ayre ſo ſweet in Winter, & the ſtately houſes of theſe ancient people. Let vs returne to *Rome* backe again, our eares haue too long time been eſtrãged from the applauſe of the Theater & the Circenſian ſports, now would I take pleaſure to ſee mens bloud ſpilt. Behold here how one voyage begetteth

another, and how after we haue ſeene one thing we long for an other.

After this manner each man flies himſelfe.

But what profiteth him to flie if hee cannot eſcape, hee runneth after himſelfe, and hath a very dangerous company that attendeth him. Let vs therefore know that the euill that preſſeth vs, commeth not from the place but from our ſelues. There is no affliction how light ſoeuer it be that is not ouer-waighty for vs, we are neither patient of labour or pleaſure, we cannot beare our owne affaires, nor any thing elſe. Some by reaſon hereof haue procured their owne deaths, becauſe that oftentimes hauing changed their deliberation, they fell backe againe alwaies into the ſame, and mette with nothing that is newe, by meanes whereof both their life and this world beganne to diſpleaſe them, and the words which are the ſignes of fooliſh and enraged pleaſures come into their heads. *How long ſhall we alwaies ſee the ſame?*

CHAP. III.

For a firſt remedy he requireth that the mind ſhould be occupied in ſome vocation which might be profitable to others.

THou askeſt mee what remedie I thinke neceſſary againſt this perplexitie. It ſhall be good (as *Athenodoras* counſaileth vs) to detaine our ſelues in affaires of eſtate, and to ſerue the commonweale. For as ſome ſpend the day in taking the ſunne, and in exerciſes and care of their bodies, and as it is profitable for wraſtlers to employ the moſt part of their time in exerciſing their armes and ſtrength wherevnto they haue onely dedicated themſelues; ſo is it requiſite for vs who prepare our minds to the managing of publique affaires to bee alwaies in action. For hee that hath reſolued himſelfe to become profitable to his Citizens, yea, vnto all men at one time doth two things, handling (according to that indeauour that is giuen him) both the publique and his perticular affaires. But becauſe (ſaith he) in this ſo mad ambition of men, where ſo many detractors wreſt all things to the worſt; ſimplicity is ſcarce ſecure, and there will bee alwaies more lets then ſucceſſull euents, we ought to retire our ſelues from the managing of publique affaires; conſidering this that a well ſeaſoned heart hath the meanes to ſhew it ſelfe in his priuate houſe. It fareth not ſo with men who for the moſt part haue their actions ſecret and hidden, as with Lyons and other bruit beaſts, who are locked vp in their grates to reſtraine their furie; yet in ſuch ſort ought a man to ſeeke out ſolitude, that whereſoeuer hee remaineth in quiet, he may deſire that the vigor of his mind, his ſpeech and action may ſerue euery one in perticular and all in generall. For not onely hee alone ſerueth the Common-weale that produceth the Candidates to ſue for offices, that defendeth the accuſed, who giueth his aduiſe as touching the affaires of peace and warre, but alſo that other that inſtruct youth, that in ſo great want of good maners informeth mens minds with vertue that layeth hold on, and reſtraineth thoſe who are addicted to auarice and diſſolution, or at leaſt wiſe that hindereth them from paſſing further, and who in his priuate houſe procureth the publique good. Who doth more, either the Iudge in a Cittie that with his aſſiſtant pronounceth a briefe ſentence in a proceſſe that ſtraungers and Citizens haue before him: or he that teacheth what iuſtice is, that ſheweth what piety, wiſedome, pureneſſe, contempt of death are, and how excellent a goad a good conſcience is? If then thou employeſt thy time in ſtudie, thou haſt not loſt, theſe honours that are due to the execution of thy charge concerning the publique

lique, neither ſhalt thou be exempted from the ſame. Neither is he a ſouldier that ſtandeth in the front of the battell and defendeth both the right and left wings: but he alſo that gardeth the gates, and ſtandeth ſentinel in a place though not ſo daungerous, yet neceſſary, and keepeth his watch that hath the gouernment of the Ammunition houſe; which charges though they bee not bloudy, yet haue they (that execute them) their pay as well as the reſt. If thou ſhalt retire thy ſelfe to thy ſtudies, thou ſhalt auoyd all care that tortureth mans life, thou ſhalt not be troubleſome to thy ſelfe nor vnprofitable to others; thou ſhalt get thee many friends, and the better ſort of men will accept thee. For vertue, although ſhee be poore and abiect, yet is ſhee neuer obſcured, but ſhe ſheweth the beames of her brightnes a farre off, and whoſoeuer is capable will acknowledge, and follow her ſteps. For if we renounce all conuerſation and flie from humane ſocietie, and liue onely to our priuate reſpect, this ſolitude depriued of all honeſt occupation will find nothing at laſt whereto to addict her ſelfe; we ſhall beginne to build ſome houſes, and to ouer-turne others; we ſhall turne the ſea out of his place; we ſhall cauſe the riuers to alter their courſes, and diſpence the time very euilly, which nature gaue vs to beſtow well. Sometimes we are too ſparing, ſometimes ouer-prodigall, ſome of vs imploy the ſame in ſuch ſort that we can yeeld no account thereof, others haue none left them. And therefore there is nothing more ſhamefull to ſee an old man (that to approue that he hath liued long time in this world) can produce no other witnes but the number of his yeares. For mine owne part (my deareſt *Serenus*) mee thinkes that *Athenodoras* ſubmitted himſelfe too much to times, and fled from them ouer-haſtilie. I confeſſe well that we ought ſomtimes to retire our ſelues but leaſurely, and with a ſecure retreat, our enſignes diſplaied, and without empeachment of our worldly dignitie. They are more valiant and more aſſured then their Conquerours that make a faire and honeſt retreat. So in my opinion ought vertue to behaue her ſelfe, and if the inconſtancy of worldly affaires diſturbe all, and taketh away from a vertuous man the meanes to doe good; yet for all this ought he not to turne his back, nor to caſt away his weapons to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and to thruſt himſelfe in a ſecret place, as if there could bee any corner where fortune could not find him out: but he ought to beleſſe buſie in affaires, and find out ſome expedient with iudgement to make himſelfe profitable to his Countrie. Is it not lawfull for him to beare armes? let him aſpire to ſome publique charge: muſt he not liue priuately? let him plead. Is he put to ſilence? let him helpe his Citizens by his priuate counſell. Is it dangerous for him to enter the iudgement place? let him ſhew himſelfe a faithfull friend, a gracious companion, a temperate gueſt in houſes, in Theaters, at feaſts. If hee haue loſt the office of a Citizen? let him vſe that of a man. And therefore with a great mind haue we not ſhut our ſelues within the walls of one Citty, but haue thruſt our ſelues into the conuerſation of the whole world, and haue profeſſed that the world is our Countrey, that wee might giue vertue a more ſpacious field to ſhew her ſelfe in. Is the *Tribunall* ſhut againſt thee, art thou not admitted to plead, or to aſſiſt the common Counſels of the Citty? looke backe and ſee what great Nations and peoples are behind thee, neuer ſhall ſo great a part bee kept from thee, that a greater be not left thee. But beware that all this proceed not from thine owne error: for thou wilt not vndertake a publique charge except thou be a *Conſull*, a *Pritanes*, an Embaſſador, a ſupreame *Dictator*. What if thou wilt not be a Souldier except thou bee a Commander or a Tritane? although that others haue the vaunt-gard, and fortune hath put thee in the rere-ward,

doe thy deuoire in that place, fight with thy voyce, thy exhortation, and thy courage. He alſo that hath his hands cut off in fight, findeth ſome meanes to animate his companions, who ſtandeth onely and encourageth them with crying. So muſt thou doe if fortune hath drawne thee from the firſt ranke of publique charge, yet ſtand thou and helpe with thy crying. If thy mouth bee ſtopped, yet ſtand; and helpe with thy ſilence. The induſtry of a good Citizen is neuer vnprofitable, for by his hearing, by his ſight, by his contenance, by his becke, by his obſtinate ſilence, and by his very gate, he may profit. Euen as certaine holeſome drugs by their onely ſmell (without either touch or taſt) doe comfort greatly; ſo vertue, whether it be ſowed or locked in it ſelfe, whether it be by authority, or by accident, whether ſhee bee conſtrained to ſcantle her ſailes, or to be idle or mute, confined in a ſtraight, or lodged at large, ſpreadeth a farre and vnperceiued, performeth ſome great and profitable good. In briefe, ſhe ſerueth in whatſoeuer eſtate and countenance ſhee bee conſidered. What? thinkeſt thou that the example of a man that liueth retired and to purpoſe, is of little vſe? I ſay, that it is an act of a ſinguler vertue to know how to forſake affaires, and to repoſe himſelfe, when as the actiue liue being hindered by diuers accidents, or by the condition of eſtate cannot effect his deſignes. For neuer ſee we affaires brought to that extreamity but that a vertuous man hath the means to do ſomewhat that is good. Canſt thou find a Citty more wretched then that of the *Athenians* was, at ſuch time as thirty Tyrants rent it in pieces. They had put to death Thirteene hundred of the moſt nobles and moſt vertuous in the Cittie, and for all that cruelty ceaſed not thus but incenſed it ſelfe, and augmented daily. In that Citie which was adorned with the moſt venerable Counſell of the *Arcopagites*, where there was a Senate and an aſſembly of people worthy of ſo worthy an aſſembly of Senators; there were gathered daily a miſerable troope of murtherers, and a wretched court of tyrants, too ſmall to containe them. Could this Citie be in repoſe wherein there were ſo many tyrants as there were Souldiers? There was not any hope for theſe poore Citizens to recouer their libertie, nor any remedie whatſoeuer againſt ſuch a multitude of miſchiefes. For where is it that this poore Citie might find ſo many *Harmodians*? Notwithſtanding (all theſe miſeries) *Socrates* was in the middeſt of them, who comforted the mournfull Fathers, and exhorted thoſe that deſpaired of the Common-weale, and reproued the rich (who feared their goods) for the ouerlate repentance of their dangerous auarice, and to thoſe that would follow him, beare about a worthy example, whileſt amongſt the thirtie tyrants hee walked confident and free. Yet this man did the *Athenians* murther in priſon, and hee that ſafely inſulted ouer the troopes of tyrants, his libertie could not a free City endure and hearken to, to the end thou mayeſt know, that a wiſe man hath an occaſion to ſhew himſelfe in an afflicted Common-weale; and how in a flouriſhing and bleſſed ſtate many enuie, and a thouſand other diſarmed Citties doe raigne. Howſoeuer therefore the Common-wealth is diſpoſed, howſoeuer fortune permitteth, ſo either may we enlarge or contract our ſelues, prouided alwaies that we be ſtirring, and ſuffer not our ſelues being chained with feare to be dulled and aſtoniſhed. Nay he ſhalbe truely a man who (when as daungers are eminent euery waies, and when as ſwords and chaines thunder in his eares) neither breaketh his fortune, nor hideth it. *Curius Dentatus* was woont to ſay, *That he had rather be dead then liue.* It is the laſt of all euills to depart from the number of the liuing before thou dieſt. But thou art to endeauour, that if thou light on ſuch a time wherein thou canſt not intermeddle with the Common-

weale

weale without danger, to vsurpe more time for thy repose and studie, and no otherwaies then in a dangerous nauigation make saile towards the hauen, neither exspect thou, vntill such time as affaires leaue thee, but dis-ioyne thou thy selfe from them.

CHAP. IIII.

FIrst, therefore we ought to examine our selues; next, what busines we vndertake; lastly, what they are for whose cause wee vndertake them, or with whome wee deale. Aboue all things a man ought to estimate himselfe, for, for the most part in our owne iudgements, we seeme to be able to do more then we can. There is one that looseth himselfe in ouer-trusting his owne eloquence; another hath spent more then his reuenue mounteth to; another hath oppressed his weake body with laborious offices. There are some that are to bashful to entermeddle with ciuill affaires, which require a confident countenance and resolution: some mens contumacy is vnfit for Court; some there are who haue no gouernment ouer their wrath, and euery slight occasion drioeth them to intemperate language; some cannot refraine from iesting, neither can they abstaine from dangerous gybing. To all these, repose is more profitable then businesse: a fierce and impatient man by nature will auoyd the prouocations of harmefull libertie.

The meanes to effectuate this remedy is to flie vaine glorie, foolish bashfulnes, pride, wrath, and follie.

CHAP. V.

NExt of all these things which we vndertake are to bee estimated, and our forces are to be compared with those things which wee wil attempt. For there must alwais be a greater force in him that beareth, then in the burthen. These waights must needs beare him down, that are greater then he is that carrieth them. Besides there are some affaires that are not so great as they are fruitfull, and breed many other businesse, and these are to be auoyded, from whence a new and diuers occasion of trouble ariseth: neither must thou aduenture thither, whence thou canst not freely returne againe. Set thy hand to these things, whose end thou mayest either effect or at least-wise hope. These things are to be left that extend themselues farther then the act, and end not there where thou intendedst they should.

That wee charge not and occupie not our selues aboue measure.

CHAP. VI.

WEE must likewise make some choyce of men, and to consider whether they are worthie on whome wee should employ a part of our life, & whether the losse of our time may be redeemed to our profite. There are some that thinke that wee are bound to doe them pleasure before wee bee desired. *Athenodorus* saith, that he would not goe to supper with him who would not thinke it a curtesie in him to accept the same. I belieue thou conceiuest, that much lesse would hee be inuited by them, who requite their friends curtesies with feasts, and account their

He aduiseth vs to shun the secrets of vngratefull persons, and such as are proud who thinke that all the world is bound vnto the, and feed on nothing but vaine glorie.

their many dishes for a debt, as if they were intemperate to do an other man honour, take from them their witnesses and spectators, they will conceiue no delight in their secret banquets. Thou art to consider whether thy nature bee more apt for publike busines, or for idle study and contemplation; and thether art thou to encline, whether the vigour of thy minde carrieth thee. *Isocrates* being laide holde on by the Ephone, withdrew himselfe from publike pleas, supposing himselfe to bee more fitte and profitable to write histories; for inforced wits neuer satisfie expectation, and the labour is in vaine where nature repineth against it.

CHAP. VII.

A remedy against a troubled mind, is to haue a trusty friend.

YEt nothing will so much delight the mind as a faithful and pleasing friendship: how great a good is it when the hearts are prepared, wherein a man may safely burie all his secrets, whose conscience thou feareſt lesse then thine owne, whose words may terrifie thy discontents, whose counsels can resolue thy doubts, whose mirth may dissipate thy sorrow, and whose countenance may comfort thee? Such friendes as these let vs make choice of as farre as is possible for vs: for vices creepe into vs, and inuade euery one that is neereſt them, and hurt by touching. Therefore as in the plunge wee ought to take heed, lest wee sit by these who are already attainted, and infected with the burning sickneſse, because thereby wee shall incurre danger, and be poisoned with their very breath; so must wee endeauour in the choice of our friends, that wee admit such as are least polluted. It is a beginning of sickneſse to accompany those that are infected: neither will I enioyne thee this to follow and contract friendship with none, except hee bee a wise man; for where wilt thou finde out such a one, whom for so many ages wee haue sought after? but wee are to take him for the best who is the least euill. Scarce couldst thou make a happier choice, hadst thou leaue to seeke for good men amongst *Platoes* and *Zenophons*, or amidst the the troupe of *Socrates* Schollers, or if it were granted thee to reuiew the time wherin *Cato* liued, which as well brought forth many that were worthy to bee borne in *Catoes* age, as many worse then euer were, who were the plotters of many hainous crimes. For their vices need of both sorts, to the end that *Cato* might be the better knowne. Of good, by whom hee might approue himselfe; of bad, in whom he might make triall of his forces; yet especially let such bee auoided, who are melancholy and deplore all things, who, vpon euery occasion are ready to complaine, although his faith and beneuolence be vnfained, yet so distempered a companion, that grieueth and grudgeth at all things, is an enemy to tranquility.

Marks to show and know what friends wee ought to choose.

Who they are that are not to be entertained into friendship.

CHAP. VIII.

The third remedy is now to feare powerty, because the poore haue many aduantages aboue the rich.

LEt vs passe ouer to riches which are the causes of all mens miseries: for, if you compare all things whereat we are agrieued, as deaths, sicknesses, feares, desires, patience of sorrowes, and labours, with those euils which our money ministreth vnto vs, this part will weigh heauiest: wee ought therefore to bethinke vs, how farre lighter

mistranslation p. 642. line 5th.
Read. "Isocrates, laying hands
on Ephorus, (the historian)
him withdrew him from public
pleas, as thinking him better
adapted for the office of a Chronicler"

lighter the ſorrow is not to haue them, then to loſe them, and wee ſhall vnderſtand that pouerty hath by ſo much the leſſe torments, by how much ſhe hath the leſſe matter of loſſe: for thou art deceiued, if thou thinkeſt that rich men do with greater courage endure their loſſes. The pain of a wound is equall both in the greateſt and ſmalleſt ſadnes; *Bion* ſpeaketh very elegantly, ***That it is no leſſe troubleſome for thoſe that are balde, to haue their haires pulled of, then to thoſe that haue but hie lockes.*** Know thou this both in rich and poore, that they haue equall torments; for both of them tolde their money, neither without griefe and ſence thereof could they endure to loſe it. But as I ſaid, it is more tollerable & eaſie not to get riches, then to loſe them, and therfore ſhall you ſee them more merry, whom fortune neuer lookt vpon, then thoſe whom ſhe hath forſaken. *Diogenes* ſaw this, who was a man of a great mind, and endeauoured himſelf that nothing might be taken from him. Call thou this pouerty neceſſity, or want, and impoſe whatſoeuer ignominious name thou liſt vpon ſecurity, I will not thinke this man happy if thou finde me out an other that can loſe nothing. But I am deceiued, if it be not a Kingdome among the couetous, the deceiuers, the thiefe, and lewde perſons, that there is one that may not be hurt. If any man doubt of *Diogenes* felicity, hee may likewiſe doubt of the eſtate of the immortall gods, whether they liue bleſſedly enough, becauſe they haue no fieldes, nor gardens, nor lands for a husbandman to plow vp, nor a great banke of money in the market place. Art thou not aſhamed whoſoeuer thou art that admireſt riches? Behold I pray thee the heauens throne, ſhalt thou ſee the gods naked, giuing all things, hauing nothing. Thinkeſt thou him poore, or like vnto the immortall gods, that hath diſpoiled himſelfe of all tranſitory things. Calleſt thou *Demetrius* more happie who was *Pompies* Libertine, becauſe hee was not aſhamed to bee more richer then his Maſter? Euery day was the number of his ſeruants brought vnto him, as the maſter of an Army to a Generall, who for all his riches ſhould haue long ſince contented himſelfe with two ſeruants, and a leſſer ſeller. But *Diogenes* onely ſeruant ranne away from him, neither thought he him ſo much worthy as to recall him when hee was ſhewed vnto him. ***It were a ſhame*** (ſaith he) ***that Manes could liue without Diogenes, and Diogenes could not liue without Manes.*** Mee thinke hee ſaid, meddle with thine owne buſineſſe Fortune, thou haſt no more power *Diogenes*. Is my ſeruant run away? no, hee is departed free. A family requireth maintenance, men muſt take charge of the feeding of ſo many greedy beaſts, rayment muſt be bought, thiefes hand-ſell preuented; and ſuch as weepe and deteſt, muſt be admitted to ſeruice. Hence, far more happy is hee that oweth nothing but to himſelfe, whom he may eaſily deny: but becauſe wee haue not ſo much ſtrength, our patrimonies be to be husbanded that wee may be leſſe expoſed to the iniuries of fortune, The bodies of meaneſt proportion and who may locke themſelues in their armes, are more addreſſed then thoſe great and vnweeldy bodies, which by reaſon of their length and thickneſſe are expoſed to ſtrokes. The beſt meaſure in riches is that which neither falleth into pouerty, neither is farre eſtranged from pouerty.

A continent ſpeech of Diogenes.

An excellent example to ſhew the aduantages of the poore.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth remedy is to keepe a measure in desire, gathering, possessing & using worldly goods.

AND this measure will bee well pleasing vnto vs, if first of all parcimony content vs, without which neither any riches will suffice vs, neither any proue great enough, especially wheras the remedy is at hand, and pouerty it selfe by the assistance of frugality may conuert it selfe into riches. Let vs accustome our selues to remoue pompe from vs, and to measure the ornaments of our honour by the necessary vse of things. Let our meat appease famine, or drinke thirst; let our desires be appeased by things that are necessary. Let vs learne to walke vpon our owne feete, not to cloath and feed our selues according to euery new fashion, but as the custome of our Ancestors perswadeth vs vnto. Let vs learne to encrease continẽcy, to decrease lasciuiousnes, to temper our excesse, to pacifie our wrath, to behold pouerty with equall eyes, to respect frugality, although wee will bee ashamed to yeeld such remedies to our naturall desires as cost very little, to haue vnbridled hopes, and our mind that dependeth on future things, kept as it were vnder bonds, to behaue our selues so that we require not our riches at fortunes hand, but rather from our selues. So great varietie and iniquitie of casualties cannot (I say) be so repulsed, that many stormes presse not vpon those that rigge forth much Shipping. Our affaires must be drawne into a straight, to the end that aduersities may attempt vs in vaine. And therefore banishments and calamities haue sometimes become remedies, and those incommodities that are most grieuous haue beene healed by lighter, where the mind is disobedient to precepts, and will not be cured by gentle means. But why may not this be profitable? If both pouerty and ignominy, and the ouerthrow of a mans fortunes accompany these: one euill is opposed against another. Let vs therefore accustome our selues to be able to sup without any guests, to be serued with lesse attendants, to be apparelled according to our necessities, and to dwell more retiredly. It is not only in the course of the Circean sports; but also in the Cariers of this life that we ought to retire and contract our selues. And in studies likewise (wherein the charge is most commended) so long will I haue a reason as I haue a measure. To what end serue so many infinite Bookes and Libraries when as their Maister in all his life time can scarcely ouer-read their Tables? A multitude of bookes burtheneth and instructeth him not that learneth, and it is better for thee to addict thy selfe to few Authors, then to wander amongst many. Forty Thousand bookes were burned at *Alexandria*, a worthy monument of kingly riches. Some men may praise this as *Titus Liuius* did, who sayth, *That it was a worke that shewed the magnificẽce and wondrous care of Kings.* But this was not magnificẽce or any other laudable act, but a studious excesse. Nay more, it was not studious, because they had gathered them, not to profit studies, but to shew their pompe, as it falleth out with diuers ignorants, who scarce knowing the letters wherin their slaues are exercised, heap vp books not as instruments of study, but ornaments of their suppers. Let vs therefore gather so many books as may suffice, and collect nothing for ostentation sake. It shall be more honest (sayest thou) to employ my mony herein, then in vessels of Corinth and painted Tables. That is euery wayes vicious where there is ouermuch. Why wouldest thou lesse pardon him that would get reputation by meanes of his Marble and Iuorie, then another that searcheth thorough all Countries to buye vnknowne Authors, and happily such as are reprooued and censured, and doth nought else but

but breath vpon his bookes, and takes no pleasure but in their couers, or in their titles? Thou shalt ordinarily see amongst the most idle, whatsoeuer Orators or Histories there are, and their studies filled vp from the top to the bottome: And at this day amongst the bathes and stoues are Libraries builded, as if they were a necessary ornament in the house. But all these works of learned men excellently written, bound vp, and inriched with their pictures, are bought to no other end but for show and beautifying of wals.

If a great company of bookes be not accompanied with a serious study, and well ordered, that is but a mockerie.

CHAP. X.

The first remedie is to endure quietly the difficulties of a mans vocation, and to accustome himself to beare that pleasures are intermixed with perplexities.

BVt it may be thou art falne into some troublesome and difficult course of life, and ere thou knewst it; some fortune either publique or priuate hath entangled thee, in such sort, as thou neither canst loose or break the bonds. Think with thy selfe, that such as are fettered at the first can hardly beare their shackles or the irons on their legs, but afterwards being better resolued doe suffer the same, and conclude to endure them patiently, necessity teacheth them constantly, and custome easily. Thou shalt find in whatsoeuer kind of life it be, delights, remissions, and pleasures, except thou hadst not rather thinke thy life euill, then make it hatefull. The greatest good that we haue receiued by nature is, that she foreseeing how many troubles we are to endure in this world, hath found out a remedie to lenifie the same, which is custome, which in short time maketh the greatest euils familiar and supportable; no man could endure it if the continuance and sence of aduersitie were as bitter, as it is at the first. For we are all of vs coupled by fortune, some of vs haue a gouldē and easie chaine, some a more base and sordide inthralment. But what skilleth it, what is it? all of vs are enuironed with the same guard, and they that enchaine others enchained themselues. It may bee thou thinkest that the chaine which is tyed to the left arme waieth not as much as that on the right. Some are enthralled by their honours, other some by their base estate. These are made subiect to anothers emperie, others are vassals to themselues; there are some that are confined in one place, others that are arrested by whole charges that are committed vnto them. All our whole life is a seruitude, we ought therefore to accustome our selues to our condition, and no waies to complaine of the same, and to apprehend all those commodities which are about vs. There is no thing so diuersifull wherein an equall mind cannot find some solace. *Cyprian* an ingenious man may write infinite things in the smallest tables, and he that knoweth how to march readily, maketh the straightest aboad habitable that a man may find. Adde reason to thy difficulties, for the hardest things may bee mollified; the straightest layd open, and those things that are most grieuous presse them least that discreetly can endure them. Besides, desires are not to be sent farre off from vs, but let vs suffer them to houer neare about vs, because they endure not to bee restrained wholie. Leauing those things which either cannot be done, or hardly can be atchieued; let vs follow those things that are neare vs, and are answerable to our hopes. Yet let vs know, that all that which outwardly hath diuers appearances is equally light, and inwardly vaine. Neither let vs enuie those that are more highly preferred, those things that seeme most highest are in most danger. They likewise whom aduersity holdeth in suspence shall be more assured by withdrawing pride from those things which of themselues are proud,

proud, and reducing their fortune (as much as in them lyeth) to an humble place and out of danger. There are many that are inforced to remaine in their high degree, from whence they cannot descend but by falling, but yet it behoooueth them to beare witnes, that the greateſt waight they beare vpon their backs is to know, that they are conſtrained to bee grieuous and troubleſome vnto others. That they are not relieued but tyed vnto their charge, and that by iuſtice, clemency, and humane laws, and by a gratious manner of demeanour they prepare themſelues diuers ſuccours and defences againſt the aſſaults of fortune that may happen, by the hope whereof they may bee more aſſured in their feuers. There is nothing that can ſo much exempt theſe men from theſe agitations of the minds, then alwayes to prefixe a certaine limit to their encreaſe, and not to attend till fortune retire them from the ſame, but to take counſell of themſelues, not to attend the extremities. So ſome deſires, but they finite, ſhall acuate their minds, and ſhall not be infinite nor vncertain.

CHAP. XI.

He maintaineth alwayes the doctrine of the Stoickes, and diſtinguiſheth the ſluggiſh from the wiſe, whom he raiſeth aboue all humane fortunes, and deſcribeth him here with his contentments.

THis Diſcourſe of mine appertaineth to ignorant perſons, and ſuch as haue little knowledge, and are of depraued iudgement, not vnto a wiſe man. For hee muſt not walke fearefully or ſlowly. For ſo great a confidence hath he in himſelfe, that hee doubteth not to encounter Fortune, neither will he euer giue place vnto her; neither hath he cauſe at any time to feare her, becauſe not onely he numbreth his ſtarres, his poſſeſſions, and dignities, but his owne body likewiſe, his eyes & hands, and whatſoeuer it be that maketh his life deare vnto him, yea, himſelfe, as things that are hired, and liueth as though hee were but lent vnto himſelfe, ready to reſtore the whole willingly to thoſe that redemand the ſame; neither therefore miſpraiſeth hee himſelfe, becauſe hee knoweth that hee is not his owne, but ſo diligently and circumſpectly ſhall he doe all things, as a religious and holy man is wont to doe with thoſe things that are committed to his truſt. And whenſoeuer hee ſhall bee commanded to make reſtitution, hee will not queſtion with fortune, but will ſay, I giue thanks for that I haue poſſeſſed, and had: It hath coſt mee much to entertaine thoſe things which thou haſt giuen mee. but becauſe thou commandeſt me, I gratefully and willingly reſtore them againe, and if thou wilt haue ought continue in my hands, euen now will I keep it, if thou bee otherwayes minded, I reſtore vnto thee, and redeliuer into thy hands, my money and plate, my houſe and family whatſoeuer. If nature ſummon vs which firſt gaue vs credit, to her will wee anſwere. Receiue a minde better then thou gaueſt me, I neither delay nor hide my ſelfe, I willingly and readily deliuer thee it which thou gaueſt me when I knew it not. Take it to thee; what euill is it to returne to that place from whence thou cameſt? He ſhal liue badly that knoweth not how to die well. Wee muſt therefore aboue all things ſet light by this life, and account our ſoules amongſt the number of thoſe things that are not ours: We hate (ſaith *Cicero*) thoſe skirmiſhers, if in any ſort they deſire to beg their liues, wee fauour them if they pretend to contemne the ſame: Know that the like befalleth vs; for oftimes the cauſe of dying, is to die fearefully: that fortune that maketh ſport for her ſelfe, whereto ſaith ſhee ſhall I reſerue thee wretched and fearefull Creature as thou art? thou ſhalt receiue more wounds and skarres, becauſe thou knoweſt not how to yeeld thy throat: but

The ſeuenth remedy is not to priſe this life, nor that which wee poſſeſſe more then we needs, but to diſpoſe our ſelues courageouſly vnto death, and to whatſoeuer caſualty.

but thou ſhalt both liue longer, and die ſooner, that manfully entertaineſt thy death, not in plucking backe thy necke, or oppoſing thy hands. Hee that ſhall feare death, will neuer doe any thing worthy a liuing man: but he that knoweth that this ordinance of life and death was decreed and preſently ordered in him, at ſuch time as hee was conceiued, he will liue according to the rule and ordinance was prefixed him, and this likewiſe with no leſſe conſtancy of mind will hee performe, that none of thoſe things that befall him, may ſeem ſodain to him: for to foreſee that which is to come, as though it were already paſt, is the meane to repulſe the aſſaults of all neceſſities, which ſhake not theſe who attend them conſtantly, and know that there is nothing new in them: but they oppreſſe thoſe men that make themſelues beleeue that no misfortune ſhall euer ſurpriſe them, and who thinke on nothing but pleaſure and content; for there is no ſodaineneſſe eyther in ſickneſſe, or in captiuity, or in ruine or in fire: For I know well into what tumultuous retreat of dangers nature had locked me: ſo oftimes haue men cried fire and water amongſt my neighbours, ſo oftimes haue the torches and tapers which were carried before the dead bodies of this or that mans children paſt by my dores? Oft haue I heard the noice of high buildings that ſodenly fell downe to the ground. one night hath carried away diuers friends that I had made in the Pallace, in the market place, in company, and hath as it were cut off the hands of thoſe which had promiſed and ſworne fidelity vnto me. Shall I wonder then that thoſe dangers that haue houered ſo long about me, are finally falne vpon me? The moſt part of thoſe that are ready to ſet ſayle, thinke not vpon a ſtorme; for mine owne part in doing well I will neuer bee aſhamed of the danger that may befall mee. *Publius* that had a more vehement ſpirit then either the Tragicke or Comicke Poets had, as often as he had giuen ouer his Mimicke foperies, and ſuch as ordinarily hee vſed to delight the common people: amongſt many other wordes, not onely beſeeming the Comicke but the Tragicke Theame, he vſeth theſe:

The eighth remedy is to remember that all euils that befall vs, and all other men cannot happen, and conſequently to detaine our ſelues in good time.

That which hapned to one man may chance to euery man.

Whoſoeuer beareth theſe words in his hart, & conſidereth how many miſeries his neighbour ſuffereth from day to day, and thinketh that they are intended againſt him, will arme himſelfe long time before hee bee aſſailed. Too late is the minde inſtructed to endure danger when their aſſault is giuen: I would not haue thought that this ſhould haue been I would not haue beleeued that this ſhould come to paſſe. And why not? what riches are there that are not readily attended at their heeles with miſery, famine and beggery? what dignity is there, what ſcarlet robe, what Augures purple garment, what noble mans ſlipper? that is not accompanied with diſgrace, baniſhment, diſhonour, imputation, and extreame contempt? what Kingdome is there, for which ruine, deſolation, tyranny and tormenters are not prepared: neither as theſe diuided by great ſpaces of time, but there is but a moment of an howre betwixt royalty and captiuity. Know thou therefore that euery condition is ſubiect to alteration, and whatſoeuer aſſaulteth one man, may aſſaile thee in like ſort. Art thou rich? what richer than *Pompey*? who after that *Caius* his ancient coſen and new gueſt had opened *Cæſars* houſe to locke vp his owne dores, wanted both bread and water, in ſuch ſort, that hee who poſſeſſed ſo many riuers, that had their courſes and fals within the precinct of his lands, begde for drops of water, and died for hunger and thirſt in his kinſmans Pallace, whileſt his heire prepared a

publike funerall for the ſtarueling. Haſt thou had great honours? what ſo great or ſo vnexpected, or ſo generall as *Seianus*? that very day wherein the Senate conducted him with honour, the people tare him in peeces with fury, and he whom Gods and men had loaden with ſo many honors as could be heaped vpon him, had not a mam nocke left of him for the hangman to faſten his hooke in. Art thou a King? I will not ſend thee to *Cræſus*, who was commanded to mount the pile where hee ſhould bee burned, and whence hee deſcended, hauing recouered both his life and kingdom; neither will I ſend thee to *Iugurth*, whom the Romane people ſaw led in triumph that very yeere wherein he was ſo much feared. We haue ſeene *Ptolomy* King of *Africa*, and *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, amongſt the number of thoſe Souldiers that were of the Emperor *Caligulaes* guard; the one of theſe was ſent into baniſhment, the other wiſhed for it but vnder more faithfull conditions. In ſo great incertainety and mutability of affaires, thou reputeſt not that already done which may bee done; thou giueſt aduerſity power ouer thy ſelfe which hee hath broken whoſoeuer eſpied them firſt. The next after theſe is, that wee labour not in ſuperfluous and vnneceſſary things, that is, that wee neither deſire thoſe things which we cannot attaine, or that hauing attained the ſame, wee feele not ouerlate, and to our great ſhame the vanity of our couetouſneſſe, in fine that our trauell bee not vnprofitable & of no effect, or the effect vnworthy our trauell: for for the moſt part ſorrow and ſadnes ſucceedeth by theſe, if eyther that we expected faile vs, or wee be aſhamed of the ſucceſſe.

For hee was ſlain by the way.

The ninth remedy is to flie vnneceſſary occupations.

CHAP. XII.

The tenth, to flie vaine curioſity.

WE muſt cut off theſe encounters practiſed by the moſt part of men, who doe nought elſe but runne from houſe to houſe from the market place to the Theatre. They entangle themſelues with other mens affaires, reſembling thoſe who ſeeme to bee alwayes buſie about ſomwhat. If thou aske any of theſe that goeth out of his dores: *Whether goeſt thou? what thinkeſt thou?* Hee will anſwere, verily I know not, but I will viſite ſome friend, I will doe ſomewhat. They loyter about to no purpoſe, ſeeking out buſineſſe, neyther finiſh they thoſe that they intended, but thoſe they meet by chance. Inconſiderate and vaine is their courſe, reſembling that of the Antes, which creepe along the ſhrubbes, & now get vp to the toppe, and ſtraight runne downe to the bottome, without ought elſe doing but running. Such a life doe many men lead, and a man may well ſay that they are idle without repoſe. Thou wilt haue compaſſion of ſome of thoſe who runne as it were to a fire, and who ouerturne all thoſe that they meet with, and fall vpon them, for they runne to ſalute ſome man that will ſcarce looke vpon them, or goe to attend ſome ſtranger to his funerall, or to accompany ſome Lawyer: or to honour a Bridall, or to follow ſome Litter, or ſometimes to beare it themſelues: then returning home very weary and toiled into their houſes, thou ſhalt heare them ſweare, that they knew not why they went out, neither why they left the houſe, and notwithſtanding the next day they will idle it after the ſame manner. Let therefore all our labour tend to ſome end, and haue ſome ſcope. It is not induſtry but the falſe apparance of thinges that tormenteth, and diſquiet madde men: for they buſie themſelues not without ſome hope, the exterior beauty of this or that inflameth

meth them in ſteade of taxing their vanity, by reaſon that the ſence is occupied. In like caſe are all they, who goe already to the entent to multiply the number of the people that walke about the ſtreetes, are carried away by vaine and light occaſions; and he that hath nothing to employ himſelfe in, gets him out of dores vpon the day-ſpring, & after he hath knockt at diuers mens dores, whence he hath beene honeſtly diſmiſſed by the Porter, and by others, who haue hindered him from entrance; there is no man with whom hee acquainteth himſelfe more vnwillingly then with himſelfe. On this euill there dependeth a moſt pernicious vice, which is curioſity; ſearch into affaires and ſecrete knowledge of many things that are dangerous, both to bee ſpoken and heard. *Democritus* hauing had proofe hereof, ſaid; *That he that will liue peaceably, ought not to intermeddle with many affaires, either priuate or publike.* Hauing a reference to thoſe things that are vnneceſſary: for if they are neceſſary, there are not many but innumerable things to bee done, both priuate and publike: but whereas no ſolemne office inuiteth vs, our actions are to be reſtrained.

CHAP. XIII.

To what danger they that are curious oppoſe themſelues, and why the Wiſeman is exempt from theſe dangers.

FOr he that doth many things yeeldeth himſelf ſubiect to fortunes power, but the ſureſt way is to make triall of her very little, but to thinke alwayes of her, and neuer to put confidence in her. I will ſayle except ſomewhat hinder me; I will be Pretor except ſome one let me, and my buſineſſe ſhall come well to paſſe except ſome accident croſſe it. This is the cauſe why wee ſay, that nothing befalleth a wiſe man contrary to his opinion; wee ſay not that hee is exempt from the chances of this life, but from the errors; neyther doe all things fall out vnto him as hee wiſheth, but as he thought: and firſt of all he thought that ſomwhat might reſiſt his purpoſes. The ſorrow a man conceiueth, for that hee could not attaine to that which hee pretended, is light, and ſcarſly toucheth the heart when hee promiſeth himſelfe not that things ſhall ſucceed as hee deſired.

CHAP. XIIII.

WE ought likewiſe to accõmodate our ſelues to affaires, without preſuming ouer much of our conceptions. Let vs diſpoſe our ſelues thether whether Fortune leadeth vs, neither let vs feare the charges of our counſels or condition, prouided that leuity tranſporteth vs not, which is a mortall enemy to tranquility: for it muſt needes bee, that obſtinacy is both doubtfull and miſerable from which fortune alwayes extorteth ſomewhat, and leuity much more grieuous, that no waies containeth it ſelfe: both of theſe are enemies to tranquility, both too vnable to change any thing, and vnapt to ſuffer any thing. In all caſualties a man ought to retaine his mind farre from all externall things, and to reflect vpon himſelfe, to prorure that hee truſt in himſelfe, to reioyce in himſelfe, to content himſelfe with his thoughts, to eſtrange himſelfe, as much as he may, from other mens affaires, to apply himſelfe to himſelfe, not to haue any ſence of his loſſes, and take in good part his aduerſities. When *Zeno* the Stoicke vnderſtood that

his ſhip was caſt away, and all his goods drowned, *Fortune* (ſaith he) *willeth me to follow the ſtudie of wiſedome more freely.* A tyrant threatned the Philoſopher *Theodorus* with death, and that his bodie ſhould not be buried. *Thou haſt* (ſaith he) *an occaſion wherein to delight thy ſelfe; thou haſt a pinte of bloud in thy power: For as touching my buriall thou ſhouldeſt be a great foole, if thou thinkeſt that I care whether I rotte aboue or vnder-ground.* *Cannius Iulius* an excellent man, whoſe glorie is no waies diminiſhed, although he was borne in our age, conteſted long time with the Emperour *Caius*; who as *Caius* was departing from him ſaid vnto him, *Leaſt happily thou flatter thy ſelfe with fooliſh hope, I haue commanded thee to be put to death. I thanke thee (ſaid he) worthy Prince.* I know not well what he meant or thought by theſe words, for diuers conſiderations preſent themſelues vnto me. Thought he beſt to vpbrayd him, and to ſhew how great his cruelty was, wherein death was a benefite? Or did he reproach him for his ordinary fury? for they gaue him thankes likewiſe whoſe children were ſlaine, and whoſe goods were taken from them. Or did he willingly entertaine his death as a libertie? whatſoeuer he thought he anſwered worthily. But ſome man may ſay that *Caius* after this might haue granted him life. *Cannius* was not affraid of this: *Caius* faith was too well knowne in ſuch like commands. Thinkeſt thou that hee paſſed thoſe ten dayes without feare, betwixt the day of his ſentence and that of his execution? It is vncredible to be ſpoken what words he ſpake, what he did, and how peaceably he liued during this delay. Hee was playing at Cheſſe at ſuch time as the Centurion who ledde a troope of condemned men to death commanded him likewiſe to be cited. Hauing ſcarce finiſhed his game he counted his men, and ſaid to him with-whom he played, *Beware* (ſaith he) *when I am dead that thou belyeſt me not, and ſayeſt thou haſt wonne the game.* Then nodding his head to the Centurion he added, *Beare me witneſſe* (ſaith hee) *that I haue the vantage of one.* Thinkeſt thou that *Cannius* cared for the man? no he mocked. His friends were diſmaid becauſe they were to looſe ſuch a man. *Why* (ſaith he) *are you ſad? enquire you whether ſoules be immortall? I ſhall know it preſently.* Neither ceaſed he to ſearch out the truth euen vntill his latter breath, and according to his cuſtome to propoſe alwaies ſome queſtion. There followed him a Philoſopher of his own traine, and when he approched neere the place where the toombe ſtood whervpō daily ſacrifice was made to *Diuus Cæſar*. *Cannius* (quoth he) what thinkeſt thou now, and whereon fixeſt thou thy mind? *I am reſolued* (ſaid *Cannius*) *to marke in this moſt ſwift moment of time, if the ſoule ſhall feele that ſhe is paſſing forth.* And he promiſed that if he found out any thing, he would returne to euery one of his friends, and tell them what the eſtate of ſoules were. Behold Tranquillity in the middeſt of a tempeſt; behold a mind worthy of eternitie, which ſummoneth his deſtinie for an argument of the truth, who ſeeing himſelfe readie to deliuer his laſt breath, queſtioned with his departing ſoule, and that will not onelie learne vntill death, but learneth ſomething likewiſe out of death it ſelfe. No man philoſophied longer: But this ſo great a man ſhall not bee obſcured ſo ſlightly, his praiſe ſhall bee carefully eternized, wee will commend thee to euerlaſting memorie. O worthy *Cannius*, the greater part of *Caius* cruell murthers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BVt it profiteth nothing to haue caſt away the cauſe of priuate ſadneſſe. For ſometimes the hatred of mankind poſſeſſeth thee, and a troope of ſo many fearfull ſinnes preſent themſelues, when thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe how rare ſimplicity is, how vnknowne innocency, how fieldome faith, except when it miniſtreth profite, how the diſaduantages of diſſolution are as hatefull as the aduantages, and ambition is ſo exceſſiue and proud, that ſhe cannot containe her ſelfe within her limits, and boaſteth not but in her villanies. The mind is blinded and obſcured, and as if all vertues were ouer-turned, which neither we may hope for, neither is it profitable for vs to haue, darkneſſe ouer-cloudeth all things; we muſt therfore diſpoſe our ſelues, that the vices of the common ſort be not diſpleaſing vnto vs, but rather may ſeeme ridiculous, and rather let vs imitate *Democritus* then *Heraclitus*. For this man as often as he went abroad wept, and the other laught. To this man, all thoſe things which we doe ſeemed miſeries; to that man, tollies: All things therefore are to be ſet light by, and to be endured with a patient mind; for it is more fitting to laugh at life, then to bewaile it. Adde herevnto alſo, that he deſerueth better of mankind who laugheth thereat, then he that bewaileth it: for he leaueth ſome good hope, the other ſo fooliſhly bewaileth it, that he diſpaireth of the recouery therof, and he that cannot abſtaine from laughter, in beholding all that which the world doth, is of a greater mind then the other that ſpendeth himſelfe in teares, when as he meaneth the lighteſt paſſion of the mind, & thinketh that there is nothing great, nothing ſeuere, nor any thing ſerious in this ſo great preparation and ſhow of men. Let euerie one preſent vnto himſelfe the occaſions which may either diſmay or reioyce vs, and he ſhall know that that which *Bion* ſaid is true, *That all the affaires of men are anſwerable to their beginnings, & that their life is neither more holie nor more ſeuere then their deſignes, conceiued onely in their ſoules*: But is better peaceably to behold mens publique manners and imperfection, then torment himſelfe thus for other mens afflictions, and inhumane is that pleaſure that delighteth in other mens euills; euen as it is an vnprofitable humanity to weepe and counterfeit ſadneſſe, becauſe ſome man carrieth forth his child to be buried. In thine own misfortunes likewiſe it behoooueth thee to carry thy ſelfe ſo that thou yeeld ſo much vnto thy ſorrow as it requireth, not as cuſtome demandeth. For many men powre forth teares for a ſhew, and ſo often haue they their eyes dry as they want witneſſes of their ſorrow, iudging it an abſurd thing not to weepe when all men are diſcomforted. So deepe an impreſſion hath this euil fixed in our minds, to depend on other mens opinions, that ſorrow (which of it ſelfe is the ſimpleſt thing) is conuerted into diſſimulation. There followeth another point which is accuſtomed to diſmay and make men penſiue, and not without cauſe, that is, becauſe good men die miſerably. As *Socrates* is compelled to dye in priſon, *Rutillius* to liue in exile, *Pompey* and *Cicero* to yeeld their necks to be ſtrucken off by thoſe whome formerly they had defended, and that *Cato* (the liuing image of vertues) leaning on his ſword ſhould at once looſe his life and his Countries libertie. It muſt needs torment vs to ſee fortune recompence good deſerts ſo vniuſtly, and what now may any man hope for himſelfe, when as he ſeeth the beſt men ſuffer the worſt afflictions? What ſhall be done hereupon? Conſider how euery one of them behaued himſelfe conſtantly, and if they were valiant deſire their

The twelfth remedy is that we ought to deſpiſe all humane things, beare thē contentedly that are impoſed on vs, & laugh with Democritus.

A compariſon betwixt Democritus *&* Heraclitus.

The thirteenth remedy is to thinke, that good men are neither miſerable in their life nor in their death, and that for the ſame cauſe we ought to reſemble them.

their minds, if they perished effeminately and basely, there is nothing lost. Either they are worthy that their vertue should please thee, or vnworthy that a man should bewaile their cowardise. For what is more hatefull then to see great men dying valiantly, to cause other men to be catifes and cowards? Let vs praise him that was so often worthy to be praised, and say; *The more constant, the more happy art thou*: thou hast fled humane casualties, hatred & sicknesse, thou hast left thy prison, thou wert not worthy in thy Gods opinion of an euil fortune, but vnworthy against whom fortune might now do any thing: but those that would retire themselues, and in the instant of death looke backe vnto life, must haue hands laid on them. I will neither weepe for any one that laugheth, or any one that weepeth. The one hath himselfe wiped away my teares; the other hath by his teares effected this, that hee is vnworthy of any teares. Shall I weepe for *Hercules* because hee was burned aliue, or *Regulus*, because his flesh was pierced with so many nailes, or *Cato*, because he couragiously endured the woundes he gaue himselfe. All these men by a light expence of time found out the meanes to make themselues eterned, and by dying attained to immortality. There is yet another great subiect of carefull thoughts that thou disguise and counterfeit cunningly, neither euer shew thy selfe to bee such outwardly, as thou art inwardly, resembling the liues of many, which are tained and fashioned onely for ostentation: for it is a death to stand thus alwaies on our guard, and to feare to be surprised in an other estate then wee are accustomed. Wee are neuer voide of care, as long as this opinion gouerneth vs, & that men estimate our persons as oftentimes as they see vs: for many things fall out which discouer vs in spight of our hearts, and although so retired an obseruation of a mans selfe succeedeth well, yet so it is, that to liue alwaies, thus disguised, doth but afflict and affright the life which would enioy a thousand pleasures if thee were beautified with an open and simple manner of action, and set not a vaile before her manners. True it is that this life is an hazard of contempt, if all things were discouered vnto all men; for some there are that disdaine all that which they approch somewhat neare vnto, and obserue, and better were it to bee contemned by reason of simplicity, then to bee tormented with a perpetuall dissimulation. Yet oughtest thou to keepe a measure, and it importeth thee as very much to be aduised, whether thou liuest simply or negligently; wee ought to retire our selues very inwardly within our selues; for the conuersation of those men that are of different humor from vs, disturbeth those things that are well composed, and renueth affections, and exulcerateth whatsoeuer is either weake or vncured in the mind, yet notwithstanding it is needfull to intermixe solitude and freedome together, in such sort as the one may bee practised neere vnto the other. Conuersation will make vs loue our selues, solitude inciteth vs to goe and find out others, the one will comfort the other, solitude will heale the discontent we haue conceiued against the presse of so many people that we haue met withall, & to frequent with diuers men remedieth that discontent which solitude breedeth. Neither is the mind to be entertained equally in the same intention, but to be reuoked vnto some pastimes. *Socrates* was not ashamed to play with children, and *Cato* made him merry with wine when publique affaires had tyred him, and *Scipio* exercised his warlike and triumphant body in dauncing (not foolishly as men are woont to do at this day with reflu ences and trickes that are more then effeminate) but as the ancients were woont to dance in their sports and festiuall dayes, with a decent and comely behauiour, whilest no dishhonour or reproch might ensue, though he had been

The fourteenth remedy is to vse by-verse.

The fifteenth, to keepe a measure in solitude and conuersation.

The sixteenth to giue some repose vnto the mind, according to Socrates, Cato, & Scipios examples.

beene obſerued by his verie enemies. There muſt ſome remiſſion bee giuen to our minds; for after a little repoſe they will become more better and actiue in all things. Euen as wee ought not to ouerlay our fruitfull lands, leſt by continuall fecundity their heart and forces be ſpent and conſumed; ſo continuall labour ruinateth mens minds, if you ſuffer them to expatiate and delight themſelues a while, they will recouer new forces. Continuall trauell dulleth and blunteth the edge of vnderſtanding; neither to this viciſſitude would the deſire of man bend ſo much, except that ſport and paſtime had ſome pleaſure and naturall content, the frequent vſe whereof taketh away all that which preſſeth and afflicteth our ſpirits. For ſleepe is neceſſary for diſgeſtion, and if a man continue the ſame both day and night, it will be death. There is a great difference betwixt giuing ſome liberty to a thing, and leauing it wholly at random. The Law-makers haue ordained feſtiuall dayes, to the end that men ſhould aſſemble together to entertaine publike ſport, enterpoſing the ſame as a neceſſary temperament and refreſhing of trauelles. And as I haue ſaide, great perſonages allowed themſelues certaine play-dayes in euery moneth, and ſome other neuer paſſed day which was not as it were diuided betwixt trauell and repoſe, ſuch (except I forget my ſelfe) was that great Orator *Aſſinius Pollio*, who gaue ouer all occupations after ten of the clocke; nay more, he would not read ordinarie letters, for feare leſt ſome new affaire might fall out, but hee incloſed all the trauel of the day time, from the morning vntil that howre. Some tooke their pleaſure about twelue of the clocke, and referred ouer thoſe affaires that were of ſmalleſt importance till after dinner time. Our Anceſtors haue forbidden to make any new report vnto the Senate after ten of the Clocke. The Souldier diſpoſeth his Sentinels by howres, and they that returne from ſome voyage of warre, are exempted from night watch. It is a neceſſary thing to giue liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermiſſion, which may ſerue to nouriſh, and reinforce the ſame; Furthermore, to walke here and there amidſt the fields, to the end that hauing free and open aire, hee may bee the more comforted and lightned. Sometimes to goe in Coach, to trauell and change Countries, augmenteth the forces, likewiſe to make good cheare, and to drinke ſomewhat freely more then cuſtome, and ſo farre as wee drowne not our ſelues in wine, but to drowne our cares in it: for wine driueth away cares, ſearcheth the ſecrets of the mind, driueth away all ſickneſſe, and is the remedy of ſadnes; and therefore *Bacchus* the inuentor of wine was not therefore called *Liber*, becauſe of the liberty of his tongue; but becauſe he deliuereth mens minds from the ſeruitude of cares, and maketh them more diſpoſed and forward to attempt any thing. But as a moderation in vſing liberty, ſo a temperance in wine is commendable and wholeſome. It is ſuppoſed that *Solon* and *Arceſilaus* were good drinkers: and *Cato* was taxed for drunkennes: but whoſoeuer reprocheth him in this ſort, ſhall rather proue that this crime of drunkenneſſe is an honeſt thing, then that *Cato* behaued himſelfe diſhoneſtlie. But neither is it to bee done often, leſt the mind ſhould contract ſome euell cuſtome, although at ſometimes a man ought to giue him liberty, and preſent ſome meanes of delight, and lay aſide for a while the ouer ſeuere and ſober maner of life. For if we giue credite to the Greeke Poet.

The order of the ancient Romans in the manner of their liues.

Of the liberty which is ſometimes allowed good minds.

Its ſometimes pleaſure to be mad and fooliſh.

Or *Plato*, He that is in his right wits, looſeth his labour to goe and knocke at the

the gate of the Muſes, or *Ariſtotle*. There was neuer any great wit that had not ſome ſpice of folly; if the minde bee not ſtirred, and as it were mounted aboue it ſelfe, hee can ſpeake nothing highly, nor aboue others. After hee hath contemned vulgar and ordinary things, and that a holy heate hath raiſed him aboue ordinary, then beginneth he to ſing with a mortall mouth, I know not what that is more then humane. As long as hee is in himſelfe, hee can attaine to nothing that is hie and difficult. Hee muſt deſiſt from his vſuall cuſtome, and rowſe himſelfe, and bite the bridle betwixt his teeth, and beare away him that gouerneth him, and carrie him thither whether of himſelfe hee was affraide to aſcend. Thou haſt my *Serenus* theſe inſtructions that may conſerue and reſtore the tranquility of the mind, and make head againſt thoſe vices that dayly ſteale vpon vs, yet know thou that none of theſe are forcible enough for thoſe that ſlight them ouer, but it behoueth the mind which is inclined to fall and erre, to be retained by an intentiue and continuall care.

The meanes how to make all theſe remedies effectuall.

The End of the Booke of Tranquility and repoſe of the Mind.

THE

OF THE CONSTANCY OF A WISE MAN:

OR,

THAT A WISE MAN CANNOT FEELE ANY INIVRIE.

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke betokeneth a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence: in one word it is one of his beſt. It was publiſhed (as I ſuppoſe) about the time of the former Booke which he wrote of Tranquillitie, whereunto they annex this, but vnproperly. The Argument is different, and thus handled. He beginneth with the praiſe of the Stoickes, whoſe Paradox he debateth vpon, That a wiſe man is not affected with iniurie. What then? (ſaid Serenus) Was not Cato touched with contumelious ſtroakes and ſpittings vpon him? From this obiection he entreth into the matter, and yet (ſaith he) he was not affected with iniuries. For he was a wiſe man, and iniurie hath no power ouer a wiſe man: which notwithſtanding (ſaith he) is ſpoken in that ſence, not that iniuries are not offered him, but that he admitteth them not. This worthily handleth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then diuideth he that wherupon he is to debate into two parts, by ſetting downe the difference betwixt Iniurie and Contumelie. Touching the former, he denieth that it is incident to a wiſe man; and as for the laſt he admitteth it not. Of Iniurie theſe are his arguments. A wiſe man ſuffereth no euill, but iniurie is an euill thing: Secondly, Iniurie detracteth and diminiſheth: but nothing is taken from a wiſe man, for he hath all things repoſed in himſelfe and that ſtrongly, as Stilpo. The third. The ſtronger is not harmed by the weaker: and therefore not vertue by malice. Heare it is obected. But was not Socrates vniuſtly condemned? He was ſo, but without his iniuries. They profered it him, hee reiected them by wiſedome. As for example, thou giueſt me venome, and I repreſſe the force thereof by an Amidote: Thou committeſt the crime, and I ſuffer. The fourth argument. Iniury is mixed with iniuſtice, but this befalleth not a wiſe man; Ergo, not the other. The fift argument. No man profiteth a wiſe man; Ergo, no man hurteth him. The ſixt. Iniury is either through hope or feare: but a wiſe man is touched with neither of them. The ſeauenth and laſt. No man receaueth iniury that is not mooued: A wiſe man is not mooued. And in this place is the concluſion of the firſt part, and an exhortation to imprint this leſſon in our minds. The other was of Contumelie, which he explicateth in the tenth Chapter what properly it is, and then driueth he it from a wiſe man.

First,

First, becauſe a wiſe man knoweth his owne greatnes, and therefoe Contumely appertaineth not vnto him, which hath both her name and being from Contempt. Secondly, Proud and inſolent men inferre Contumely; The wiſe man contemneth ſuch men, and therefore this vice is condemned by them. Thirdly, No man contemneth his ſuperiour or his better: but ſuch is the wiſe man. Therfore ſmileth he at thoſe things that are ſpoken againſt him as in banquets at childrens toyes. But what? doth a wiſe man endure all theſe things? doth he not correct and moderate them? yes he doth it ſometimes, as men are woont to checke their children, not becauſe he hath receaued any iniury, but becauſe they haue done it. And hitherto vntill the 14. Chapter he argueth againſt Contumely or iniury onely, now refuteth he them both together. By this argument Security is proper to a wiſe man. It is not if either he entertaine or can admit any of them. The like the Epicures maintain, though not ſo confidently. In concluſion, he aduiſeth vs to reiect diuers ſlight and friuolous things, whereat the common ſort are offended, and to laugh at them leaſt we be derided. His concluſion is how iniuries are to be borne either by him that ſeeketh after wiſedome, or him that hath attained the ſame. The one ſuffereth it with ſome touch of mind, and with ſome reſiſt alſo. The other with both, and like a conquerour chaſeth them before him, and triumpheth ouer them. I repeate it againe; This Booke was written by a man of great mind, let vs confirme our ſelues thereby in this ſo great malice both of times and men.

CHAP. I.

He iuſtifieth the doctrine of the Stoickes, and diſcourſeth their vtiliteſſe in animating men to vertue.

May well ſay (my *Serenus*) there is as much difference betwixt the *Stoickes* and other Philoſophers, as betweene Females and Males, whereas both the one and the other are equally aſſiſtant to the good of humane ſociety; but the ſects of the Stoicks is borne to command, and the other are made to obay. For other Philoſophers handle mens infirmities tenderly and flatteringly, as for the moſt part domeſticall and familiar Phiſitions are woont to doe their ſicke patients, not healing them by the beſt and ſpeedieſt meanes, but by feeding their humors. The Stoickes entertaining a more conſtant courſe, they care not whether their followers find the way pleaſant or no, but labour to pull vs preſently out of danger, and to conduct vs to ſo high a place, which is ſo farre raiſed aboue any humane miſerie, that it ouer-looketh fortune. But the waies whereunto we are called are high and rugged, for who aſcendeth to an high place that keepeth the plaine? yet is not the way ſo difficult as ſome men ſuppoſe. True it is, the firſt entry ouer is ſtony, ſteepy, and ſeemeth vnacceſſible, as they that behold from a farre ſuppoſe, that the Countrey through which they trauell, is wholy of one leuell, and hath neither path nor way, which proceedeth from the great diſtance that deceaueth their ſight, but in drawing neerer and neerer, theſe diuers waies which the error of our eye had confounded, ſeeme by little and little to be diſtinct, and that which happened a farre off to be a ſteepe, prooued afterwards an ordinary path eaſie end to bee mounted.

The occaſion of the queſtion.

When as of late we happened to diſcourſe of *Cato* thou waſt mightily diſpleaſed (as thou art alwaies impatient of iniquitie) becauſe ſo great a perſon as hee was was not ſo well knowen in his time, becauſe (although he were farre more worthy

thy then either *Pompeys* or *Cæſars*) they rancked him lower then the Vatinians, and it ſeemed an vnworthy matter in thy iudgement, becauſe that diſſwading the law they tooke from him his gowne in the Market place, and drew him from the place where the lawes were publiſhed, as farre as the Arke of *Fabius*, by the hands of the ſeditious faction, and for that he endured the cruell reproaches, ſhamefull ſpittings, and other contumelies of the vnbridled multitude. To this I anſwere thee at that time, that thou haddeſt more occaſion to be mooued in the behalfe of the Common-weale, which *Clodius* on one ſide, and *Vatinius*, and other wicked men on the other ſide ſet to ſale, and being blinded with couetouſneſſe ſawe not, that in ſelling their Countrey they likewiſe ſold themſelues.

CHAP. II.

AS touching *Cato* I beſought thee not to trouble thy ſelfe about him, for I told thee that a wiſe man could neither bee iniured by words or deeds : but that the immortall Gods had giuen vs in *Cato* a more liuing example of a wiſe man, then either *Vliſſes* or *Hercules* in former ages. For theſe haue our Stoickes pronounced to be wiſe men inuincible in labours, contemners of pleaſure, and conquerours in all Countries. *Cato* contended not with ſauage beaſts, which Hūntſmen and Peſants are to proſecute and hunt; neither by fire and ſword ſubdued hee monſters; neither liued hee in thoſe times wherein it was thought that one man could carry the whole heauen on his ſhoulders, for theſe old fables are out of credite, and men in theſe daies are better aduiſed. But he waging warre againſt ambition, a monſter of diuers formes, and with the immeſurable deſire of rule (which the whole world being diuided into three parts could not ſatisfie) againſt the vices of a degenerate City, that ſuncke vnder the waight of her owne burthen, ſtood alone and vpheld the decaying Common-weale, as much as one hand could then ſuſtaine, vntill ſuch time as being either rauiſhed or torne from his Country, he accompained long time the ruine that he had ſuſtained, vntill ſuch time that ſuch things (which without hainous crimes could not be ſeparated) were extinguiſhed together. For neither did *Cato* liue after liberty was loſt, neither liberty after *Catoes* death. Thinkeſt thou the people could in any ſort iniury this man, becauſe they either tooke from him the Prætorſhippe or his Gowne, or ſoyled his moſt ſacred head with the excrements of their mouths. A wiſe man is ſecure, neither can hee bee touched with any iniurie or contumelie.

The reſolution of the ſame in a word, the ſubiect whereof which is Cato *is compared with* Vliſſes, *and* Hercules, *whereat we are not to marueil, becauſe the Stoickes haue taken* Cato *as the exemplary image of a wiſe man.*

CHAP. III.

ME thinks I ſee thy mind incenſed, and boiling with anger, and thou art addreſſed to crie out; Theſe are they that leſſen the authority of your precepts: you promiſe great things, and ſuch as neither may bee wiſhed, nor can bee beleeued. Afterwards, after ſo many great words, and when you haue denied that a Wiſe-man is poore, you confeſſe that oftentimes he hath want of a ſeruant, of cloathing, of a houſe, and of meat. Hauing denied that a Wiſeman is a foole, you auow that hee

A reply to this reſolutiō, grounded on the Paradox of the Stoickes.

hee is ſometimes tranſported, and that hee ſpeaketh ſome things vnproperly; in briefe, that hee ſuffereth himſelfe to bee diſtracted thether, whether the violence of his paſſion carrieth him. You deny that a Wiſeman is a ſlaue, and yet confeſſe that hee may be ſould, that hee will doe that which is commanded him, and will ſubiect himſelfe as a ſlaue to all that ſeruice which his Maſter ſhall require at his hands. Thus after you haue braued a long time, you fall into the condition of other men; and there is no difference betweene you but in change of names. I ſuſpect that there is I know not what like in that which you propoſe, that a wiſe-man cannot bee outraged eyther in deed or word. But if theſe be different things; that is, if you ſay, that a Wiſeman cannot be angrie, or cannot be iniuried. For if you ſay that hee endureth the iniurie patiently, hee hath no priuiledge. He pertaketh onely a common good, that is to ſay, patience, which is learned by a cuſtome of hearing, and bearing iniuries. If thou ſaeiſt that hee cannot bee outraged, that is to ſay, that no man will attempt to doe him iniurie: I will giue ouer all other affaires, and become a Stoicke. But my intent is not to dignifie a Wiſe wan with an imaginary honour of wordes, but to lodge him in ſuch a place where no iniury may attaine vnto him. What then? ſhall there bee no man that will attempt or prouoke him? There is nothing ſo ſacred in this world, that meeteth not with ſome ſacriledge. But the gods ceaſe not to be raiſed aloft, although there bee ſome ſo wicked men that will aſſaile a greatneſſe and maieſty, ſo high placed that they cannot hurt or attaine vnto. That thing is exempt from harme, not becauſe it is not ſtroken, but becauſe it is not intereſſed. By this marke I will make thee know a Wiſe man. Doubteſt thou that an inuincible force, although it be aſſailed, is no more aſſured, then that force which is not prouoked, conſidering that there is not any force in thoſe forces that are vnapproued, and that contrariwiſe the conſtancy which deſpiſeth all aſſaults, is iuſtly helde for the moſt certaine? So know thou that a Wiſeman is more to bee eſteemed, becauſe no iniurie can do him harme, then if no man prouoked him any wayes. I will call him a valiant man that is inuincible in warre, that is not aſtoniſhed vpon the enemies charge; who taketh no pleaſure in fatting idleneſſe, nor in the conuerſation of ſuch as doe nothing. I ſay then that a Wiſeman is not ſubiect or expoſed to any iniury whatſoeuer, neither careth he how many darts are ſhot againſt him, ſince hee knoweth that hee cannot bee pierced. Euen as there are certain hard ſtones which Iron cannot enter, and the Adamant will neither be cut, filed or bet to powder, but abateth the edge of theſe tooles that are applied vnto it: as there are certaine things which cannot bee conſumed by fire, but continue their hardneſſe and habitude amidſt the flames; and euen as the rockes that are fixed in the heart of the ſea breake the waues, and although they haue beene aſſaulted, and bet vpon many infinite times, retaine no impreſſion of the ſtormes that haue aſſailed them. euen ſo the heart of a Wiſeman is ſolid, and hath gathered ſuch force that hee is as ſecure from iniury, as thoſe I made mention of.

An anſwere to this reply.

Diuers compariſons to fortifie his anſwere.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

WHat then is there no man that will attempt to doe iniury to a Wiſe man? yes, hee will attempt, but he ſhall not attaine vnto him; for hee is ſo highly raiſed aboue all the attaints of worldly things, that there is no violence whatſoeuer, that can aime his attempts ſo hie, be it your Princes and Monarkes, who haue ſo many engines and ſeruants at their command, ſhould enforce themſelues to hurt him. All their endeauours ſhall bee fruſtrate before a Wiſe man be offended, euen as Arrowes and Bullets that are ſhot into the ayre, mount more hie then our ſight, but they fall backe againe without touching heauen: what doeſt thou thinke that that fooliſh King when hee had darkened the day with the multitude of his arrowes, could hit the ſunne with any one of them? that caſting his chaines into the bottome of the ſea, hee could haue touched or enthralled *Neptune*. Euen as celeſtiall things are not ſubiect to humane hands, & they that ouerturne temples, and melt downe Images, doe no wayes hurt the Deitie: ſo whatſoeuer is attempted eyther crabbedly, immodeſtly, or proudly againſt a Wiſeman, is done in vaine. But it were the better if there were no man that would attempt the ſame. Thou wilheſt the world a thing hard to come by, that is to ſay, innocencie. As touching thoſe that doe the euill, it were better for them that they did it not, but in regarde of him that endureth the ſame; it is no euill for him. I will ſay further, that I thinke that wiſdome diſcouereth the forces of his content, more where hee is barked at and aſſailed, as ſecurity is in an enemies Country, a great argument, of a worthy Generall, and exerciſed Captaine. But if thou pleaſeſt my *Serenus*, let vs diuide iniurie from contumelie. The former of theſe by nature is more tedious, the other more light and diſtaſtfull, onely to thoſe that are delicate, whereby they are not hurt but offended. Yet ſo great is the diſſolution and vanity of mens minds, that ſome men thinke there is nothing more diſpleaſing and tart. So ſhall you finde a ſeruant that had rather bee ſcourged with whippes, then buffeted with ſtrokes, and that ſuppoſeth that death and ſtripes are more tollerable then contumelious words. The world is grown to that folly, that we are not onely vexed with ſorrow, but with the opinion of ſorrow alſo, as children are wont to doe who are affrighted with their ſhadowes, with deformitie of men, counterfeit faces, and are prouoked to teares, when they heare ſome name that they like not, & ſtart at the motion of our fingers and other things, which the weakneſſe of their iudgement makes them redily condemne.

Hee particularly deſcribeth the priuiledges of a Wiſeman, & firſt that the outrages that are done vnto him, touch him not.

The ſecond, that although he is touched, yet endureth he the euill.

CHAP. V.

INiurie hath this intent to harme ſome man. But wiſdome leaueth no place for euill: for there is no euill for her but vice which cannot enter, there where vertue and honeſty dwell; and therfore iniury doth not affect a Wiſeman: for if iniurie be the ſufferance of ſome euill; and a Wiſeman cannot ſuffer euill; there is no euill that appertaineth to a Wiſeman. Euery iniurie is a diminution of him to whom it is offered, & no man may receiue any iniury without ſome detriment eyther in honour, body or in goods, but a wiſe man can looſe nothing: hee

The third, he can neither ſuffer detriment in body or mind, or goods, and therefrre that he can no wayes bee iniured.

hath all his good incloſed in himſelfe; hee no wayes putteth confidence in fortune; hee entirely poſſeſſeth his riches, contenting himſelfe with vertue, which hath no neede of accidentall things, and therefore may neither increaſe nor decreaſe: for hauing attained to the height, there is no place for increaſe. Fortune taketh away nothing but that which ſhee hath giuen; ſhee giueth not vertue, and therefore cannot take it away; vertue is free inuiolable, immutable, aſſured, and ſo hardned againſt caſualties, that ſhee neyther may bee ſhaken or ouercome. Shee holdeth her eyes fixed againſt the moſt dreadfull obiects in this world, ſhee neuer changeth her countenance, whether they preſent her with proſperities, or tempt her with aduerſities. So then a Wiſeman looſeth nothing of that which hee perceiueth is ſubiect to loſſe; for hee is in poſſeſſion of vertue onely, from whence hee may neuer bee driuen, and vſeth other goods as things that are borrowed. But what man is hee that is moued at the loſſe of that which is not his? but if iniurie can attempt nothing which is proper to a Wiſe man, becauſe they are conſerued by his vertue, therfore iniurie cannot bee done vnto a Wiſeman. *Demetrius* named *Poliorcetes*, that is a taker of Cities, hauing brought in ſubiection the City of *Megara*, asked *Stilpon* the Philoſopher if hee had loſt any thing? No (ſaith he) for I carry all my goods with me, and yet his houſe had been ranſackt, his daughters rauiſhed, and his Country ruined: But *Stilpo* got the victory ouer *Demetrius*, and although his Citty were taken, hee ſhewed himſelfe inuincible, yea exempt from all dammage, for hee kept with him the true goods which may well bee laid holde on. But as touching thoſe goods that were pillage and taken from him, hee iudged them not his, but reputed them to be caſuall, and ſuch as followed the becke of fortune, and therefore ſetled hee not his heart vpon them, as if they had been his owne. For the poſſeſſion of all thoſe things that abound externally, is ſlippery and vnaſſured. Bethinke thy ſelfe now, whether either a thiefe, a backbitet, a dangerous neighbour, and enuious rich man, or ſome King broken with olde age could doe him iniurie, from whom warre, and that enemy, who profeſſed a goodly Art, to ſubuert and ſhake Cities, could take away nothing. Amidſt ſo many naked weapons, amidſt the tumult of ſo many outraging ſouldiers; betwixt fire & bloud, and the ſacke of a City, ſurpriſed by aſſault, amidſt the ruine of Temples falling vpon the Gods; one onely man remained quiet and conſtant. Thou art not therefore to thinke that I promiſed thee more then I can performe, for if thou wilt not credite me, I will giue thee ſureties, for thou ſcarcely beleeueſt that there is ſo much conſtancy in a man, or that his minde may be ſo great, except he preſſe forth and tell thee,

The image of vertue confirmed by a ſucceeding and notable example.

CHAP. VI.

TO the end thou mayeſt know (ſaith hee) that a mortall man may rayſe himſelfe aboue all the accidents of this life, may regard with an aſſured eye the paines, loſſes, wounds and ſtroakes, and the hurliburly of infinite calamities that enuiron him, that hee may endure aduerſity, content himſelfe moderately in proſperity, without relying on this, or grudging himſelfe on that, but remayning alwayes like himſelfe in good and euill fortune, not to eſteeme any thing his except it bee himſelf, or in regard of that part of himſelfe which maketh him vertuous: I am ready to proue this vnto thee, and to ſhow thee that vnder this ouerturner of ſo

What profite wee may reape by Stilpons conſtancy & example. The deſcription of a vertuous man.

ſo many Cities, the walles are beaten downe by the violence of his Rammes, the high Towers fall to the ground by the meanes of his Mines, and if hee rayſeth his platformes as high as the talleſt towers, yet notwithſtanding he cannot finde out any engines that may ſhake a heart that is well aſſured. I haue crept out from vnder the ruines of mine owne houſe, I haue paſt thorow fire, flame and ſword, wherewith I was enuironed on euery ſide, I know not whether my daughters are more courteouſly vſed then the reſt of the City, I am old, and alone, ſeeing nothing but acts of hoſtility; on what ſide ſo euer I turne my ſelfe, yet I maintaine that all my goods remaine in ſecurity, I auerre, that I haue all that whatſoeuer was mine before. Thou muſt not thinke *Demetrius*, that I am ouercome, or thou art victorious. Thy fortune hath ouercome mine: I know not what is become of theſe my goods which are ſubiect to loſſe, and change their maſter. As touching my true goods, they are and ſhall be mine, and with me. The rich haue loſt their riches, the voluptuous their liues and minions which they had entertained with the hazard of their honour, the ambitious neither haunt the pallace nor the market-place as before, nor thoſe retreats wherein they made ſhew of their vanities, the vſurers haue loſt their bonds and bookes of account, wherein auarice made drunke with the loue of her ſelfe, imagineth commodities of all ſorts. For mine own part I haue all my goods in ſuch ſort, as no man hath either touched or ſpoyled them in any ſort: Speake vnto thoſe that weepe, that lament, who to ſaue their money, preſent their diſarmed boſomes to naked weapons, that flie with a heauy burthen vpon their backes before the enemy. Reſolue thy ſelfe therefore *Serenus*, that this perfect man, full of vertues both diuine and humane, looſeth nothing: his goods are enuironed with ſolide and impregnable ramparts, whereunto thou wouldeſt in ſome ſort compare the walles of *Babylon*, vpon which *Alexander* mounted, nor the fortreſſes of *Carthage* or *Numantium*, enforced by one onely hand, nor the Capitoll or any place whatſoeuer, how ſtrong and defenced ſo euer it may be. The enemies either haue or might ſet foot therein: but the fortreſſes that defence the Wiſe man, cannot be ſurpriſed, neither feare they fire, they cannot be entred or ſcaled, or vndermiued, they are impregnable like the nature of the gods.

The miſery of thoſe that ſeeke content in corruptible thinges.

CHAP. VII.

SAy not therefore as thou art accuſtomed to doe, that this our Wiſeman is found in no place, we paint not vaine glory in a mans vnderſtanding, neither conceiue wee a *Coloſſus* of counterfeit vertue, but ſuch as wee haue confirmed and approued: wee both haue and will preſent thee: happily ſuch a one is rarely found, no not in many ages; for theſe things that are great and exceede cuſtome and vulgar meaſure, are ſeldome engendred and brought to effect: but I beleiue that *Cato*, for whoſe cauſe wee entred into this diſpute, exceedeth by farre the Wiſeman which is now in queſtion. To returne to my purpoſe, that which offendeth ought to haue more force then that which is offended. But wickednesſe hath not more force then vertue, whereupon it followeth that a Wiſeman cannot be offended, good men cannot be iniured but by euill men, peace and friendſhip is entertained by good men: Wicked men hurt vertuous men as much as they doe one another, if no man can bee harmed, except hee bee more weake

An excuſe of that which he hath propoſed of a wiſe mans vertue.

The fourth priuiledge, the vertuous cannot be iniured by the vicious, but vertue is more powerfull then vice, and eaſily ſubdueth the ſame.

then hee that harmeth him, and the euill men bee more weake then the good, and the good cannot bee offended, but by thoſe that reſemble them not, the wiſe man cannot be offended. For I am not now to remember theſe, that no man is good but a wiſeman. But (ſaiſt thou) *Socrates* was condemned vniuſtly, & receiued iniurie. In this place wee ought to obſerue, that it may ſo fall out, that ſome man may outrage mee, and yet I ſhall not be iniured; asif a thiefe had ſtolne ſomething out of my grange in the Country, and locked it vp in my houſe: he hath robbed mee, but I haue loſt nothing. A man may bee guilty although he hath committed no offence; if he liue with his owne wife, imagining that hee lay with an other mans, hee ſhall bee an adulterer, although his wife ſhall not bee an adultereſſe. Some one hath giuen me poyſon, but hauing intermixed it with my meate, it loſt his force; in giuing me this hee is guilty, although no euill enſue thereupon. He ceaſeth not to bee a murtherer, who hath thruſt his ſword at me, although I haue put by the blow by the benefite of my cloake. All wickedneſſes are accompliſhed in regard of the offence before the miſchiefe bee acted. There are certaine things of that condition, and ſo vnited, that the one cannot be without the other: that which I ſay, I will endeauour to lay open; I can moue my feet, and yet runne not, I cannot runne except I moue my feet: although I am in the water, I can choſe whether I will ſwimme, and if I ſwim I cannot chuſe but bee in the water: ſo is it in this caſe that is in queſtion, if I haue been iniured, it muſt needs bee that the iniury hath beene done: but although the iniury hath beene done, it followeth not conſequently that I haue receiued it: for many things may fall out that may preuent the iniury, euen as the hand that is lifted vp to ſtrike, may bee preuented by ſome accidents: and arrowes that are ſhot, may bee auoided in ſome ſort, ſo may ſome things repulſe and ſtay all iniuries whatſoeuer in ſuch ſort as they ſhall neither be done nor receiued.

CHAP. VIIII.

The fifth, ſince a Wiſe man wãteth nothing, hee can receiue no iniury, for his felicity is comp'eate, a meere Stoicall Paradoxe; the Chriſtian expected a greater comp'ement.

FVrthermore, Iuſtice cannot endure any iniuſtice, for contrary things cannot bee vnited together: but an iniury cannot be done but vniuſtly. It followeth therefore, that a man cannot doe iniury to a wiſe man; neither oughteſt thou to wonder that no man can doe him iniury, ſince there is not any man that can bring him any profite: for a wiſe man wanteth nothing which he can receiue in way of gift, and an euill man can beſtow nothing on a wiſe-man: for hee muſt haue it before he giue it; but hee hath nothing which a wiſeman would bee glad hee ſhould beſtow vpon him. Therefore no man can eyther hurt or profite a wiſe man. As the immortall gods neither deſire to bee aided, neither can be hurt; no more alſo can a wiſe man, who is neighbor to the Gods, and like vnto God, except in this that hee is ſubiect to death. Tending and walking towards thoſe things that are high, gouerned, aſſured, permanent, peaceable, impregnable, gracious, and created for the good of all men; aſſiſting himſelfe and others, hee will couet no baſe thing, he bewaileth nothing becauſe that in all accidents hee dependeth on reaſon, and marcheth with a diuine thought. Hee cannot receiue iniury by any meanes I ſay, not onely in that reſpect, that hee is a man no not from fortune her ſelfe, which as often as ſhee encountreth with vertue, neuer retireth but to her diſaduantage; if wee entertaine that great euill with a willing

ling and conſtant heart, in reſpect whereof the moſt rigorous laws of the world can doe nothing, and the moſt cruell tyrants can doe nothing, wherein fortune ſeeth all her Empiry conſumed. In briefe, if wee know that death is not an euill thing, leſſe cruell ſhall wee deeme an iniurie to bee, more couragiouſly ſhall we endure all other euils, ſuch as are leſſe diſpleaſures, ignominies, baniſhments, the death of our parents and quarrels; for although all theſe incommodities inuiron a wiſe man, yer ſtifle they him not, nay more, hee grieueth not at any of their aſſaults. And if hee patiently endure the iniuries of Fortune, how farre more eaſily ſuffereth hee theſe of the rich and mighty ſort, who are but the inſtruments of fortune.

CHAP. IX.

HE therefore endureth all theſe misfortunes as hee would abide the rigor of the winter, raines, heates, and other accidents, neither iudgeth hee of any man ſo well, that hee imagineth that he did any thing by counſell which is only incident to a wiſe man. The reſt doe nothing with prudence. All their actions conſiſt in fraudes, ambuſhes, and diſordered motions, which the Wiſeman ranketh amongſt caſuall things. But all that which is caſuall aſſaileth and enuironeth vs externally. Remember thy ſelfe likewiſe, that theſe things, by means whereof men endeuour to hurt vs, produce many occaſions of offences. As if a man ſhould wrongfully accuſe vs, or ſuborne ſome witneſſe againſt vs, or if they ſhould diſgrace vs in the preſence of great men, or attempt ſuch other accuſtomed practiſes amongſt men that haue either leaſure or credite. It is likewiſe an other ordinary iniury, if a man take that profit which an other man thought to make, out of his hands, or a reward long deſerued, or an inheritance recouered with much trauell, or the credite of a houſe wherein hee had done faithfull offices. The wiſeman neither liueth in hope nor in feare, but diſburtheneth himſelfe of theſe difficulties. Furthermore, no man is iniured except he be moued, and hee is moued and troubled, as ſoone as he is touched: but an vpright man is neuer vexed, hee brideleth in his extrauagant diſcourſes, he enioyeth a deepe and peaceable repoſe, and although an iniury touch him, and moue, and hinder him, yet is hee not attainted with choller, which groweth from a pretended iniury, and the reaſon why hee is not diſpleaſed, is, becauſe hee knoweth that a man cannot wrong him. Thence proceedeth it, that hee walketh alwayes with an vpright countenance, a merry cheare, poſſeſſed with a continuall ioy, which in ſuch ſort ſtrengthneth it ſelfe, that in ſtead of being abaſhed at thoſe iniuries which men may offer him, and for thoſe diſaſters that may happen in life, hee maketh vſe of theſe difficulties, as meanes to know & make proofe of his vertue. Let vs make profite I beſeech you of this diſcourſe, and let vs liſten attentiuely both with heart and eare, how a Wiſe man behaueth himſelfe when he is outraged, although that for all this wee are not ſo well aduiſed, as to cut off any thing of our wantonneſſe, of our violent couetouſneſſe, nor of our pride and arrogancy. The Wiſeman ſeeketh this liberty without medling with your vices, neither is it a queſtion here, whether it bee lawfull for you or no to doe iniury; but how a Wiſeman beareth all iniury, and continueth firme, patient, and confident in courage. In this ſort haue diuers borne away the palme in combates and exerciſes, when by their inuincible patience they

All iniuries to a wiſe man are but as colde and heate, raine and ſickeneſſe.

The ſeuenth, he brideling in his paſſions, iudgeth of euill otherwaies then paſſionate men doe, and conuerteth all to good.

they had wearied the hands of thoſe that ſtroake at them. Suppoſe our Wiſeman to be one of thoſe men, who by long and conſtant exerciſe haue recouered the force to endure and weary the force and aſſaults of their enemies.

CHAP. X.

The eighth, that all complaints of thoſe that ſuppoſe themſelues iniured, are ſo vild and vnworthy, that it were a diſgrace for a Wiſeman to thinke that he ſhou'd be moued at ſuch things.

SInce we haue diſcourſed vpon the firſt part, now let vs deſcend vnto the ſecond; in which, by ſome perticular reaſons, and by diuers common, wee will confute that opinion men haue of contempt and contumely. Contumelie is an iniury ſo ſmall, as no man either complaineth or reuengeth himſelfe, therfore neither do the lawes themſelues prefixe any penalty thereunto. This paſſion is mooued by a certaine baſenes of the hart that is diſpleaſed, for ſome either diſhonorable deed or word. As for example. This Lord hath not giuē me audience to day, yet hath admitted an other. He hath careleſly turned his head aſide when I ſpake vnto him, or hath mocked me before all men: In ſtead of placing me at the vpper end of the table, he hath ſet me below. What ſhall I call theſe complaints (or ſuch like) but vomitings of a ſicke ſoule whereunto they are ſubiect, who are ouer delicate, and ſuch as liue too much at their eaſe; for I haue no leiſure to note theſe in particulars, when as worſe doe follow. Our minds weakned, and made effeminate by too much repoſe, and become inſolent for want of knowing what true iniurie is, are mooued at ſuch things which (for the moſt part) proceede from this, becauſe hee that either ſayth or doth them vnderſtandeth not himſelfe. By meanes whereof, the other that is mooued and paſſionate, pretending to bee iniured, ſheweth himſelfe to be a man both heartleſſe and witleſſe. For vndoubtedly hee ſuppoſeth himſelfe to bee contemned, and this miſpriſion of his proceedeth from nought elſe but his baſe, vilde, and abiect courage. But a wiſe man is contemned by no man, he knoweth his owne greatneſſe, hee is reſolued that no man (except himſelfe) can attempt any thing to his aduantage or diſaduantage. And as touching all theſe miſeries (or rather diſtractions of the mind) ſo farre is hee from not ouercomming them, that he feeleth them not. There are other croſſes likewiſe, although they ouerthrow him not, as paines and weakneſſe of body, loſſe of friends, and children, ruine of Countries afflicted by warre. I deny not but a wiſe man hath ſome ſence of theſe euils, for wee ſay not that he is hard and ſtupide, like a flint or as a barre of Iron. There is no vertue that hath not a ſence of that which ſhe ſuffereth.

CHAP. XI.

The ninth. Although he feele the ſtroakes he hath a remedy at hand, whence followeth his cure which deſerueth not this name; conſidering that the hurt is rather an imagination then any other thing, if we conſider thoſe who pretend to doe thee wrong.

WHat is it then? I confeſſe that a wiſeman receiueth ſome ſtroks, but he rebateth them, he healeth them, and maketh them without effect: as for theſe that are leſſe hee feeleth them not, neither vſeth he his accuſtomed vertue, conſtancy & patience, in reſpect of theſe, but either he marketh them not, or thinketh them worthy of deriſion. Beſides, wheras the greater part of contumelies are offered by proud and inſolent men, and ſuch as know not how to carry their good fortune: the wiſe man hath a meanes to deſpiſe that ſwolne affection, which is the conſtancy and greatnes of his mind, which is the greateſt of all vertues, the which paſſeth ſwiftly

ſwiftly aboue all theſe vanities, as vaine appearances of dreames and nightly viſions, which haue nothing ſolide or true in them. He thinketh likewiſe that all other men are ſo baſe, that they haue not ſufficient courage to contemne that which is ſo highly raiſed aboue them. Contumely is ſo called of contempt, becauſe he that outrageth another doth it but in contempt. But no man contemneth his better or him that is more excellent then himſelfe, although hee ſay, or doe ſome thing which contemners are accuſtomed to do. For young children, ſtrike their parents on the face, and an infant hath towſed and torne his mothers lockes, and ſpit vpon her, and diſcouered ſuch things in the ſight of the ſeruants which ſhould haue been hidden, and hath not abſtained from diſhoneſt and diſorderly ſpeeches, and yet none of theſe doe wee call contumelies. And why? becauſe they doe it not in contempt. The ſame is the cauſe why wee beare with the vrbanity of our ſlaues, and take delight to heare them ieſt at their maſters, and after they haue gibed at them firſt, they haue liberty to taunt others that are at the table, the more contemptible and ridiculous a man is, the more liberty hath hee of his tongne. There are ſome men that buy wanton children, and animate them in impudency, and giue them maſters to teach them to ſcoffe and bite at euery man, as if they had but recorded their leſſon, neither call wee theſe contumelies but merry ieſts.

CHAP. XII.

BVt what folly is it now to bee delighted, and ſtraight again offended with the ſame things? and to call that a reproch which is ſpoken by a friend; and a better ieſt that is vttered by a ſeruant? The ſame mind that wee haue towards children, the ſame hath a wiſeman towards all men, who after their youth are become childiſhly old. Can a man terme thoſe old men otherwayes then infants, whoſe minds are depraued, and errors encreaſed, and who differ in nothing from children, but in the bulke of their bodies, and outward formes, but are no leſſe inconſtant and vncertaine, and deſirous of pleaſure, without choice, fearful and quiet, not in mind, but for feare? neither therefore will any man ſay, that there is a diffetence betwixt them and children, becauſe the one is couetous of checkeſtones, nuts and ſmall money, the other, of gold, ſiluer and Cities. Children make Princes and Iudges, amongſt themſelues, counterfeit Senators, and with ſtaues and peeces of wood repreſent ridiculouſly the enſignes and markes of iuſtice. Theſe play the like ſports in good earneſt in the field of *Mars* in the Market place, and in the Senate. Children ſitting by the riuers ſide, make them houſes of ſand. Theſe as if buſied about ſom great mater, are occupied in ſtones, in walles, and building houſes, and haue made thoſe things dangerous which were inuented for the conſeruation of our bodies. So then both the young and olde are infants, but the one are more aduanced in beaſtlineſſe, and more fooles then the other. And therefore vpon good ground the wiſe man taketh pleaſure and paſtime in the outrages of theſe great Infants, and ſomtimes he chaſticeth them as children, not becauſe he hath receiued iniury, but becauſe they haue done it, and to the end they ſhould doe it no more; for ſo are wild beaſtes tamed by ſtrokes, neither are wee angrie with them, becauſe they caſt their rider, but we ſtroke them and cheeke them with the bit, to the end that by managing them wee may make them tame. Know therefore that this is anſwered which

The tenth, He eſteemeth the iniuries that are offered to him by the vicious as ſlightly as he would the words of children, which know not what they ſay. A compariſon betwixt yong & olde fooles of the world.

Why a wiſe man ſometimes chaſticeth thoſe that offend in deedes or wordes.

which was opposed against vs, why a Wise man if hee hath neither receiued iniury or contumelie punisheth those that did the same: for he reuengeth not himselfe, but punisheth them.

CHAP. XIII.

In this place hee answereth some questions, and the first is why the Wiseman suffereth the insolency both of young and old.

BVt why is it that thou thinkest not that the same infirmity of of mind attendeth a Wiseman, when thou mayest obserue the same in others, though not vpon the same cause: for what physition is angry with a lunatike person, who will interprete a sick mans reproches to the worst, that is vexed with a feuer, and is forbidden to drinke colde water? The same affection hath a Wiseman towards all men, as the Physition hath towards his sicke Patients, who disdaineth not to handle their priuities, if they haue neede of remedy, nor to see their vrines and excrements, nor to heare the outrages which feare maketh them to vtter. The wise man knoweth that all these which iet in their gownes, or are apparelled in purple, who, although they are well coloured and faire, are sicke and diseased: whom in no other sort hee looketh vpon but as intemperate sicke men. Therefore is hee not angry with them, if during their sickenesse they haue beene so bold as to speake iniuriously against him who would heale them; and as hee setteth light by all their honours, so tormenteth he himselfe as little with their despight and insolencies. Euen as he taketh little pleasure, if a begger do him honour, no more will hee iudge it a contumelie, if the basest companion returne him not the like when hee hath saluted him; so will hee neither waxe prouder, if many rich men doe him honour; for hee knoweth that they differ nothing from beggers, nay that they are more wretched then the other, for the one neede little, the other much. And againe, the wiseman will not bee moued, if saluting the King of *Medes*, or *Attalus* of *Asia*, hee passe by him without speaking, and with a disdainefull countenance, for hee knoweth well that hee hath as little cause to enuy such a Princes state, as the condition of him that in a great famine, hath the charge to keepe and ouersee the sicke and mad men. Shall I bee angry if one of those who negociate in the market place neere to the Temple of *Castor*, or that make it their traffique to buy slaues, and who haue their shoppes filled with a troupe of base slaues, saluteth mee not by my name, not as I thinke, for what goodnesse is there in him, vnder whom there are none but euill men. Therefore as he will neglect this mans humanity, or inhumanity; so will hee doe a Kings. Thou hast vnder thy gouernements, both *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Bactrians*, but such as thou containest by feare; neither darest thou lay by thy bowe, by reason of them who do nothing in regarde of thee, whom thou must handle as slaues, but such as desire likewise to bee rid of thee, and seeke for a new Lord. So then a wise man is not offended at any mans iniurie, and although that one is not of the same reckoning as others, yet hee esteemeth them alike, because they are no lesse fooles the one as the other: now if but once hee embase himselfe, so farre as either hee bee moued with iniury or contumely, hee can neuer be secure, but security is the proper good of a wise man; neither will hee endure that by reuenging the contumelie that is offered him, he honour him that did the same: for it must needes be, that hee whosoeuer is displeased for an iniurie that is done him, will likewise be glad to be honoured at his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

The ſecond, whence it commeth that hee confeſſeth readily the faults both of the one and the other.

THere are ſome men that are poſſeſſed with ſo great madneſſe, that they thinke that a woman can offer them outrage, what matters it how rich ſhee be, how many vaſſals ſhee haue to carry her letters; what though her eares are laden with pendants, and her chaines be large and ſpacious; yet all of them alike are impudent creatures, and except ſhee bee endowed with much ſcience and learning, ſhee will bee cruell and incontinent in her deſires. There are ſome are much vexed, becauſe they haue beene repreſſed by ſome Ladies Groome, that helpes to make her ready, and call it contumely, if a Porter be ouer curriſh, at the pride of the Clerke of Checke, and the loftineſſe of a groome of the Chamber. O how much are wee to laugh at theſe toyes? with how great pleaſure is the mind to bee filled, when a man beholdeth his owne quiet amidſt the tumult of other mens errors? what therfore? ſhall not a wiſe man be bold to approch the gate where there is a crabbed & froward Porter? if any affaires of importance ſhall command him, he ſhall attempt and appeaſe rhe Porter whatſoeuer hee bee, in giuing him ſom preſent, as we are wont to giue bread or meat to a dog that barketh; in briefe, hee will not diſdaine to diſburſe ſome thing to enter, remembring himſelfe that there are certaine bridges which a man cannot paſſe ouer without paying towle; and therefore hee giueth ſome money to this Towle-man or that Porter, for hee knoweth how to buy that which is to ſell, contrariwiſe that man hath a baſe mind that boaſteth that hee hath ſpoken freely to a Groome of the Chamber, that hee hath broken his ſtaffe, that hee hath gotten acceſſe to his Maſter, and cauſed the Varlet to bee beaten. He that contendeth maketh himſelfe an aduerſe party, and vaunting that hee hath ouercome, maketh himſelfe equall: but what ſhall a wiſe man do if hee bee buffeted? that which *Cato* did at ſuch time as an enemy of his gaue him a boxe on the eare, he entred not into choller, neyther reuenged he that inſolencie. True it is that hee pardoned not the iniury, but hee denied that hee had receiued it: hee ſhewed himſelfe more couragious in proteſting that hee was not moued, then if he had pardoned him that ſtrucke him. Wee will ſtay no longer on this point; for who knoweth not that in matter of theſe thinges which a man ſuppoſeth either good or euill, a Wiſe mans opinion is different from all other men, hee reſpecteth not what they repute eyther villanous or miſerable, he followeth not the common tract, but as the ſtarres are retrograde in their courſes, ſo carries hee himſelfe in a faſhion which is contrary to all others.

CHAP. XV.

The fourth, what is the reaſon why a wiſe man is ſo patient.

CEaſe therefore to demand whether a wiſe man ſhall bee outraged, if hee be ſtrucken, if his eye be pulled out, if baſe fellowes exclaime againſt him in the open ſtreet; if at a Princes banquet he be placed at the lower end, and ſet to eate amongſt the grooms, if hee be conſtrained to endure all the indignities and deſpightes that may be done to a man of honour. Theſe inſolencies eyther great or little, ſhall appeare vnto him of one nature: if the ſmaller touch him not, no more ſhall

ſhall the greater, if a little moue him not, a great deale ſhall not ſtirre him. But you meaſure a great mind according to the extent of your owne weakeneſſe, and conſidering onely how farre your patience doth extend; you thinke you doe very much, if you allow a wiſeman ſome further terme and limit of patience then you allow your owne. But his wiſdome hath placed him in other confines of the world, that haue nothing common with you. Therefore if croſſes, incommodities, and aduerſities, which both the eye and eare abhorre, preſent themſelues on euery ſide, and in great number: he ſhall not be diſmaied therat, aud as he croſſeth euery one of them, ſo ſhall he make head againſt all together: hee deceiueth himſelfe, that a Wiſe man may ſupport one thing and not another, & who will cloaſe his magnanimity in certaine bounds, except we manacle and tie fortunes feet and hands, ſhee will treade vs vnder foote; neyther thinke thou that this is onely a Stoicall auſteritie; for the Epicure whom you haue made choiſe of for a patterne of your idleneſſe, and whom you ſuppoſe to be the Maſter of delights, idleneſſe, and meere paſtime, ſaith that fortune ſeldom times viſiteth a Wiſe man. How neerly vttered he a manly ſpeech; Wilt thou ſpeake more brauely, and wholly driue away fortune? Conſider that a Wiſemans houſe is narrow, without pompe, without noice, without decking without Porters who giue or refuſe entry to goers out or in; but although the gate bee not kept by any man, yet fortune ſetteth no foot therein; knowing well that ſhee ſhall not be entertained there where ſhee hath no credite at all, but if the Epicure himſelfe who hath giuen his body all the pleaſures that he can imagine, diſgeſteth iniuries: is there any occaſion to thinke it incredible, extraordinary, and aboue nature, which the Stoickes pretend. The Epicure ſaith, that a Wiſe man ought to endure iniuries, but we ſay that a Wiſe man cannot be iniured.

CHAP. XVI.

To manifeſt that which is paſt, ſhee ſheweth what he intendeth by the word iniury.

NEither haſt thou cauſe to conclude that this repugneth againſt Nature. We doe not deny but that it is an incommodious thing to be beaten, to bee enforced and to be maimed in ſome member, but we deny that theſe are iniuries. We take not from them the ſenſe of paine, but the name of iniury which cannot be admitted without empeachment of vertues reputation. Let vs conſider which of theſe two opinions are to be admitted. Both of them concent in the contempt of iniurie. Askeſt thou me wherein they differ? Such there is as between two ſtout ſword players whereof the one diſſembleth his wound and ſtandeth on his guard; the other, looking backe at the people that cry out maketh ſhewe that it is nothing, and will not endure to haue them parted. You muſt not therfore thinke that the difference is ouer great. But there is an other point that properly concerneth vs. Theſe two examples teach vs to contemne iniuries & outrages, the which I cal ſhadows & ſuſpitions of iniurie to contemn which we ought not, to ſeeke out a wiſe man, we need but a wel aduiſed man that may ſpeake thus vnto himſelfe; whether doe theſe thinges befall mee deſeruedly or vndeſeruedly; if deſeruedly, it is no contumely, it is but a correction; if vndeſeruedly, let him bee aſhamed, that deales vniuſtly; and what is that which is called contumelie? Hee ieſteth at me, becauſe I ſhake my head, becauſe I haue weake eyes, becauſe I haue little legges, and am of a low ſta-

How a man ought to interprete thoſe things that are ſpoken by an other.

ture.

ture. Is this an outrage, if a man tell me that which euery man ſeeth? wee laugh at any thing that is ſpoken in the preſence of one; wee are angry, if it bee before many; and wee leaue not then men liberty to ſpeake that which we our ſelues will ſay our ſelues: wee are delighted with temporate ieſts, and are diſpleaſed at thoſe that are immoderate.

CHAP. XVII.

How vainely we flie from the precepts of the wiſe, and are beſotted on triſles, and faine iniuries in our owne imaginations.

Chryſippus ſaith, that a certaine man was much diſpleaſed becauſe an other man called him ſheepes-head. Wee ſaw *Fidus Cornelius Naſoes* ſonne in law ſtand weeping in the Senate houſe, becauſe *Corbulo* had called him pilde Auſtrich. Againſt other reproches wounding both his manners and life, he carried alwayes a ſetled countenance; but vpon this ſo impertinent a ieſt, hee could not abſtain from teares; ſo great is the infirmity of our minds when reaſon is abſent: for example, wee are offended, if any man counterfeit our ſpeech, our gate, or any imperfection either in our body, or in our tongue: as if they ſhould waxe more notorious by an other mans imitation, then our owne action. There are ſome that cannot endure to bee called olde, gray head, or other ſuch names, whereunto many are deſirous to attaine. Other ſome haue beene diſpleaſed, if they haue beene called poore; but hee truely calleth himſelfe poore that concealeth his pouerty. The true meanes to cut off all thoſe ſcoffers and ieſters is, if thou thy ſelfe preuent them, and obiect againſt thy ſelfe, all that which they coulde ſpeake againſt thee. Whoſoeuer laugheth at himſelfe, firſt cutteth off other mens ocations to laugh at him. It is ſaid that *Vatinius* who was a man borne to be laughed at, and hated was of himſelfe a pleaſant and talkatiue Companion. This man ieſted much at his owne gouty feet, and his ſwolne chaps; ſo eſcaped he the deriſion of his enemies, and eſpecially the bitter ieſts of *Cicero*, who were in number farre more then the ſickeneſſes that had ſeized him: if *Vatinius* a ſhameleſſe fellow could doe this, by meanes of his bitter ſpeeches, who had learned impudence by his continuall ieſting, why cannot he doe it, who by honeſt occupations of the mind, and exerciſes of wiſdome, hath attained to vertue? Adde hereunto, that it is a kinde of pleaſure to pull from an outragious man the pleaſures which hee taketh in ſpeaking or doing euill. Theſe men are accuſtomed to ſay; *Wretch that I am, I thinke hee vnderſtood not*? ſo is the fruite of contumelie in the ſence and indignation of him that ſuffereth. Moreouer, he will one day bee met withall, and ſome one will light vpon him that ſhal reuenge thine iniury.

CHAP. XVIII.

The end of inconſiderate mockers, they ſee a mote in their neighbours eye, but will not ſpie a beame in their owne.

Amongſt all other vices, wherewith *Caius Caligula* was repleniſhed, it is reported of him that he was a great mocker, who dayly had a fling at other mens faults, where himſelfe was a bountifull ſubiect of laughter: For his countenance was pale and deſormed, betokening his melancholy fury, his eyes ſunke and buried vnder his old and beetle browes, his head bare in diuers places, a tuft of curlde and thicke haire about his necke, his legges ſmall, his feet plat and vnmeaſurably

rably broad: but I ſhould neuer make an end, if I ſhould ſpecifie euery particular, wherein he reproached his fathers and grandfathers, and in generall all ſorts of men. I will onely relate thoſe which were the cauſe of his deſtruction. Amongſt his eſpeciall friends, was *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a man of a fierce mind, who could ſcarſly diſgeſt thoſe contumelies that were offered to a ſtranger. To this man did hee obiect at a banquet, and afterwards with a loude voyce in an open aſſembly, the motions and faſhions of his wife, at ſuch time as he accompanied and lay with her. Good gods that the husband ſhould heare this, and the Prince ſhould know it, and that liberty of ſpeech was ſo vnbrideled, that he ſhould diſcouer, (I ſay not to one that had been Conſull, I ſay not to his friend, but) to her own husband the adulteries of his wife, and how his luſts were ſatisfied. *Chæreas* the Tribune of his Souldiers had no ready ſpeech, and hadſt thou not knowne him by his deedes, thou wouldſt haue ſuſpected him to bee an effeminate fellow. To this man when he came to fetch the watch word at *Caius* hands, he ſometimes gaue him the name of *Venus*, ſometimes of *Priapus*, reproaching in one or other ſort this warlike man, who made profeſſion of armes, that hee was effeminate, and that it was he to whom the name appertained to be painted, ſocked and decked with bracelets: he therefore enforced him to vſe his weapon, leſt he ſhould bee often enforced to fetch his Watch-word from him: hee was the firſt amongſt the conſpirators that lifted vp his hand; hee it was that cut his necke halfe off at one ſtroke; and afterwardes hee receiued diuers other ſtabs and ſtroakes at their hands, who reuenged their publike or priuate iniuries: but he whom *Caligula* leaſt ſuſpected, was the firſt that ſhewed himſelfe a man, and yet the ſame *Caius* who tooke all thinges for iniuries and outrages, could himſelfe endure nothing, though here moſt deſirous to offer all: he was angrie with *Herennius Macro*, becauſe hee had ſaluted him by the name of *Caius*; and hee cauſed a Centurion of the firſt Legion to be ſeuerely puniſhed, becauſe hee named him *Caligula*; yet was hee vſually ſo called, becauſe hee was borne in the Campe, and was wont to bee called the infant of the Legions: in briefe, the Souldiers knew him not by any name ſo well, as by that: notwithſtanding in the end hee tooke this word for a reproch and outrage: let this therfore be for our comfort, that although our frailety omitteth reuenge, yet will there bee ſome one who will reuenge vs on an audacious, proud and iniurious enemy; which vices are neuer conſumated in one man, or in one contumelie: Let vs conſider their examples, whoſe patience we prayſe, as that of *Socrates*, who tooke in good part the taunts and reproofes which the Poets and Players publiſhed againſt him, and laught no leſſe then when his wife *Zantippe* powred foule water on his head: but *Iphicrates* being reproued becauſe his mother was a Barbarian, and a Thracian, anſwered, that the mother of the gods was borne on the mount of *Ida*.

See Suetonius *and* Liuie *in the life of* Caligula.

Imply that the true reuenge belongeth to God, and patience by his example to a wiſe man.

CHAP. XIX.

To auoide ſtriſe, is a remedy againſt trouble, and there is no better wiſdome then to bee prepared and conſtant againſt all incumbrances.

WEe are not to fall to brawles or debates hereupon, let vs returne our ſelues farre from theſe, and neglect thoſe errors which the imprudenter ſort commit: for none but imprudent men will commit the ſame: both honours and publike iniuries are to be eſteemed alike, neither let vs grieue at the one, or reioyce at the other: otherwiſe wee ſhall omit many neceſſary things through the apprehenſion

sion or distast of contumelies; neither shall wee execute eyther publike or priuate offices, no not these that are most necessary, whilest effeminate care troubleth vs, for feare wee should heare something against our minds, and sometimes being displeased with mighty men by our intemperate liberty, we should discouer this affection: but it is no liberty to suffer nothing; wee are deceiued: this is liberty, when we oppose a resolute mind against iniuries; when a man getteth a habitude that breadeth all pleasure, estranging from himselfe those things which are without vs, for feare, lest being afraid of the laughters and disgraces of the world, we drowne not our life in a continuall disquiet: for what man is he that cannot iniurie an other, if euery man may: but a Wiseman & he that is a follower of wisdome will vse an other remedy: for to those that are imperfect, and who as yet conforme themselues to the iudgement of the people, wee ought to propose that they are to liue amongst iniuries and outrages: All things are light vnto those that expect them: the more greater a man is, the more generous, renowned and rich, the more ought he to shew himselfe confident and couragious, not forgetting this, that the braueſt Souldiers are set in the formost rankes; let him endure opprobrious words, ignominies and other disgraces as the cries of his enemies, as arrowes shot from a farre, and stones that rattle about the Helmet, without wounding; and let him sustaine iniuries, neither deiected nor moued from this place, as strokes inflicted on his armor, or infixed in his breast: although thou be oppressed, and the enemy presse thee neerely. It is a base thing to giue place, maintaine that place which nature hath assigned thee: Askest thou me what this place is? that of a mans. The Wiseman hath an expedient contrary thereunto: for you are in the conflict, he hath gotten the victory: resist not your owne good, and till such time as you haue attained the truth, nourish this hope in your hearts; assure your selues boldly of some better thing, presse forward to attaine it with hope and honest desire; it is for the profite and aduantage of the whole world, that there is some one inuincible, that there is some one, ouer whom fortune hath no power.

The End of the Booke of the Constancy of a wise man.

OF THE SHORTNES OF LIFE,

WRITTEN

BY

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO

PAVLINVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe time wherein this Booke was written is vncertaine (except it were after CAIVS gouernment;) but for the goodnesse thereof it is not to bee doubted. O subiect of an excellent and profitable Argument. The Argument is, that our Life is not short, but that wee make it short, eyther by not vsing it, or by abusing it, or vainely vsing it: this deduceth hee thus: First, wee are bondslaues to vices, wherein wee consume and loose our yeares: Secondly, wee are vnprofitably busied in triuiall matters, and such as wee call offices: Thirdly, wee sinne eyther in opinion or presumption, and this maketh that life short which wee thinke to bee long; we despise things present, we dispose the future, as though wee had them in great and assured abundance: and for the most part wee are intangled with vaine or forraine pleasures, and loose our liues as it were in sport: such as this vntill the tenth Chapter; thence diuideth he time into three parts, into that which is past, into the present, and into the future, and teacheth vs how euilly and foolishly wee behaue our selues in euery one of them: hee inueigheth against fruitlesse occupations, against delights, against excesse, against idle retirements, and superfluous study of knowledge. Hence he discourseth pertinently; and would to God hee might eyther allure or change the learning louers of this time. That onely that time is well spent, which is imployed in the study of wisdome, whereby our life is truely lengthned: the common sort thinke otherwayes, for they estimate the same by fortune, and according to her smiles, so thinke they that our life is shortned or lengthned: In prosperity they wish for death, in aduersity they feare it. In the end he exhorteth PAVLINVS, and what he saith to him,

let

let euery man apply to himſelfe, and grow maturely wiſe, and retire himſelfe into the hauen of life, which is an honeſt repoſe. This vow I, thus will I endeuour.

CHAP. I.

THe greater part of men (good friend *Paulinus*) complaineth of the hard dealing of nature with vs, who hath brought vs forth to liue ſo ſhort a while, and yet of the time allotted vs, that the moments ſhould ſo ſodainly and ſwiftly runne away, as wee ſee they doe: inſomuch as beſides ſome few amongſt vs, the reſt are then moſt commonly bereft of life, when indeed they beginne but newly euen then to liue; nor doth the populous or fooliſh people onely lament this euill (ſo generall as it is counted) but euen many famous men haue likewiſe thought and lamented in like manner this our misfortune; whence ſpringeth that eſpeciall complaint of the greateſt amongſt Phyſitians, that our life is ſhort, and their art very long: where hence alſo *Ariſtotle* takes occaſion to quarrell; (although it ſcarce beſeeme ſo wiſe a man as hee ſo to doe) with dame Nature, who (ſaith he) hath allotted ſome beaſts, ſome fiue, ſome ten hundred yeeres, and man who is created to ſo many weighty purpoſes, hath a terme of life prefixed him ſo much ſhorter as wee ſee: whereas indeed we haue no ſcantneſſe or ſcarſity of life, but wee rather looſe much of our life; for long enough and large enough is life allowed vs, were it ſpent in greateſt matters, or were it all ſpent in good matters; but when wee haue by riot and negligence once loſt it, when it is once ſpent and gone, and we cannot ſhew any good wee ſpent it in, at length need driuing vs to make an end thereof; wee ſee that now it is ſpent, which wee did not feele to ſpend, before indeed it was very well nigh wholy ſpent: ſo that wee had not giuen vs ſo ſhort a life, as wee will make it, but ſuch we made it as it is; nor had we giuen vs ſo little life, but ſo prodigall and lauiſh wee are. Euen as a Princes ample Patrimony, if it come in Huckſters hands, goeth away in a moment, which if it were the hundreth parte thereof, and were well husbanded, would yet by good vſage, encreaſe rather then proue but ſcarce, euen ſo our age if it bee well employed, will proue very faire and long enough.

CHAP. II.

WHy then complaine wee of nature, ſhee hath dealt well with vs, and thy life, if thou know how in good things well to ſpend it, ſhall appeare long enough. One is wholly poſſeſſed with inſatiable auarice, another is as buſie as a Bee in labours, euery way needleſſe and ſuperfluous: a third drinkes out his dayes, a fourth is idle, a fifth liues gaping after preferments, which yet are in the will of another to beſtow; a ſixth, is led euen round about the world, by a deſire to buy and ſell, with hope to gaine; and ſome there are that continually haue their minds on warre farre, neuer minding either the perils of other men, or regarding

ding their owne, as some there are also that wilfully enthrall themselues to such Potentates, as scarsly euer giue them any thanks for so doing, but delight yet in their folly, many likewise spend their dayes in affecting others fortune, & detesting of their owne; and diuers men doe nothing but delight themselues with changeable, vnconstant, neuer pleasing fantasies, still attempting new deuices, as also some like nothing, wherein to spend their time, but consuming in their idlenesse, doe nothing but still accuse their fate and fortune: so that true I find the best saying which the Poet euer writ by him as an Oracle: *A little part of our life it is we liue*; for indeed the whole course of mans age, is not life but time rather, in which almost howerly new vices so assaile vs, as wee neither can recouer our selues, nor so much as lift our eyes to see what is decent and truth in things wee thinke of, but if once wee beginne to take footing, new desires anew assaile vs, and keepe vs downe: no, they cannot so much as recall themselues to mind, but if happily they bee quiet, yet as in the sea after a storm is fully passed, yet remaineth there a wallowing, and continuall rowling, so beate they still vp and downe, nor haue they perfect rest from their desires. And here perhaps yee thinke I speake of such men onely, whose fancies all men gaze at, and talke of too, but looke on them, whose felicity all men most maruell at, and you shall see, that euen these men are cloyed with their good fortune: of which sort many account wealth a burthen, many hauing also a goodly gift of eloquence and vtterance, spend themselues in delight to heare themselues speake: and many weare away, euen surfetting with selfe pleasing delights and pleasures. and how many I pray you know you that haue scarce any time almost to breath for continuall sutors to them? goe but ouer them all from the lowest to the highest, hee sues, hee helpes, hee is in danger, he defendeth him, and another iudgeth him; euery one, to bee short, spendes himselfe vpon others: and enquire of these mens liuing, whose names and persons all the world talkes of and knowes, and you shall see them distinguished by these particulars: hee is wholly at the deuotion of such a one, another altogether depends of him: and none of them all is his owne man, or intends his owne businesse. And here I finde a fond complaint made by some men, they mislike forsooth the coines of their superiours, who are not oft at leysure, when they would sue or doe their duties to them; and dareth any man complaine of the pride of another, who himselfe is neuer at leasure to bee sued of himselfe? The great man be he neuer so proud, yet sometimes at the length he giues the accesse; hee giues the audience at some time, he cals thee at last, and thou canst vouchsafe to looke into, nor giue hearing to thy selfe.

CHAP. III.

NOr thinke thou any man any whit beholding to thee for these thy curtesies, for in doing them thou didst not meane so much to saue another, as thou wast not willing, or at leasure rather to saue thy selfe: and if all the wits that euer were renowned for any thing would intend this one point; yet can they not all of them suffic ētly wonder at the blindnes of mans mind in this one false ioy folly: Wee suffer not our lands to be vsurped of another, and bee the controuersie about neuer so little a quantity, or circumstance of our possessions, we take vp stones, and betake vs straightwayes to armour, and yet wee suffer other

ther to vſurpe of our life, yea wee put ſuch in poſſeſſion, as are like to be Lords and Rulers of it: ye ſee no man willing to part with his money, but with good conditions to another; and yet with how many I pray you doe wee all parte ſtakes, and make diuidents of our life, euen many times for nothing? euery one is a niggard to part with his Patrimony, and yet moſt lauiſh bee wee when we come to loſſe of time, wherein onely a may honeſtly ſhew himſelfe a nipcruſt. And therefore let vs here a while talke with any one of all theſe Elders: we ſee you are as olde, as a man almoſt may bee, you are onwards on a hundred yeers, or rather more then ſo, doe but call your yeeres to a reckoning, and ſay in ſadneſſe, how much time your creditors, your ſhee friends, the City matters and other ſuitors to you haue ſpent thereof? your ſuites about wiuing, breaking your head to frame your ſeruant; your deſire to pleaſure friends in euery corner of the towne: how much paine haue theſe things put you to? then adde what ſickneſſe your ſelfe haue beene procurer of, as alſo what time haſty and vnaduiſed anger hath poſſeſt you, euen in things friuolous; yea what time hath paſt you to no fruit nor purpoſe, and you ſhall ſee you haue not liued ſo many yeeres as you make reckoning of: call to mind when you were reſolute what to doe in any thing, and how many dayes you euer paſſed as you determined, then what fruit you reaped of dayes ſo ſpent? what haue you now to ſhew as the fruit thereof? nay, how many haue ſtolne peeces of your life, whilſt your ſelfe did not conſider or perceiue the want thereof, how much of it haue falſe ioyes, needleſſe griefes, greedy, couetous, pleaſant company miſpent I pray you? and then count how little of your owne life is left to your ſelfe, and you ſhall finde you die before you are ready to depart the world.

CHAP. IIII.

WHat is then the reaſon forſooth you liue, as if you had a warrant to liue for euer? you recke not how little time you liue to your ſelfe? you count not how much time you ſpend, while you ſpend as it were of a full and ouer running reckoning; when as happily that ſame day ſpent in another mans pleaſure, or to his vſe, may chance be to your laſt; you feare all things as men mortall, yet you long for all things as immortall. You ſhall heare ſome men ſay, were I fifty, I would betake mee to my beades, were I threeſcore, I would meddle no more with worldly matters? yet they haue at all no warrant of longer life then the preſent moment: for who can giue the aſſurance that thou ſhalt do, euē iuſt as thou determineſt? ſhameſt thou not to make reckoning how to lead thy life to come, & to point ſuch time for amendment, which almoſt can ſerue for nothing? how late is it to beginne to liue then when thou muſt leaue to liue? or how fond forgetfulneſſe of mortality is it to delay amendment to thy fiftieth yeere of age, & to make account that then thou wilt beginne to liue, when few men vſe to aſpire to ſuch an age. Yee ſhall often heare great mighty men giue out ſpeeches in praiſe of reſt, of leaſure, and quietneſſe, they wiſht it, they preferre it before all their wealth; yea they wiſh they might with ſafety come downe from that high tipe of their authority, and intend the ſame; for bee all things neuer in ſuch quiet from abroad, yet fortune falleth euen in it ſelfe, and decayeth as all other things in this mortality.

CHAP. V.

GReat *Augustus* whome the Gods did more for then euer elſe for any man, ceaſed not to pray for reſt and exemption out of common cauſes; all his ſpeech ſtill came to this end, if he once might come to quietneſſe, yea all his labours hee did ſawce with this falſe but pleaſant comfort, hee would one day ſurely liue to himſelfe, and in one Epiſtle which hee wrote vnto the Senate, (wherein hee proteſted that his reſt and quiet priuate life ſhould doe him more good and credite alſo, then his life already led in renowne and glory) I finde theſe words inſerted. *But I know it were more credit for mee ſo to do, then to ſay ſo; howbeit ſuch deſire I haue thereto, as becauſe I cannot in deede performe it, ſome pleaſure yet I thought to reape, by talking onely of ſo pleaſant a matter.* So great a thing was reſt in his conceit, as the ſame becauſe hee could not indeed attaine vnto; yet in worde hee thought to ioy in it, and he that ſaw euen all things depend of him, being able indeed to make happy or infortunate whom ſoeuer, or whenſoeuer he pleaſed, tooke great pleaſure to remember the day and time, when hee ſhould doe of his owne greatneſſe, and become his owne man: hee had tried what ſweate and ſwincke his eſtate (which all men deemed to be ſo good and glittering, did coſt him to maintaine it: and how much priuy hartburning, and heart aking to it, dayly harboured, being forced to make warre firſt with the Citizens of *Rome*, then with his fellow officers, laſtly with his kindred, ſhedding bloud by ſea and land in *Macedonia*, *Sicilia*, *Ægypt*, *Siria* and *Aſia*, courſed almoſt throughout all Countries, yea and when hee had thus glutted himſelfe in a manner with Romane ſlaughter, hee was forced to turne himſelfe againſt forraine nations: And being likely to quiet ſome troubles in the Alpes, hauing vanquiſhed other enemies that diſturbed this his peaceable and ſetled Empire, while hee ſet forward to enlarge the ſame beyond *Rhenus*, *Euphrates* and *Danubius*, at home euen in the City, *Murena*, *Cepio*, *Lepidus*, and the *Egnatij* prepared armes againſt him: yea, and hauing ſcaſly fully eſcaped theſe their attempts, his daughter *Iulia*, and many noble young gentlemen (knit in league by reaſon of their too much familiarity with that looſe lewd Lady) beganne to bee terrible vnto the Father, who in their opinion liued ſomewhat too long: after whom alſo *Fuluia* cauſed her husband *Anthonie* to take weapon againſt him, no hiſtory ſheweth why. All which ſores when hee had cut away, with the parties alſo in which they were, yet ſtill there roſe new, not vnlike a body too full of humours, whereof alwayes ſome one part or other breaketh out continually into a ſickneſſe: wherefore hee wiſhed to liue in reſt, the onely hope and thought whereof, was the onely eaſe of all his labours, and this one thing was the dayly prayer and deſire of him, who was able otherwiſe to make euery man maſter of his deſires beſide himſelfe. *Marcus Cicero* long time toſſed vppe and downe betweene *Catiline* and *Clodius*, betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, who were his open enemies, the reſt his doubtfull and vncertaine friends, whileſt hee wreſtled with the common wealth, and laboured to hold it vp, that now was running more and more to ruine, was at length ouerborne and forced to yeeld to the burthen of it, being neither quiet in proſperity, nor patient in the contrary: this *M. Cicero*, how often not without cauſe alſo doth hee deteſt that his office borne as *Conſul*, which till then at firſt, hee neuer ceaſed to commend without end, which in truth hee did not without cauſe extoll

toll, when he ſpake moſt of it. What dolefull ſpeeches falles hee into in one Epiſtle to *Atticus*, vpon the newes that *Pompey* the father was vanquiſhed, when his ſonne the yonger *Pompey* renued his fathers quailed quarrell in the parts of *Spaine*? *Aske you*, quoth he, *what I make here, I keepe my ſelfe to my Tuſculane, now at length halfe become mine owne man*: adding alſo other things in the foreſaid letter, wherein both hee bewaileth his time foreſpent, he complaineth of the preſent, and deſpaireth of any good in the time to come: hee calleth himſelfe now halfe his owne, where in truth no Wiſe man euer could vſe ſo baſe and ſlauiſh a terme, who will neuer bee ſo little as halfe his owne, but alwayes will be whole his owne, his owne entire, free from others becke and boorde, his owne to vſe with little reckoning, what others account therof; for what needeth he regard what others ſay, who treadeth fortune vnder foot, as euery wiſe man eyther doth or ſhould do.

CHAP. VI.

LIuius Drnſus, one of the anceſtors of *Liuia*, *Auguſtus* his Empreſſe, a hote ſpirited, and a very vehement fiery humord man, hauing put new common wealthes in the peoples head, and ſtirde a new the old tumults of the two brethren, the *Gracchi* being manned almoſt with all the power that *Italie* could make, hauing not yet well weighed the end of things, which now hee could not accompliſh to his deſire; nor had he yet the liberty to leaue in the middeſt, hee fell in deteſtation of his owne vnquiet ſtate from the day of his birth till then, and is ſaide to haue vttered theſe very words: *I am only he I think that neuer yet had leaue to play, no not when I was a boy:* for indeed being vnder age, and comming but as children did into the Senate with his father, he preſumed to ſpeake to iudge in the behalfe of diuers men, and laide his credite on the matter in ſo vehement a ſort, that it was ſaide, many iudgements were giuen wholly as it pleaſed him. Whether would not ſo young an aſpiring humor, if it had continued, for well a man may coniecture, ſo ſoone ripe a ſtirring head muſt needes grow in time to the great hurt, publike or priuate, ſome where or other, and therefore too too late hee made complaint, he had neuer yet leaue to play, who was of a child ſo troublous, and importunate to the State where hee liued, as hee was. Some make queſtion if he did not kill himſelfe or no: for a wound hee had in his groine, which was his death: what time though ſome men doubted, whether he had ſlaine himſelfe or no, yet all men thought it high time for him ſo to bee diſpatched. It were needeleſſe here to reckon more of this ſame humor, who being in the eye of other men moſt fortunate and happy, notwithſtanding gaue true teſtimony againſt themſelues, in great hatred and miſlike of all that euer they had done; but with theſe complaints of theirs, they did neyther alter others, nor amend themſelues: for the words ſometime brake from them, to the ſenſe I haue ſaid: yet their deſires kept on the old vnconſtant courſe, and were no changelings, which ſort of life aſſuredly might it poſſibly continue a thouſand yeere or more, yet will it ſeeme in the end to haue beene but very ſmall, and of no continuance, and all theſe ſeuerall conceits, what age or great account of time will they not conſume? Surely theſe few yeeres allotted vs, albeit nature thinke them long, & reaſon amplifie the courſe of them, yet muſt it needs ſeeme quickly gone, for wee take no holde of them, wee ſtay them not, nor lay

no

we hands on them, being things more quicke in riddance then any thing elſe in all the world: yea, we ſuffer them to paſſe, as if they were ſcarce worth the looking after, or elſe were eaſie to be recouered; ſo that in concluſion, all men doe confeſſe, the buſied man can neuer doe any thing well: he cannot learne to liue to himſelfe, nor to be freed from the vnprofitable cares of this world; for his minde being in a manner, as we ſee it is, poſſeſt with ſuch vnprofitable labours, it is not apt for any good thing, but deſpiſeth it, as the ſtomacke doth miſlike with meate that is alreadie ouerladen. And yet better can he learne any other thing almoſt in all the world, then intend to learne to liue; which is almoſt the hardeſt knowledge that you can deuiſe.

CHAP. VII.

OTher Artes haue their profeſſors enough in euery corner; which arts ſome boyes haue learned ſo perfectly and well, as they could teach them for a need. To liue a man muſt learne euen all his life long: & that which happily you wil rather wonder at, all our life we may learn in the end how to die. And of ſo many great men as deſpiſed all lets & ſtops, deſpiſing riches, Offices and all voluptuouſnes, doing nothing all their life long, but learning ſtil to liue; yet diuers were there amongſt them, that departed this mortalitie, confeſſing they had not then as yet come to the knowledge: ſo farre off are theſe our buſie brains from attayning therunto. So that truſt me, very wiſe is he, and a man aboue the common caſe and capacitie of men he muſt needs be aſſuredly, that ſpends amiſſe no iot of all his daies; and therefore longeſt is his life, who ſpends all his life, be it much or be it litle, in his owne affaires, and hath neyther miſ-ſpent with folly, nor loſt by idleneſſe any houre thereof, and much leſſe hath intended any other men or matters, then himſelfe and his, deeming nothing in this world worth exchanging of his leiſure for it; which his leiſure he did ſpare as a thing moſt precious. And to this man I ſay his life was long enough, whereas on the contrary part, thoſe men may well complaine of ſcarcitie, who ſpend much time in matters popular, to their fruit none at all, or very little, and yet they vnderſtand not their own loſſe. Oftentimes you ſhall heare great men (whom good fortune is a burden to) miſ-ſert their route of ſuiters, cauſes, actions and other miſeries (which great port makes notwithſtanding to ſeeme felicities) cry out, *I cannot be ſuffered to liue to my ſelfe?* All theſe men that ſeeke thy helpe to doe them pleaſure, draw thee from thy ſelfe. That defendant, how many daies did he bereaue thee off? and how many daies that other ſtanding to be Conſul; as alſo that olde Gentlewoman, who hath troubled thee with the prooving ſo many of her husbands Wills? As alſo that olde Gentleman, whom thou viſiteſt in his ſickneſſe, which he doth yet but counterfeit, to ſet greedy mindes on edge, to long for that hee leaueth: and that great friends of thine, who yet reckes not otherwiſe of ſuch friends as thou art, then onely to be credited by thy courting and attending him. And hauing caſt thy dayes in this manner of account, ſee how few dayes and how fooliſh a remainder of them comes to thy ſhare. He that now hath got the Office he was long a ſuiter for, is by and by contented to be rid of it, and ſaith, *Oh when will this geere come to an end?* Another ſues to the Senate, that hee may be at coſt to prouide Playes for the people, and was wondrous ioyfull then when leaue was giuen him, then ſo to ſpend his money; and yet ſhortly after he cryeth

cryeth, *Oh when ſhall I be rid of them?* A third, whom euery Clyent ſeekes to retaine in counſell, who fils the barre when he commeth, and leaues euery Court empty at his returne, ſaith, *Oh when will this tearme be at an end?* Thus euery man ſets life at naught, whiles he deſireth things future, and is glutted with the preſent; but he that turneth euery moment to ſome good purpoſe, that diſpoſeth of euery day, as he would of all his life, this man doth neyther feare nor wiſh for to morrow: for what is there wherein any houre can breed him new delight? He knowes that all is vanitie: he hath had his wiſhes his bellie full; for the reſt let fortune doe as her ſelfe ſhall pleaſe; his reſt, his ſtocke is ſafe. This man may haue his daies inlarged I confeſſe, but leſſe they ſhall not be, nor indeed inlarged otherwiſe, then more meat may be ſet before him who is now already filled and can eate no more.

CHAP. VIII.

AND therefore neuer ſay, This man hath liued long: his white head, his wrinckled face imports the ſame; for whether he liued long or no, thou knoweſt not: but long indeed I confeſſe, thou ſeeſt that he hath beene. For how canſt thou ſay that he hath ſailed much, whom a cruell tempeſt takes immediately, as ſoone as he is out of the hauens mouth, & after much hurly-burly, much trauerſing his way, and beating vp and downe, it brings him euen the ſelfe-ſame way backe to the hauen that euen now he went out of? This man hath not much ſailed, but much hath he beene beaten. And here I often maruell much, when I ſee ſome men ſo earneſtly deſire reſt and reſpite, the men that they deſire it of being both ſo eaſie to be intreated, and ſo vnable to hinder it or keepe them from it: the thing in whoſe reſpect they wiſh for reſt and leiſure ſo greatly as they doe, doth much concerne them, I meane both the requeſter and the granter: the thing it ſelfe is *Time*, and yet they wiſh for it ſo coldly, or rather ſo indifferently, as if it were a thing of no value at all; ſo little doe they weigh the thing which yet indeede is moſt precious. And indeed this one thing greatly deceiueth them, becauſe time is not ſubiect to their ſenſes, nor is it eaſie by eye to iudge thereof; and therefore no man accounts more of it then of a very baſe matter, or rather a thing worthy no mans money. Euery new-yeares tide our Romanes vſe to receiue gifts and preſents of mightie men, in reſpect whereof they binde themſelues to dance attendance on the giuers, to beſtow their labour, their paine and diligence at anothers deuotion all the yeare after; no man valuing the time hee muſt beſtow: for the ſame they vſe and abuſe many times ſo lauiſhly, as if indeed it coſt them nothing. But if the meaneſt man amongſt them ſhould chance to be ſicke, if death come neerer then they were aware of, ſee what ſuit ſtraight they make to the Phyſitian: or if they feare the puniſhment of death by law, ſee if they doe not offer gladly all the wealth they are worth, to redeeme their life, ſo diuers and ſo different be their deſires. And if it were as eaſie to ſay what yeares each man hath in future time to liue, as it is eaſie to tell you how many he hath liued already: how would ſome men tremble that ſhould ſee ſo few yeares remaining; and how chary would they be in beſtowing them? And yet notwithſtanding contrariwiſe, it is an eaſie matter to order that we ſee is certaine: and more cauſe haue we to be charie of that, which we know not how ſoone it will be plenty. Nor are wee yet to thinke they know not what a jewell this

this time is which we ſpeake of: for their common words of courteſie to their beſt friends,are theſe; I would goe,I would ride, I would ſpend a moneth to pleaſure thee: & indeed ſo they do for other men,though they perceiue it not, or rather they looſe ſo much of their owne, without eyther turning it to their friends behoofe, or perceiuing the loſſe thereof in themſelues; which makes them take the loſſe in better part,becauſe they do not feele it. Howbeit no man will reſtore thee thy time againe. Thy dayes ſhall ſtill go on as they haue done hitherto,nor canſt thou euer either recall time ſpent,or cauſe it for time preſent to ceaſe to ſpend: no, thy dayes ſhall make no more noyſe then yet they haue done; nor ſhall they giue more warning of their ſwiftnes now then euer. Time ſhall ſlide and ſtill ſay nothing as it hath done alwayes. It is not like the prorogation of our dayes,and of an Office,neyther Prince nor people can giue it thee the ſecond time,but euen as it begun from the firſt moment, ſo ſhall it ſtill continue. Ye ſhall take vp Inne at no place,how then? forſooth thou art occupied and thy life haſts away,and death ſhal come euen then when thou leaſt dreameſt of it; and wilt thou,or haue thou no will to it, thou muſt yet needes intend it.

CHAP. IX.

CAn any mortall man,be he neuer ſo wiſe and politicke,tell vs how we may more throughly intend our ſelues then yet we doe? or preſcribe vs how to liue hereafter more our owne then yet wee are? Nay,themſelues with loſſe of life are long occupied in telling how themſelues will liue,and (God wot) long they be about their owne conceits; and indeede the greateſt loſſe of our life is delay, which weares away the firſt day,bereauing vs of preſent time whilſt it promiſeth vs things future. Nor is there any greater impediment why wee liue not out of hand then expectation,which hangeth alwayes on to morrow: ſo thou looſeſt this day and determineſt what ſhall become of that which fortune is wholly Ladie of,while it paſſeth and ſlippeth from thee that thou art Lord of. What hopeſt thou,what gapeſt thou for? All that is to come is vncertaine,and therefore liue out of hand: for the greateſt Poet that euer was, as it were by inſpiration,giues thee wholſome councell,

Our happieſt dayes doe paſſe from vs poore mortall men
Firſt,and before the reſt.

And therefore why delayeſt thou? Why ſtayeſt thou? Life flieth if thou lay not handes vpon it; and if thou doe lay handes vpon it, yet nenertheleſſe it flyeth; and therefore ſtriue thou alwayes with the ſwiftneſſe of time, and be as ſwift in vſage and turning it to profite,as thou wouldeſt be quicke to draw water out of a Riuer that thou kneweſt would not continue in his running. And in this, well ſaith the Poet, he calleth them not happy yeares, but happy daies, thereby hitting vs in the teeth with our infinite conceit of time to come. Why doeſt thou in ſecurity and in ſuch diſpatch of time ſo leiſurely dreame of moneths and yeares,yea,and draw thy yeares alſo (to pleaſe thy fancie withall) ſo long in ſuch a number? He talketh with thee of dayes, and of dayes alſo now fleeting. Nor is it doubt,but as he ſaith, each moſt happie day leaues vs firſt

mortall

mortall men, who are dayly more and more buſied each day then other, whom age breakes in vpon, not hauing yet put off our childiſh affections, to the which wee come vnready and vnarmed for it, for we haue nought ready for it, but it lights vpon vs vnawares, before wee dreamt of it, nor did we feele it commirg day by day as wee ſhould, but it fares with vs like thoſe men whome a tale or ſome pleaſant matter read, or other meditation deceiueth in their iourney, ſo that they know & ſee they are come to their iorneyes end, before they thought that halfe their way was ſpent thitherward, euen ſo this daily quicke race of our life, which as well wee paſſe on ſleepe, as we doe awake, it ſhewes not it ſelfe to vs, whiles wee bee occupied, but in the end when it is gone.

CHAP. X.

AND that I ſaide, if I would follow by peecemeale as I might; I could finde great reaſon why to proue the buſied mans life ſhorteſt as I ſaie. *Fabianus* was wont to ſay (who was none of theſe great formall talkatiue Philoſophers, but one of thoſe formed former aged, true and plaine Philoſophers) *We ſhoula fight againſt affections, not by ſlight but by might, not by eaſie & gentle venues, but with all the force we can make. We ſhould ſtriue to beat downe their ſenſeles Army, for touching would not helpe the matter, they muſt bee ſtrongly ſet on:* yet to ſhew theſe men their error, I will not onely inueigh at them in bitter manner, but I will ſtriue plainely and ſenſiblie to teach them this their folly. All our life is diuided into three parts, that is, that was, and that is to come, that wee doe God knowes is ſhort, that we ſhall doe is doubtfull, that wee haue done is out of doubt: for in this laſt indeed, dame fortune hath loſt her force, nor cã it now be put in the power of any thing to make vndone; & yet this time the buſied man hath wholy loſt; for he hath no leaue to look back, or if once he haue leaſure, yet ſmall pleaſure takes he to record a thing paſt, which he hath ſuch reaſon to repent him of: for little luſt he needs muſt haue to cal to mind time miſpẽt, which he dares not now vnfold again, for feare the faults, which at the time vnder colour of delight hee was content to commit, by new handling become more manifeſt, & ſhew themſelues in their kind; and indeed no man doth willingly ſtraine himſelfe to looke backeward but ſuch an one as doth all thinges vnder guard, and in awe of his owne conſcience, which is neuer deceiued. Hee that hath in many things deſired with ambition, deſpiſed with diſdaine, conquered with inſolency, couſined with ſubtlety, ſcraped to him with couetouſneſſe, miſpent by prodigality, this man muſt needs bee much afraid to recall himſelfe to memory. And yet this recapitulation of time paſt and ſpent, is the time already ſhriued, already paſt all chance, and feare of change, free from fortunes counterbuffes, out of danger eyther of penury, of feare or ſickneſſe; this cannot bee diſtempered, nor taken from vs, but remaineth our perpetuall and impregnable poſſeſſion: dayes are preſent neuer more then one and one, and they by moments alſo: but of time paſt many monethes, many yeeres at your commandement, are ready preſt at a becke; they are content you looke on them, you handle them, and hold them, which the buſied man is neuer well at leaſure to performe: none but the quiet careleſſe man can fetch a vagary leaſurely throughout all parts of his life; the buſied mind is (in a manner) ringde and yokte for rowting; he cannot bow nor bend, nor intend to looke backe, and ſuch mens liues ſinke into a bottomleſſe pit

pit or gulfe: but euen as it doth not profite thee to haue powred to thy behoofe neuer ſo much in quantity of any thing whatſoeuer, neuer ſo good in quality, if thou haue not wherein to holde it and preſerue it: ſo little booteth it thee, how long time thou haſt to liue, if thou haſt not wherein to holde it, or beſtow it; but letteſt time flit away through thy fancy ſhaken, chinked and tottered deſires. Now the preſent time is ſhort, and ſo ſhort, that ſome men thinke it in a manner nothing, for it is euer flitting: it runneth, it huddles forward, and it ceaſeth (in a manner) before it come, nor doth it otherwiſe make ſtay, then the world or the ſtarres, whoſe neuer reſting rowling, neuer ſtands in one place long: and yet this onely preſent time belongs to the buſied man, which it ſelfe is yet ſo ſhort as it cannot haue hands laid on it, & yet it amongſt ſo many matters ſlippes away ere we are aware of it.

CHAP. XI.

AT a word, wilt thou ſee how little while they liue: no more but ſee how deſirous they bee ſtill to liue yet longer? olde layed vp, aged Syers, yet ceaſe not ſtill to begge one yeere, yet more and more: yea their conceit ſtill runneth, they are yonger then they ſeeme for; they feed themſelues with leaſing, and ſuch a pleaſure they take to belie their age, as if their deſtiny and death would come ſo much the later for their falſe belying it; and let any weakeneſſe giue them but neuer ſo little a warning of their mortalities; how fearefully they die, not as if they did depart, but as if will they, nill they, they were pulled out by the eares, then they crie; what fooles were wee that tooke no pleaſure in life, then they vow, they will liue at hearts eaſe, then they ſee how in vaine they ſought for that they could not enioy: then they acknowledge all their labour was to ſmall effect: but they that liue to themſelues in ſeuerall, tending to no mans buſineſſe beſides, what lets vs to account their liues large enough? none of it is loſt or miſſpent, here and there in other matters · none of it is hazarded at fortunes command: nought is loſt by negligence, nought is giuen away by largeſſe to other mens vſes, nought is loſt as ſuperfluous, but euery iot or moment of it is counted good reuenue: and therefore life thus ſpent, bee it neuer ſo little, is enough, nor will a wiſe man feare at any time without feare to die. But here you aske mee whom I call the buſied man? thinke not I meane onely ſuch as eyther are attended on by great troupes of ſuitors, with great pompe and countenance, or with ſome ſhew of baſe and ſeruile nature, waite all day vpon others, who for duties ſake are called abroad to attend at others dores, or ſuch as doe waite all the weeke long vpon the owtred, to gaine a penny at that vnſeemely ſale. No, ſome mens beſt leaſure euen at home in their gardens of ſport and pleaſure, euen a bed, or where elſe a man may be ſaid to bee at reſt and leaſure; yet is it all conſumed (as I ſaid) with buſineſſe, yea themſelues are a trouble vnto themſelues, whoſe life I call not leaſureable, or full of leaſure, but an idle kinde of buſines rather.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

CAlleſt thou him at quiet, who with great care ſeekes in all corners for the mettall that was made at the burning of *Corinth*? and ſpends the more part of his time in ſearching out amongſt ruſtie copper, to ſee if he can light on any of it? or annoints his ſeruants whom hee keeps to get prizes at wraſtling? or is ſuruaying eyther his ſheepe or his land, or other reuenues? or ſayeſt thou, he is at leaſure, that euery day ſpends an howre or two in the Barbers ſhop, cutting euery day down again that grew the night before? deuiſing vpon euery haire he hath, whether it be better to cut it, or let it grow? chafing like a yong Emperour, if the Barber were but neuer ſo little negligent, or leſſe curious, becauſe he thoght he had a man of diſcretiõ in hand to cut, who are ſtraight wayes in great rage, if neuer ſo little of their loue-locks be nipped away? or if euery knot therof fall not round in a ring? of which ſort of curious fools, ſome had rather ſee diſorder in the common wealth they liue in, then in their haire? & had rather ſee their locks kept faire, then regard their own health? and care more to be accounted a neat nice fellow, then to haue the voyce for honeſty? doeſt thou ſay that this man is at reſt and leaſure? ſo wholy buſied and occupied betweene the combe & the glaſſe? or that he is ſo, that ſpends his time in making, hearing, & learning ſongs, forcing his voyce, (which of nature is beſt and eaſieſt ſo to be kept when it is full and plaine) into a kinde of warbling or reliſhing againſt nature? whoſe fingers are euer going, as if they ſtil were tinning, or ſtriking time in a ſong: who bee they vſed in a matter of neuer ſo great importance, yea, ſometimes ſad and ſorrowfull, yet are euer and anon reſounding ſome peece of a ſong or other? theſe men (ſay I) haue not leaſure, but are buſied with a needles & thriftles labour, whoſe time of feaſting, I count not time of pleaſure or vacation; I ſee them ſtill ſo carefull how their Plate and their ſeruices, and their ſeruants may in decent manner become the feaſt, where hence they ſeeke the name of fine neat fellows, & ſo curiouſly they regard this fond humor of their own, as they neyther eate nor drinke in quiet for it. Nor account I them their owne men, who all day long iog vp and down from this friend to that in their coaches and wagons, and will not miſſe an howre of their dayly gaddings in them, but haue their ſeruants to aduertiſe them, it is now time to bath, to ſwim, to ſup; yea ſo much they giue themſelues ouer vnto this idle vaine, that of themſelues they know not, or will ſeeme to be ignorant when themſelues are an hungred?

CHAP. XIII.

IT were long to run ouer theſe fellows one by one, whoſe liues haue bin ſpent either at Tables, or at Ball, or in baſting themſelues againſt the ſunne; I cannot call them leaſurable, whoſe pleaſures put them to ſuch pain and buſineſſe. As for them that ſpend their dayes in vnprofitable ſtudies, no man doubts, but that with much a doe, they doe nothing, of which ſort there are many now amongſt vs Romanes. It was the Grecians old diſeaſe to beat their brains in finding out how many Rowers *Vlyſſes* ſhip had? whether *Ilias* or *Odyſſea* were formoſt written? or whether one man writ them both? and many ſuch like queſtions, which whether you keepe the knowledge of thē to your ſelfe or no, they neither greatly benefit your conſcience to keepe them, nor ſeem you better ſcholler to know them, but rather ſomewhat buſier or more curious then others. And euen this vain deſire to learne things needles poſſeſſeth now the Romanes alſo. When I was laſt in *Rome*, I heard a learned man reckon vp, what things each Roman Captain had firſt been author of; *Duilius* firſt did winne in fight by ſea: *Curius Dentatus* firſt did lead Elephants in triumph; and theſe things though they tend not to true glory in deed, yet they belong in ſome ſort to matters politike. Such knowledge will not profit much; yet doth it leade vs forward in a ſort with a

petty pleasant discoursing vanity. Grant we also them leaue to search what man first perswaded the Romans to go to sea. One *Claudius* forsooth it was, whom they therfore called *Caudex*, because any building much of boords, was then called in Latine *Caudex*, and bookes of Record, are also at this day called *Codices*, and boates or crayers that carry any thing vp and down the *Tiber*, are and haue been euer since named *Caudicariæ*. Be it also not amisse to know, that *Valerius Corunus* was the first that wan *Messana*, and therupon had the name of *Messana*, added in reward of his prowesse, which by little alteration of a letter or two is now called *Messala*; the originall wherof euery man is not acquainted with. Beare we also with him, that searcheth how *L. Sulla* first let Lions loose to fight in our Romane *Circus* or Parrish Garden, what time K. *Boccbus* sent him dart-flingers to kill them loose, or as our Forresters now speake to hunt them of force, where before time they were alwayes presented tyed. Let vs not likewise enquire, if it were to the purpose, that *Pompey* caused those (who were condemned) to fight in the same Parke with eighteen Elephants. This principall person in *Rome* (who amongst the ancient Chiefetaines of warre is renowned by reason of his bounty, and singular mildnesse in manners) hath supposed it would be a memorable spectacle to cause mee to die after some new fashion. It is a little matter to make them fight, and to be wonnded in diuers places, he must haue them crushed vnder the insupportable weight of these great and huge creatures: it had beene better to haue buried such a history, for feare left afterward some other great Lord hearing the recitall thereof, should conceiue a liking to practise the like inhumane and barbarous action. O how much doth great prosperity ouerspread our vnderstanding with darknes! *Pompey* reputed himselfe equall with the gods, at such time as he exposed so many troups of poor men to sauage beasts, that were brought from forrain countries; & when he caused a mortall fight to be performed between creaturs so different, shedding much bloud in the presẽce of the Roman people; whẽ as he himselfe an on after was to be reduced to that necessity to shed others: but hee himself also (deceiued by the disloialty of the councel of *Aegypt*) was stabbed by one that had serued vnder him & then vnderstood that at last how vaine that surname of Great was, which was attributed vnto him by others.

CHAP. XIIII.

BVt to return vnto my purpose, & to shew in other recitals the superfluous diligence of others, the same discourse aboue mentioned, reporteth that *Metellus* hauing conquered the Carthaginians in their quarrels for *Sicilia*, was the only man that euer led 120. Elephants captiues before his chariot: he tolde also, how *Sylla* was the last Romane that enlarged the common or void ground without the wals of *Rome* (which was not suffered to be done amongst our ancestors for any conquest or land gotten in any Country, but only in *Italy*, though *Syllas* conquests, were all of them out of *Italy* we know, which point was yet more worth the knowledge, then how the hill *Auentinus* was without the compasse of this ground. I speake of without the wals; for one of these two reasons, eyther for that the people seuered themselues from the Senate into this hill, when the Senators would haue made a law, that no Patritius or Senators child shold marrie with him or her that was not so, or for that the vultures, (whose flight *Romulus* obserued, when he built this City) did not compas in this hill with the other six. Many more curious points did this man declare, which if hee did not inuent, yet did he little better; for grant all these nice points to be written in good sooth, yet I pray you what amisses doe any of them mend? whose desires doe they minish? or who by them is made eyther more couragious, or iuster, or more liberall? mine old friend *Fabianus* was wont to doubt, whether it were better bee ignorant, or to know such vanities. But I take them to bee leasurable, that study diuine wisedome

dome, which no time present can consume, nor no time to come diminish, and wholly exercise themselues in celestiall contemplation; for such men do not onely vse their owne time well, but they also adde thereto the ages spent before they were borne, and enioy them also as their owne, yea all the famous Recorders of most sacred opinions, were after a sort, as it seemeth euen borne for them, and in a manner prepared the way for them how to liue the better. Which worthy writers bring vs with much ease and little labour to most worthy matters brought by them out of darkenesse into light, yea they keepe vs not from things done or said in any age ere wee were borne, they admit vs vnto all things, yea if wee lust by the greatnesse of an heroicall minde to passe the narrow bounds of mans weake reach, wee haue time inough to doe so if wee list our selues. Why then leaue we not this brittle transitory time of life, and why betake wee vs not wholly (at least in minde and cogitation to these infinite and euerlasting matters, which we haue in common with better natures. These men that run continually courting and waiting alwayes vpon great men, troubling others & themselues in their so doing, when they haue gone a madding, and danced attendance at al mens dores, not leauing any great man vnwaited on, when they haue done their dayes labour in saluting them, how many I pray you can they haue visited of so infinit & busie a number of great men in *Rome*? Among which great mighty ones, how many are there, whom for because, that either they were a sleepe, or otherwise occupied, or not at leasure to intend them, they could not therefore be admitted to speake with all? how many are there, who after that they haue long been waited for, come out, and sodainly looke vpon them, and are gone againe? nay; how many are there that shunne to take their way through such troupes, as come to waite vpon them to the hall or Senate? and rather take some backe-wayes through some secret by-corner, and leaue them all, as if it were not much more vnseemely, and worse manners of the twaine in this sort, rather to coson them by auoiding them when they were once admitted, then absolutely to keepe them out before they came; and yet how many are there that hauing scarsly slept out their yesterdayes surfet; yet breake their sleepe poore soules themselues to waite till it please another to rise, like forsooth for their paines to bee saluted in some rechlesse or proud sort, by their names of the great men, after hee hath had the same a thousand times put into his head by some prompter or other: but indeede if wee will needes dance attendance with fruit, I tell you they waite wisely that dayly court *Zeno*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and the rest the pillars of good learning; that endeauor to make *Aristotle*, and *Theophrastus* well known vnto them. None of these but will be alwayes at leasure to intend thee: none but will dismisse thee a man happier for thy selfe, and more in loue with him for his company, then thou wast at thy first comming. They will not let thee goe empty, whensoeuer thou wilt goe, come at midnight or at midday, any man may speake with them. None of these will force thee to die before thy time, as great Princes doe of their most faithfull seruants, but euery one will instruct thee how to die; none of these will spend or take away any iot of thy dayes, but are all rather ready to bestow their time on thee; thou needest not feare what thou saiest in their company; yea no enemy of thine can suspect thee for being often with them.

CHAP. XV.

OF theſe thou mayeſt obtaine whatſoeuer thou wilt; nor will they be in the fault if thou take not of them as much as thou art able: Oh how happy is that olde man that hath ſpent all his dayes in the ſeruice of them! hee is ſure of ſecret friends with whom he may conſult in great things or ſmall, whoſe counſaile he may aske euery houre at his pleaſure, from whom truth he ſhall heare without vpbrayding, praiſe without flatterie, and whom well he may imitate without note of apiſhneſſe. We ſay commonly we could not chuſe of whom wee would be borne; but of ſuch we came as our fortune was we ſhould come: but in this caſe yet we may chuſe of whom we will be borne. Theſe worthy wits and writers haue their ſtocke and families; chuſe of which thou wilt be, and thou ſhalt be not onely of his name, but his ſucceſſor alſo for his wealth and liuelyhood, which is alſo commonly the more ample, among the more it is diuided: theſe will leade thee to eternity, and will lift thee vp ſo high, as whence no man liuing ſhall bee able to remoue thee. And this is onely the way to ſtretch out thy mortalitie, yea, to change it into immortalitie if any there be. Honours and other monuments, what euer either ambition hath by Law eſtabliſhed, or coſt hath built, do quickly periſh. Time weares out all things, yea, and ſooneſt weareth thoſe things which it hath made hallowed; only wiſdom cannot be hurt nor impaired any way. No time preſent can conſume it, nor time to com diminiſh it, the longer it laſteth the more it is ſtill regarded; for enuy toucheth onely things neere in memory and more abſolutely do we reuerence things farther off. And ſo we ſee the wiſe-mans life is large enough, he is not incloſed as others are, but is onely freed from the lawes, that otherwiſe mankinde is ſtreightned withal: yea, all time doth yeeld vnto him, as it yeeldeth we confeſſe to the gods themſelues. Time is paſt: this conſideration doth him good. Time is come: this he vſeth. Time will come: he preuenteth it; and thus comparing time with time, makes his life very long, wheras their life is very ſhort, who forget the time paſt neglect that is preſent, and feare the time to come: which when it once is come, too late poore men they finde, they were all very buſie in doing nothing.

CHAP. XVI.

NEyther art thou to thinke that by this argument it is approued that they leade a long life, becauſe ſometimes they call vpon death. Imprudencie vexeth them with vncertain affections, and ſuch as aſſault and encounter thoſe which they feare: they therfore oftentimes wiſh for death, becauſe they feare it; neither is that an argument likewiſe whereby thou ſhouldeſt be perſwaded that they ſhould liue long becauſe the day ſeemeth oftentimes long vnto them, becauſe whilſt the appointed houre of ſupper time commeth they complaine that the houres ſteale on ſlowly. For if at any time occupations faile them, they ſtorme becauſe they are left without buſineſſe and idle: neither know they how they may diſpoſe or inlarge the ſame. They therefore intend ſome occupation, and all the time that is betweene, is grieuous vnto them, in ſuch ſort vndoubtedly

as when a day is proclaimed wherin the ſword-players are to skirmiſh, or when as any appointed time of any other, eyther ſpectacle or pleaſure is expected, they long and labour to outſtrip the houres. The delay of all that which they hope for is long vnto them. But that time which they loue is ſhort and headlong, and becommeth likewiſe more ſhort by their fault, for they flie from one delight to another, and cannot ſettle themſelues vpon one ſort of pleaſure. The dayes are not long vnto them, but diſpleaſant and tedious. Contrariwiſe, how ſhort thinke they the nights to be, which they loſe in embracing their harlots and drunkenneſſe? From thence grew the furie of thoſe Poets, who fed and flattered mens errors with fables, who fained that *Iupiter* being bewitched with the pleaſure of his adulterous embraces, redoubled the night: What other thing is it then to animate wickedneſſe to make the gods the authors of them, and to giue an excuſable licenſe to an infirmitie by the example of diuinitie? But can theſe men finde the nights other then very ſhort, that they buy at ſo high a price? They loſe the day in expectation of the night, and the night through the feare of the day. Their pleaſures are accompanied with feares, burried with diuers diſquiet perturbations; their greateſt ioy is drowned in carefull thought. How long ſhall this continue? Becauſe of this paſſion Kings haue bewailed their power; neither did the greatneſſe of their fortune delight them, but the end that was to enſue terrified them. When that moſt inſolent Perſian King ſpread his army along the fields, whoſe number he could not tell, and ſcarcely could he tell what quantitie of ground would well containe it; it is ſaid he wept, conſidering that within one hundred yeares there ſhould not one of all that number be left aliue: but he himſelfe that wept was euen the man that haſtened all their deaths, as indeed afterwards proued, when as what by Land, what by Sea, what in fight, and what in flight, euery mothers ſonne almoſt, very ſhortly after miſcarried, whom hee feared ſhould not liue an hundred yeares.

CHAP. XVII.

MOreouer, their ioyes are full of feares, they build them not on ſure ground, but by the ſame vanitie they riſe, by the ſame they fall. And what will you thinke of thoſe their times, which in their own confeſſion are vnhappie, if theſe whereof they vaunt themſelues, and in which they take themſelues to be more then men, be ſcarcely perfect? Euery higheſt tipe of happineſſe is full of feare; nor may we well in truth leſſe build on any fortune then that which is happieſt. One free Citie needeth another to maintaine it, and hauing once that we deſired, we are forced ſtraightwayes to deſire anew, to haue wherewith to maintaine the former ſtate: for euery thing that fortune giueth is vncertaine; and the higher alwaies that felicitie is, the neerer euer is it to a downfall and ruine. And no man can take pleaſure in the ſtate he knoweth aſſuredly ſhall ſhortly fall; and therfore moſt vnhappy, not onely ſhort is their life who with much adoe procure that which with much more labour they muſt poſſeſſe, with much trouble compaſſing the thing they deſire, but with much more care continuing the thing once gotten; all which while no care is had of time, of precious time, that neyther ſhall nor can be recouered againe. Olde buſineſſe breeds new buſines, one hope bringeth forth another, this high deſire makes way for an higher then

it to follow it, and ſo no end is ſought of the miſeries we are in, though euerie day we change the matter which procureth miſeries. Our owne preferments proue euen burdens to vs; others honours haue coſt vs time to procure them for them: nor haue we ſo ſoone left to ſue for our ſelues, but immediately we are ſuters in the ſame caſe for others. We will pleade no more as Counſellors as it were to day; to morrow we are admitted to the Bench as Iudges; the third day happily called to the Councel-table. *Marius* is no ſooner diſmiſſed out of warre, but at home he is in ſuite for the Conſulſhip. *Quintius* is diſmiſſed of his Dictatorſhip to day, not long after he is called from the Ploughes thereto againe. Yong *Scipio* ſcarce fit for ſuch a charge, is ſent againſt the Carthaginians as it were to day; he conquereth *Hanniball* and *Antiochus*, is made Conſull and getteth his brother to be made next after him, and ſo from dignitie to dignitie: and if himſelfe be not the hinderance, in time he ſhall be dignified no leſſe then *Iupiter*, yea, and after that by his induſtry Rome was deliuered from the feare of *Haniball*, and he returned home to his wife and children, he was ſtraightwayes occupied in ciuill factions and ſuits for offices: and rather then he would ſatisfie himſelfe with ordinary preferments, he choſe wilfully to goe into exile and was proude thereof; as if forſooth when happy and fortunate buſineſſe began to faile him, he would rather buſie himſelfe in vnfortunate proceedings then it ſhould be ſaid he wanted buſines; ſo farre we are from enioying the leiſure and pleaſure which yet we euery day deſire and wiſh for.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHy then, good friend *Paulinus*, exempt thy ſelfe from this common errour that poſſeſſeth the world; and now thou haſt beene buſied more then any of thine equals in age or honour, betake thy ſelfe at length into a hauen of quiet, call to mind what ſtorms thou haſt endured, what tempeſts, partly for priuate matters, and oftentimes for publique affaires thou haſt entangled thy ſelfe withall: thy vertue hath beene tried ſufficiently in troubleſome vnquiet matters: trie what it can doe in peace, at home in quiet. Thou haſt ſpent the greater, or at leaſt the better of thine age in publique buſineſſe, in cauſes common to thy wife and children, turne ſome part thereof to thine owne vſe, to thine owne behoofe. I wiſh thee not to betake thee to an idle, or vnlearned, or vnprofitable a vacation, nor would I haue thee to ſpend the reſidue of thy worthy nature, in ſleepe or other vnſeemely common peoples paſtime, this I count not reſt or quietneſſe. Thou ſhalt finde many greater matters then thoſe that yet thou haſt beene conuerſant in, to beſtow thy repoſe and leiſure in. Thou haſt kept the accounts of the Roman Store-houſes, which is as much almoſt as the accounts in a manner of all the world; the ſame I ſay thou haſt kept with ſuch abſtinence as if they had not belonged to thee, with ſuch diligence as if they had beene thine owne reuenues, and yet with ſuch integritie as if thou kneweſt well it were the wealth of the Citie and State of Rome, and thou to anſwer for euerie halfe-peny: and in this thine office thou haſt won the loue of all men, wherin other men could hardly auoide much hatred; and yet truſt me, it is a wiſer part to be able to giue a good account of thine owne life and liuing, then of all the corne in the countrey. Recall therefore this worthy minde of thine, fit I know for greateſt matters; recall it yet from this honourable, yet ſcarce a happy

ſeruice

ſervice to ſhew thy ſelfe at home a while, & remember this was the finall and moſt principal end of thy creation and firſt being, that in the end thou ſhouldeſt be Surueyor of the Cities corne, thou muſt propoſe a more priuate, but yet a higher and better calling: nor will there want any frugall and painefull men to ſupply thine office; ſo farre fitter are ſlow and vnwildie jades, or young and vntamed Colts to beare great burdens, then the trampling and ſtirring Steede, whoſe life and actiuitie no man durſt euer charge with a lumpiſh burden. Beſides this, bethink thy ſelfe how much care attendeth thee whilſt thou vndergoeſt ſo great a charge. Thou haſt to deale with the bellies of men. A people that endureth hunger is not ſubiect vnto reaſon, neither is mitigated by equity, nor pacified by any praiers. It is not long time ſince that vnder the Emperor *Caligula*, although now diſpleaſed (if dead men haue any ſenſe) to be dead in a few dayes, and to haue left the Roman people aliue, that there was not found ſufficient victuals in the Citie for ſeuen or eight dayes: and whilſt this Prince made bridges of boats, and ſported himſelfe with the meanes and forces of the Empire, the moſt dreadfull of all other euils, that is to ſay, famine beſieged Rome. His imitation of a furious and forrain King, and vnhappily puffed vp with pride well may coſt the ouerthrow and famine of his countrey, and that which followeth famine the ruine of all things. What minde then had they and care, who had the charge to prouide corne for the common ſtore. They prepared themſelues to receiue the ſtroakes of ſwords, to be ſtoned, burned, and to meete with *Caligula*; yet diſſembled they very carefully the cure of this euill, that was hidden in the intrailes of the Citie; for there are ſome infirmities wherunto we ought to applie remedies, without diſcouerie of the ſickeneſſe, as contrariwiſe diuers men are dead, becauſe they knew they were ſicke.

CHAP. XIX.

RETire thy ſelfe into theſe hauens more calme, more aſſured, and more great: thinkeſt thou that to giue order, that the corne bee more cloſed vp in the ſtorehouſes good and cleane without being ſpoyled by the malice and negligence of the Porters, in ſuch ſort that wet neither ſeaze or ouerheat it, and conſequently, that it returne to his meaſure and weight, is a thing of as great importance, as when thou approacheſt the celeſtiall miſteries, and when thou commeſt to enquire what the nature of the Gods is, there will their condition, their forme, the eſtate of thy ſoule, and the places where nature ſhall lodge vs after our deceaſe, what it is that ſuſtaineth the moſt weightieſt of all the workes of nature in the centre of the world, and ſuſpendeth the lighter things aboue, and carrieth fire vp on high, and exciteth the ſtarres in their courſes? In briefe, all the reſt full of great miracles: will thou forſaking the earth, rowſe thy mind and conſideration to theſe things, now, and ſo long as thy bloud is warme, and vigor ſtrong? thou muſt aſpire to that which is the beſt. An ardent loue of prayſe-worthy ſciences, the practiſe of vertue, the forgetfulneſſe of paſſions, the ſcience to liue and die well, a deepe repaſt diſcharged from all worldly affaires, attend thee in ſuch a manner of life. True it is, that the condition of all thoſe that are entangled with worldly affaires is miſerable: but yet more miſerable is the eſtate of thoſe men who are not buſied in their affaires, but ſleepe, walke and eate according to other mens appetites, and are conſtrained to loue and hate thoſe things

things that are moſt free of all others: if ſuch men would know how ſhort theſe mens liues are, let them conſider how much they rebate of their owne: you enuy not thoſe whom you ſee attaine vnto charges, and grow in reputation amongſt the people. Such aduancements are got with the expence of life, and to obtaine the credite that a man may count the yeare of his name, they vſe all the yeares of their life. Some other there are that being deſirous to attaine the higheſt degree of honour, after they haue trauelled long therein, are dead in the middeſt of their way: and others, which hauing attained the ſame by infinite and euill practiſes, haue beene ſeaſed with this diſtaſtfull apprehenſion, that they haue trauelled much to build them a tombe, and make themſelues ſpoken of after their death: ſome alſo conceiuing new hopes in their old yeers, as if they had beene in their prime, haue loſt their hearts, and periſhed in the midſt of their vnquiet and vniuſt attemps and endeauours.

CHAP. XX.

BAſe is the man, who being already olde, hath ſought to grow in credite amongſt the fooliſh common people, & is dead in ſpending himſelfe to pleade for meere ſtrangers that would ſet him on worke: as abiect is he, that being rather weary of life, then of trauell, is falne amidſt the affaires which he hath embraced, and becauſe hee that hauing death at his dore, toſſeth his papers and affaires to the great contentment of his heire, who long time expected for ſuch a prey, I cannot bury in ſilence one example that commeth to my memory: *Turanius* was an olde man of exact diligence, who after the ninetieth yeere of his age, being diſcharged of his office of commiſſary of victuals by the Emperour *Claudius*, got him into his bed, commanded all his ſeruants to muſter about him, and to bewaile him as if hee were dead: the familie lamented the repoſe of their old maſter, and continued this ſorrow vntill ſuch time as he was reſtored to his office. Is there ſo great a pleaſure then to die buſied? there are many that reſemble this *Turanius*, they deſire to trauell euen at that time when they can no more, they combat againſt the feebleneſſe of their bodies, and thinke not their age troubleſome, except it be becauſe it commandeth them to liue in repoſe. When a Souldier is fifty yeeres old, the law conſtraineth him not any more to beare Armes: a Senator hauing attained to threeſcore yeeres, is no more bound to attend the Senate; men more hardly obtaine leaue to repoſe themſelues at their owne hands then from the Law. In the meane while whileſt they aſſaile others, and are aſſaulted themſelues, whileſt one breaketh an others reſt, whileſt euery one tormenteth himſelfe, life ſlippeth away without profite, without pleaſure, or any content of the mind, there is no man that repreſenteth death vnto himſelfe, there is no man that extendeth not his hopes farre off. Some likewiſe there are that diſpoſe of theſe things which are after life, as of their proud Sepulchres, of inſcriptions; and dedicacy of their buildings, of ſports, combates, and other ſolemnities of their ambitious funerals: but vndoubtedly theſe mens obſequies ſhould be ſolemnized with torches and Tapers, as if they had liued very little.

The End of the Booke of the ſhortnes of Life.

THE

OF COMFORT,

ADDRESSED
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO POLYBIVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis booke was written during the time of his exile at such time as hee was dieected both in mind and body (wee must confesse it, and the writing testificth it) about the third yeare of his banishment: for he openly maketh mention of the first entrance into Britany, which was about that time: As touching POLYBIVS *hee was one of the most powerfull free men that belonged to* CLAVDIVS, *and receiued that title by reason of his studies, for he was learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and may wee gather honest apparantly by the prayses which* SENECA *loadeth him with; hee comforteth him in the death of his brother, and the whole disposition of the Booke is hidden, because both the beginning and diuers things else are missing: In that which is extant, this is his order: he denieth that wee should grieue at the death of one man, because the worlde it selfe and whatsoeuer is in it is condemned by that law: likewise because the griefe is vaine, and without fruit. Thirdly, that wee are borne to afflictions, and that we ought to fashion our selues thereunto. Fourthly, hee calleth to witnesse, the will of the dead, and sheweth his desire not to liue. Fifthly, that in constancy and example hee ought to exceed his other brothers, because hee was a worthy person, and all mens eyes were fixed on him. Sixthly, he wisheth him to take comfort from his studies which hee alwayes loued. This and such like vntill the 31. Chapter. From thence forward hee intermixeth the example of those who haue endured the like couragiously; amongst these (not without vilde flattery) he produceth* CAESARS *example, whom hee wonderfully praiseth, and in conclusion once againe sendeth* POLYBIVS *to his booke and studies, as a remedy of his griefe: wee cannot deny but this was* SENECAES *writing: I thinke not to the intent hee meant it should be published, but according to his present fortune abiectly, and too humbly written to a slaue (alasse) adorned with how many praises? I am ashamed, I am ashamed, whosoeuer published this, was an enemy to* SENECA, *and his glory.*

OVT OF THE [illegible]. CHAP.

IF thou compare our bodies with them, they are strong, if thou reduce them to the condition of nature that destroyeth all things, and recalleth them thither from whence shee made them, they are fraile; for what can mortall hands make immortall? Those seuen miracles, and whatsoeuer else more wonderfull then these, the ambition of succeeding yeeres haue builded, shall bee seene leueled with the ground; the end of things are varied, and whatsoeuer hath had a beginning shal haue an end: Some maintaine that the wicked shall

ſhall periſh, and if thou thinke it lawfull to beleiue, ſo much then ſhall a day come that ſhall diſſipate the ſame, and drowne the whole vniuerſe (which containeth all whatſoeuer is diuine and humane) into their former confuſion and darkeneſſe: now then let him lament that liſt, by reaſon of the death of ſo many perſons that haue been, let him deplore the deſtruction of *Carthage*, *Numantium* and *Corinth*, or whatſoeuer places were notorious, eyther in their flouriſhing or fall, when as this likewiſe as euidently appeareth vnto him, that euen that which hath nothing whereupon to fall, muſt periſh; let him goe and complaine himſelfe, that the Deſtinies (which muſt one day attempt and execute ſo great a miſchiefe) haue not ſpared him likewiſe.

CHAP. XXI.

Seneca ſ. here is nothing that befalleth vs, that hath not befallen others.

WHat man is hee of ſo proud and inſolent arrogancy, that in this neceſſity of nature that reuoketh all things to the ſame end, will haue himſelfe and his exempted out of the ranke of all others, and diſcharge ſome houſe from that ruine which ſhall deuoure the whole world. It is therefore a great comfort for a man to bethinke himſelfe that the ſame hath hapned vnto him, which all others haue ſuffered before him, and all that follow him muſt endure, and therefore in my iudgement nature hath made that moſt common which is moſt grieuous, to the end that the equality thereof might in ſome ſort lenifie the cruelty of the fate. This likewiſe will yeeld thee no little comfort, if thou thinke that thy ſorrow will neither profit him whom thou bewaileſt, nor thy ſelfe; for thou wouldeſt not haue that long that is vnprofitable: For if ſorrow would profit vs any thing; I refuſe not to intermixe the remainder of thoſe teares that my aduerſe fortune hath left me with thine; yea more likewiſe will I finde out ſome remnant of remorſe, that may flow from mine eyes that are dried vp by ſo many teares which I haue ſpent by reaſon of the misfortunes of my houſe: if that may returne thee any profite, why ceaſeſt thou? let vs complaine: I will take the cauſe in hand, and make it mine owne. O fortune that in all mens iudgement art moſt vniuſt, vntill this preſent it was ſuppoſed that thou ſparedſt this worthy man, who by thy fauour had attained ſuch credite, that his felicity (which is a thing both rare and leſſe heard of) was not enuyed by any man; behold thou haſt impreſſed a ſorrow in him more greater then he could receiue, but in the loſſe of the Emperour, & when thou haddeſt attempted and ſought into him euery wayes, thou couldſt not finde any fit meanes to aſſaile him but this: for what other iniury couldſt thou haue done him? what; take away his money? neuer was he a ſlaue vnto it, and now alſo as farre as in him lieth, hee caſteth it from him; and in this his ſo great felicity and means of enriching himſelfe, hee ſeeketh no greater fruit therby then the contempt therof. What take away his friends? Thou kneweſt he was ſo well beloued, that hee might eaſily ſubſtitute others in their places that were loſt; for of all thoſe great Lordes whom I haue knowne in the Emperours houſe, this man alone in my iudgement was ſuch a one that although it were expedient for all men to entertaine his friendſhip, yet their affection and deſire to bee in his fauour, was farre more great then the aſſiſtance they pretended to reape by his countenance. What depriue him of his honour? but that is ſo ſetled in him, that thou haſt no power to ſhake it. What, rob him of his health? thou knoweſt that his mind was ſo

Neither do our ſorrowes profite thoſe whom wee bewaile nor our ſelues.

A probable ſ. tending (more) to Senacaes ſtaid, then to our free hauing ſet it a ſtation from whence the higheſt minds.

well

well grounded in liberall ſciences (wherein hee is not onely bred vp but borne) that all infirmities of the body whatſoeuer cannot abaſh him. What, take away his life? how little haddeſt thou hurt him? the excellency of his mind had promiſed him a life of longer continuance, hee hath carefully endeauoured himſelfe to eternize the better part of him, and to warrantize himſelfe from death, by the excellent and learned works that hee hath compoſed. As long as learning ſhall be any wayes honoured, as long as the vigor of the latine tongue, and the grace of the Greeke ſhall haue credite amongſt great men: ſo long ſhall this man liue amongſt the men of moſt reputation, whoſe ſufficiency and worth hee hath eyther equalled, or (if his modeſty refuſe this teſtimony) hath very neerely imitated.

CHAP. XXII.

THou haſt therfore bethought thee of this one meanes, whereby thou mighteſt harm him moſt; for the better a man is, the more oftner is he accuſtomed to thy aſſaults, who art diſpleaſed without election, and dreadfull amidſt thy greateſt benefites. Was it ſo great a matter for thee to warrantize this man from affliction, whom thy fauour in ſome ſort ſeemed to haue ſufficiently defenced, and not according to thy vſuall cuſtome to haue light vpon him raſhly? but if thou wilt let vs adde to theſe complaints the gentle nature of thy brother, raviſhed out of this world in the prime of his youth; hee deſeured to haue thee to his brother, and thou vndoubtedly art moſt worthy to lament ſuch a brother as hee was: all men giue an equall teſtimony of him, he is bewailed to thy honour, and prayſed for his own deſert, there was nothing in him which thou wouldeſt not willingly acknowledge. For thine owne part thou wouldeſt haue ſhewed thy ſelfe good to an other brother, who might haue beene leſſe good, but thy piety hauing found an anſwerable ſubiect in this man, hath expreſſed it ſelfe more freely. Although his meanes were great, yet neuer offended he any man, neither threatned he any man with thee who wert his brother: hee was formed according to the example of thy modeſty, conſidering what honour it was vnto him to bee ſo neerely allied vnto thee, and of what importance that was, ſo likewiſe knew hee how to manage ſuch a charge. O cruell deſtinies, enemies to all vertue; thy brother was taken out of this world before hee knew his owne felicity; I am not diſpleaſed or angry more then I ſhould be, for there is nothing ſo difficult when a man is extremely vexed, as to finde out wordes that are anſwerable to his ſorrow: yet againe, if this will yeelde vs any remedy wee will lament? Where one thoughts thou vniuſt and iniurious fortune? why haſt thou ſo ſodenly repented thy ſelfe of thy fauourable dealing? what cruelty was this to breake in amidſt brothers, and by ſo bloudy a rapine to leſſon ſuch a company as liued in the greateſt peace of the world? why wouldeſt thou trouble and diminiſh without cauſe a houſe ſo well furniſhed with vertuous young men? amongſt whom, there was no one that degenerated. By this reckoning perfect innocency preuaileth nothing, ancient temperance is vnprofitable, a ſoueraigne honour (accompanied with vnſpeakeable modeſty, and intire, and pure loue towards good letters, and an vpright conſcience) ſhall be vnfruitfull. *Polybius* mourneth, and being admoniſhed in one brother, what hee is to feare of the reſt, is euen afraid of thoſe very comforts which ſhould lenifie his ſorrow.

4 *Some complaints againſt our eſtate, ſeeme in ſome ſort to bee able to leſſen our griefe.*

ſorrow. *Polybius* mourneth and is ſorrowfull, although he bee in great fauour with the Emperour: vndoubtedly therefore, O malignant fortune, thou haſt made choice of this meanes, to ſhew that no man, no not *Cæſar* himſelfe can warrantize a man from thy fury.

CHAP. XXIII.

5. Wee ought not to grieue and torment our ſelues for that which is firme vnauoidable, & immutable.

WEe may accuſe the Deſtinies longer, but we cannot change them, they continue obſtinate and inexorable; no man can moue them eyther with vpbraides, or teares, or perſwaſions: they acquit no man of any thing, they pardon nothing: let vs therefore ſpare our teares, becauſe they are vnprofitable: for ſooner will ſorrow lodge vs with him then returne him vnto vs; ſince ſhee tormenteth vs, & comforteth vs not, let vs ſhake her off in good time, and let vs retire our minds from vaine ſolaces, and from a bitter deſire of ſorrow: for except reaſon reſtrain our teares, fortune will not. Goe to, turne thy ſelfe on euery ſide, and conſider all men in this world: there is in euery place an ample and continuall cauſe of teares; one man is called to his dayly labour, by a laborious pouerty, an other tormented with inſatiable ambition, an other feareth thoſe riches he hath wiſhed for, and is ſicke of his owne deſires, this man is afflicted with care, that man with labour, this man is tyred with a troupe of ſutors that beſiege his dores, this man is ſorry that hee hath children, that man becauſe he hath loſt them: we ſhall ſooner want teares then cauſe of ſorrow. Conſidereſt thou not what life it is that nature hath preſented vs with, ſince ſhee would that teares ſhould be the firſt preſages of our condition in this world? This is our beginning whereunto all the courſe of our yeares haue relation: thus liue wee, and therefore wee ought to keepe a meaſure in this thing, which wee ought to doe ſo often: and then conſidering how many fatall accidents attend vs, if wholly wee cannot giue ouer our teares; at leaſt wiſe we ought to reſerue ſome part of them for time to come. There is nothing wherein wee ought to bee more ſparing then this whereof wee haue ſo frequent vſe. Moreouer thou ſhalt bee very much comforted, if thou thinkeſt that thy brother, for whom thou afflicteſt thy ſelfe in this ſort, taketh leſſe pleaſure in that thou doeſt then any man thou canſt name: hee will not, or hee knoweth not that thou art thus tormented: It is therefore an vnprofitable labour to grieue for him, for if hee feeleth nothing, it is ſuperfluous, and if he feeleth, hee taketh no pleaſure therein.

6. They that wee lament for ſorrow not themſelues, nor are ſorry for vs; neither take pleaſure in our lamentations.

CHAP. XXIIII.

7. They condemn not our affection, but they would not haue vs torment our ſelues.

BOldly dare I ſay, that there is no man in the whole world that is delighted in thy teares. What then? thinkeſt thou that thy brother is worſe affectioned towards thee then any other man? that he ſhould deſire thy affliction, that hee ſhould withdraw thee from thy buſineſſes, that is, from thy ſtudies, and from *Cæſar*? this is farre vnlikely; for he hath loued thee as his brother, honoured thee as his parent, and reſpected thee as his ſuperiour; hee would thou ſhouldeſt remember him, but not torment thy ſelfe for him; what auaileth it thee therefore to con-

conſume thy ſelfe with ſorrow, which if the dead haue any ſenſe, thy brother deſireth it ſhould be finiſhed: for an other brother whoſe inclination might ſeeme vncertaine, I ſhould put all theſe things in doubt, and I ſhould ſay, thy brother deſireth that thou ſhouldſt be tortured with inceſſant teares; he is vnworthy of this affection, and if hee would not, then giue ouer thy vnprofitable griefe. Neither ſhould an impious brother be ſo bewailed, neither would a pious be ſo lamented. But in this whoſe piety is ſo well approued, thou art to reſolue thy ſelfe that nothing can bee more grieuous vnto him, then if this his death be diſtaſtfull vnto thee: if it vexe thee any wayes, if it troubleth and ſpendeth thine eyes vnworthy of ſo great miſery, with cauſleſſe ſhewers of complaint. But nothing ſhall withdraw thy piety ſo much from vnprofitable teares as if thou thinke that thou oughteſt to bee an example to thy brethren, whereby they may be inſtructed to ſuſtaine theſe iniuries of fortune with conſtancy. That now art thou to doe which great Captaines doe in deſperate dangers or vncertaine, who purpoſely faine a merry demeaſure, and cloake their diſcontents with a pleaſant countenance, for feare leſt their Souldiers ſhould bee diſcouraged by diſcouering their gouernors diſcontent. Shew thou a countenance that is contrary to thy thought, and if thou canſt purge thy ſelfe of all ſorrow, at leaſtwiſe hide and containe it inwardly, leſt it appeare, and endeauour thy ſelfe that thy brothers may imitate thee, who will thinke that honeſt whatſoeuer they ſee thee doe, and will aſſume their courage according to the temper of thy conntenance. Thou muſt both ſolace and comfort them; but thou canſt not withſtand their ſorrow, if thou make a wanton of thine owne.

The eighth. We ought to bee much aduiſed of conſidence and patience to thoſe that ſo mine.

CHAP. XXV.

THis thing likewiſe may reſtraine thee from ſorrowing extreamely, if ſo bee thou informe thy ſelfe, that none of thoſe things which thou doeſt can remaine hidden. The common conſent of all men hath made thee great, maintaine that. Thou art enuironed with a troup of men that come to comfort thee, who carefully conſider thy thought, and diligently obſerue whether it bee fortified againſt griefe beſides, not onely if thou know how to vſe proſperity diſcreetely; or if thou canſt endure aduerſity manfully: they obſerue thine eyes. All things are more free vnto thoſe whoſe paſſions may be couered. As touching thy ſelf thou canſt not hide thy ſelf; fortune hath placed thee in al mens eies. Euery man ſhall know how thou haſt carried thy ſelfe in this conflict; whether vpon the firſt aſſault thou gaueſt ouer thy weapons, or if thou haſt ſtood confidently in the battell. Heretofore the fauour of the Emperour, and thine owne valour haue made thee riſe to great eſtate, and therefore all bare and vulgar infirmitie ill befitteth thee. But there is nothing ſo vilde and ſo baſe, then for a man to ſuffer himſelfe to bee deuoured in ſorrow. In the ſame griefe it is not lawfull for thee to behaue thy ſelfe ſo as thy other brothers. The opinion which is conceiued of thy ſtudies and manners, permitteth thee not many things; men require many things at thy hands, and expect much, if thou wouldeſt haue had all things lawfull for thee, thou ſholdeſt not haue drawn al mens eies vpon thee. But now ſo much art thou to performe as thou haſt promiſed all men, who prayſe and applaude the endeuours of thy witte, who, whereas they haue no need of thy fortune, yet haue neede of thy witte. Theſe are the watchmen of

The ninth, The more eminent our vocation is, the leſſe occaſion haue we to make our neighbours beliene that wee haue loſt our courage, and that we are vnworthy to act that which is committed to our charge.

thy mind. Thou canſt therefore doe nothing that is vnworthy the profeſſion of a perfect and learned man, but if diuers men will repent themſelues, becauſe they haue admired thee. Thou muſt not weepe immoderately, and although thou art not to looſe a part of the day in ſleepe, nor in ſeeking thy repoſe, forſake the bulke of affaires, and goe and trifle it in the Country, nor vndertake with a ſprightly conceit a long voyage to recreat thy body, being wearied with continuall trauell of thy weighty charge, nor to looſe thy ſelfe in diuers paſtimes in the Theaters, neither to ſpend the howers of the day according as it beſt liketh thee.

CHAP. XXVI.

He that is in authority muſt not ſolle himſelfe with abiection of mind for a great mans example doth much harm on a ſodaine then he can remedy all his life time.

THere are many things which are vnlawfull for thee, which are permiſſible in men of baſe condition, and ſuch as liue in obſcurity. A great dignity and proſperity is a great ſeruitude. It is not lawfull for thee to doe any thing according to thine owne mind. Thou muſt giue audience to a thouſand perſons, reade an infinite of petitions; thou muſt bee accoſted by a numberleſſe number of ſutors, poſting from euery part of the world. Thou hadſt need of a gouerned mind to diſpatch readily and ſodainely the affaires of the greateſt Prince in all the word. I ſay it is not lawfull for thee to weepe, becauſe thou art to heare diuers men that weepe; and to the end that their teares may be profitable vnto them that are in danger to obtaine the mercy of moſt milde *Cæſar*; thine are to bee dried vp. Yet behold what will comfort thee greatly, and proue a ſingular remedy for thee: caſt thine eyes vpon *Cæſar*, when thou wouldeſt diſburthen thy ſelfe of ſorrowes. Conſider what a charge his fauour hath impoſed vpon thee, how much induſtry thou oweſt him, and then ſhalt thou vnderſtand, that thou art no more to bee humbled by theſe croſſes, then hee (if a man may giue any credite to fables) who beareth the whole world on his ſhoulders. For this cauſe diuers things are not lawfull for the Emperour, who may doe all that which he pleaſeth. His vigilancy conſerueth the houſes of all men in particular: his trauell giueth them repoſe, his induſtry maketh them liue at eaſe, and in delight. His occupation furniſheth them with time to diſport themſelues in. Since that time that *Cæſar* dedicated himſelfe to the world, and rauiſhed himſelfe from himſelfe, and as the Planets which inceſſantly runne their courſes, hee cannot repoſe, neither diſpatch any thing of his owne affaires. So in the like ſort, the ſame neceſſity is enioyned thee, thou art neither to reſpect thine owne profite, nor affect thy ſtudies. As long as *Cæſar* is Lord of the world, thou canſt not addict thy ſelfe to pleaſure, or griefe, nor to any thing els, thou art wholly *Cæſars*. Adde hereunto that hauing alwayes made the world beleiue that thou loueſt *Cæſar* better then thine owne ſoule, it is not lawfull for thee as long as he liueth to complaine of thy fortune. Hee being in ſafety, all they that appertaine vnto thee are in ſecurity; thou haſt loſt nothing, thine eyes muſt not onely bee dried but bee ioyfull. In him thou haſt all thinges, and hee to thee is as much as all. I will tell thee without impeachment of thy prudence and piety, that thou haſt little reſpect of his greatneſſe, that as long as thy body is in good health, thou giueſt way to any thy ſorrow whatſoeuer. But I wil ſhew thee another remedy which is not ſo ſtrong as the precedent, yet is it more familiar, if at any time thou retire thy ſelfe into thy houſe, then wilt thou haue ſome cauſe to ſuſpect thy

Eloquence ſpent in vaine and palpable flattery.

The eleuenth, We muſt conſider as well thoſe goods that remaine with vs, as thoſe at leaſt wiſe which we haue leaſt.

thy ſorrow, for as long as thou ſhalt behold *Cæſars* Godhead, ſorrow will finde no acceſſe vnto thee, *Cæſar* will poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is in thee, when thou departeſt from him, then as if occaſion were giuen, ſorrow will finde out thy ſolitude, and will creep by little and little into thy ſoule that deſireth repoſe. Thou art not therefore to intermit any time of ſtudy, then will ſciences and good letters which thou haſt ſo long and faithfully loued, requite thy endeauour, and auowing thee for their patron and affectionate ſeruant, will take thee into their ſafeguard. Then *Homer* and *Virgil* (who haue ſo much obliged all men vnto them, as thou haſt made them obliged, hauing giuen order to make thē known to more men, then they themſelues haue written verſes) ſhall long time make abode with thee. All the time thou ſhalt commit and giue them to keepe, ſhall be aſſured. Imploy thy ſelfe then in couching, in writing the deeds of the Emperour thy Maſter, to the end that in all ages the Romane people may celebrate his memory, for he it is that will furniſh thee with matter, and giue thee example to digeſt and ſet downe his actions.

The twelfth, Study lenifieth ſorrow.

CHAP. XXVII.

I Dare not induce and perſwade thee ſo farre according to thy accuſtomed elegancy to ſet downe the fables of *Aeſope*, a worke as yet vnattempted by our Romane wits: for it is a hard matter for a mind ſo vehemently deiected as thine is, ſo quickly to vndertake this more pleaſing and pleaſant ſtudies, yet ſhalt thou know that thy mind will be fortified, and recouer himſelfe, if hee may giue ouer theſe grauer ſtudies, and employ himſelfe in thoſe that are more delightfull and free: for in the grauer, the auſterity of things which hee ſhall intreat vpon, will draw the ſame, although it bee ſicke and at debate in it ſelfe, but in thoſe that ſhal breede delight, thy ſpirit ſhall take no pleaſure, but at ſuch time as it ſhall bee ſetled and quieted in it ſelfe. Thou onghteſt therefore to exerciſe thy ſelfe in matters of importance, and then to temper thy mind with more pleaſing ſtudies. This likewiſe will comfort thee very much, if oftentimes thou debate in this ſort with thy ſelfe. Whether am I ſorrowfull in reſpect of my ſelfe, or in regarde of him that is deceaſed? if for the loue of my ſelfe, it is in vaine that I perſwade my ſelfe, that I am a good brother, and the griefe which beginneth is excuſable, becauſe it is honeſt, and eſtranged from piety in this, becauſe it hath regard to profite. But there is nothing that worſe beſeemeth a good man then to haue a will to conſider, how much hee hath eyther won or loſt by the death of his brother. If I complaine me for the loue of him, I muſt needes approue it by one of theſe two ſucceeding conſiderations, that is to ſay, that eyther the dead haue a feeling or no feeling. If they haue no ſenſe, my brother hath eſcaped all the incommodities of life, and is reſtored vnto that place wherein hee was before hee was borne, and being voide of all euill, hee neyther feareth nor deſireth, nor ſuffereth any thing. What madnes is this in me, that I neuer giue ouer grieuing for him who ſhall neuer bee aggrieued? if the dead haue any ſence, the ſoule of my brother being as it were diſcharged out of a long priſon, is now in freedome and full liberty, ſhee ſearcheth and beholdeth with content the workes of Nature, ſhee diſcouereth them from a high place wherin ſhe ſees all humane things, & neerly approcheth the diuine: in ſearch whereof ſhee was ſo long time vainely tormented. Why

The thirteenth, If we haue the meanes to exerciſe our minde in high and worthy thoughts, it will be ſure & expedient to paciſie our griefes.

The foureteenth, Wee ought not to lament thoſe that are dead in regard of our ſelues, for this were to loue our ſelues, nor for their ſakes, for as touching their bodies they haue no ſenſe, and as touching their ſoules, if they haue beene vertuous, they are in repoſe.

therefore afflict I my ſelfe with the loſſe of him who either is bleſſed, or is no body. To bewaile him that is bleſſed, it is enuy to lament him that is no more; is madneſſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The fifteenth, They are deliuered from the miſeries and misfortunes of this life.

OR art thou diſpleaſed hereat, becauſe in thy iudgement thy brother is depriued of great goods which followed and attended him? When thou ſhalt bethinke thy ſelfe that there are many things which hee hath left, conſider that there are more thinges which hee feareth not. Anger ſhall not vexe him, ſickneſſe ſhall not afflict him, ſuſpition ſhall not prouoke him, gnawing and hatefull enuy that is alwayes an enemy to other mens proceedings, ſhall not attend him, feare ſhall not preſſe him, inconſtant fortune that now taketh from one to giue it to another, ſhall torment him no more: If thou calculate well, thy brother hath gotten more then he hath loſt. But hee ſhall no more enioy his riches, neyther his owne honour, or the countenance hee hath had by thee; he neither ſhal receiue or doe pleaſures any more. Thinkeſt thou him miſerable, becauſe hee hath left theſe thinges, or happy becauſe hee deſireth them no more? Beleue mee he is more bleſſed that hath no need of fortune, then hee that is much troubled in entertaining her. All theſe goods which delight vs by reaſon of their faire but fallacious appearance, as money, eſtates, credite, and other ſuch like which corrupt couetous and ambitious mens minds, are poſſeſſed with paine, and beheld with enuy; they oppreſſe thoſe that are adorned with them, and threaten more then they profite. They are ſlippery and vncertaine, they are neuer firmely poſſeſſed, for although a man were not in doubt of that which is to come, yet ſo it is that the maintenance of a great proſperity is accõpanied with many cares, if thou wilt giue credit to thoſe who more inwardly examine the truth, all our life is but a puniſhment. Being caſt into this ſo deep and troubled a ſea, tormented with continuall ebbes and floates, that now rayſeth vs vp with ſodaine encreaſes, and ſtraight forſaketh vs with greater loſſes, and continually toſſing vs, wee neuer remaine in a ſetled place, wee liue in ſuſpence and incertainety, who are beaten one againſt another, and ſometimes we are ſhipwrackt, but alwayes fearefull. Saying in this ſo ſtormy ſea, and expoſed to all tempeſts, we finde no hauen but in death. Enuy not thy brother therfore, he is at reſt, now at length hee is free, now at length hee is ſecure, now at length hee is eternall. He hath left the Emperour and all his race, thy ſelfe and all his brothers behinde him. Before that fortune turned her fauourable face from him, hee forſooke her euen then when ſhee ſtood vnto him, and heaped fauours vpon him with a plentifull hand. But now hee enioyeth an open and freer heauen from an humble low Tabernacle, hee hath attained ſo conſpicuous a place, whatſoeuer it be that receiued thoſe bleſſed ſoules that are deliuered out of theſe earthly bonds into his bleſſed boſome, that now he freely wandreth and beholdeth all the goods of nature with exceeding pleaſure. Thou art deceiued, thy brother hath not loſt the light, but hath attained a more ſecurer. It is a way that we muſt all walke. Why complaine we of deſteny? hee hath not left vs, but gone before vs.

The vanity of riches.

Great fortune, great care.

The ſixteenth, They that we call dead are liuing, and the liuing are dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

BElieue it, there is a great happineſſe in dying happy, nothing is aſſured, no not for the length of one day, onely humane affaires being ſo obſcure and confuſed, as they bee who will vndertake to reſolue whether thy brothers death had wrought him enuy, or whether it hath procured him good? Beſides this, there is an other conſideration, which is to comfort thee, for thou oughteſt to think that in looſing ſuch a brother, thou haſt receiued no iniury, but that thou haſt beene greatly fauoured, becauſe that ſo long time it hath beene in thy power, to enuy and make vſe of his piety. Vnreaſonable is that man that hath not giuen his benefactor that credite to diſpoſe of that hee giueth according to his beſt liking. and that man is couetous, that in ſtead of calling that gaine which a man giueth him, complaineth that hee hath loſt that which hee hath reſtored. Vngratefull is hee that ſaith, that iniury is the end of pleaſure. And fooliſh is he that thinketh there is no fruit but in things preſent, that contenteth not himſelfe with thoſe things that are paſt, eſteeming thoſe things for certaine goods which appeare not any more, becauſe hee ought not to bee afraid that they are loſt. Too much ſcantleth he his wayes, who thinketh that hee enioyeth nothing but thoſe things that hee hath and ſeeth, and eſteemeth them as much as nothing which he hath had, and hath no more, for all pleaſures abandon others very ſodainely, it is a thing that ſlippeth away, that paſſeth, and is taken from vs almoſt before it commeth; wee muſt therefore beflect our thoughts vpon the time that is paſt, and recall to memorie, and oftentimes ruminate on all that which hath euer giuen vs pleaſure. The remembrance of delights and contentments is more aſſured and endureth longer time, then the preſence of them: remember this therefore amongſt thy greateſt goods, that thou haſt had a good brother: thinke not how long time hee might as yet haue liued with thee, but how long time hee hath remained with thee. Nature gaue him both to thy ſelfe, and the reſt of thy brothers, not as a thing proper vnto you, but ſhee hath lent him you, and when ſhee thought good ſhee hath redemanded him, not ſatisfying thy will herein, but her owne arreſt. If a man ſhould bee angrie for paying a debt for which hee allowed no intereſt, ſhould hee not be thought a moſt wicked fellow? Nature hath giuen thy brother life, and thy ſelfe likewiſe, and afterwards vſing her owne right, ſhe hath redemanded her debt from him, ſhee thought fitte to challenge. Shee is not in fault (whoſe condition was very well knowne; but we ought to accuſe the couetouſneſſe of mortall men, who ſometimes eyther forget what nature is, and neuer remember themſelues of their condition, except it be then, when they are brought in memory thereof. Reioyce therefore that thou haſt had ſo good a brother, and take in good part the vſe thou haſt had of him, although it were ſhorter then thou couldeſt haue wiſhed it. Thinke that it was moſt pleaſing to thee that thou hadſt, and humane that which thou haſt loſt. It is an vnreaſonable matter to bee ſorrowfull, becauſe thou haſt ſo ſmall a time enioyed thy brother, and not to be glad that thou haſt once enioyed his preſence. But hee died ſaieſt thou at ſuch time as I leaſt thought of it. Euery one ſuffereth himſelfe to be deceiued by his ſleight beliefe, and when wee loue a thing, we will not forget that it is ſubiect vnto death. But nature hath proteſted that ſhee will exempt no man from this neceſſity, which is impoſed vpon all men. Wee ſee dayly both our acquaintance and

The ſeuenteenth, He that dieth in proſperity hath no doubt aduantage.

The eighteenth, We haue long time enuied thoſe whom death redemandeth at our hands.

The nineteenth, Wee ought not to be grieued to repay that to God which hee hath lent vs, & appertaine to him, it ſufficeth he craueth his owne without intereſt.

The twentieth, It is a thing decreed that all men muſt die, & therefore our friend cannot be exempted no more then others.

and ſtrangers carried to their graues, yet thinke wee vpon an other matter, and call it a ſodaine accident, which during our whole life time hath beene tolde vs that it ſhould come to paſſe. This is not therefore the iniquity of the Fates, but the depraued neſſe of mans mind, who is diſpleaſed becauſe he muſt depart from that abroad, which was onely lent him for a time.

CHAP. XXX.

An example what we ought to doe.

HOw farre more iuſter was he, who receiuing tidings of the death of his ſonne, vttered a worthy ſpeech correſpondent and anſwerable to his worthy mind; *I knew when I begat him that hee ſhould die.* Wonder thou not that ſuch a man begat ſuch a ſonne that could die couragiouſly. The death of his ſonne was no nouelty to him: For what wonder is this for a man to die, whoſe whole life is nought elſe but a iourney vnto death. *I knew when I begate him that hee ſhould die*: and afterwards hee annexed a thing of a greater note, prudence and conſtancy; *I brought him vp to this end.* So are wee all whoſoeuer enters into life, is deſtinated to death. Let all of vs therefore content our ſelues with that which is giuen vs, and reſtore it againe when wee are required. Let our minds be alwayes addreſſed, and neuer feare that which muſt needes fall out; nor expect that alwayes which is vncertaine. Shall I call to remembrance in this place, the great Chiefetaines in warre, their children, and diuers perſons honoured by diuers Conſulates and triumphes, who are dead by the hands of inexorable Deſtiny? whole Kingdomes with their Kings, whole peoples and nations haue ended their courſe. All men, nay more, all things tend vnto their end. Although that in regard of the particular they are different. One is taken away, and dyeth in the midſt of his rece, another in the entry, another in his extreame olde age, being now wearied and deſirous to depart, is ſcarſely permitted to die. The times of death are different, yet all of vs tend to the ſame place. I know not whether it bee more fooliſh to bee ignorant of the law of mortality, or more impudency to refuſe the ſame. But I pray thee take ſome time to ouerlooke theſe things, which with great trauel of thy mind thou haſt worthily celebrated; namely the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, which thou haſt ſo readily and cunningly continued in proofe, that although the quantity & compoſition of the vertue, appeare no more, yet the grace of the ſame remaineth. For thou haſt in ſuch ſort turned them from Greeke into Latine, and from Latine into Greeke, that thou haſt attained all thoſe perfections that are requiſite in him, that tranſlateth from one tongue into an other. There is no one booke in all thoſe writings that furniſheth thee not with a great number of examples of the vnconſtancy of mans life, of vncertaine accidents and caſualties, that ſucceed and flow from diuers courſes. Conſider with what Maieſty of ſpeech thou haſt preſented theſe things, at ſuch time as thou art aſhamed to looſe thy courage ſo ſeen, and to diſcend ſo low after thou haſt ſpoken ſo high. Demeaſure not thy ſelfe like him that of late admired thy writings, and asked how it was poſſible that ſo feeble a ſpirit as thine was could conceiue ſo great and ſo ſolide things; but rather caſt thine eyes aſide from theſe afflictions that torment thee, and turne them toward ſo many excellent conſolations, in regarding thy brothers ſo vertuous, thy wife and thy ſonne. Fortune hath parted ſtakes with thee, in taking away thy brother, and leauing thee all the reſt in ſecurity and ſafety.

The twentie one, We ought not to feare that which muſt neceſſarily happen, although it be in diuers ſorts.

The twenty two, The good bookes that are written either by our ſelues or others, may comfort vs greatly, as alſo vanity in yeeres or reputations, and occupations, which we ought carefully to obſerue.

CHAP. XXXI.

The twenty three Men ought to consider the goods that remaine with vs to oppose against them those that are redemanded from vs.

DIshonour not thy selfe so much, as to giue the whole world occasion to beleiue that one sorrow hath more power ouer thee, then these so many solaces. Behold thy brothers, thy wife, and thy sonne wounded with the same sorrow that thou art, without having any meanes to helpe thee, nay contrary thou seest, that they expect thou shouldest succour them. And therefore the lesse spirite and knowledge they haue, the more needfull is it, that thou resist this euill that concerneth you all. And it is in some sort a kind of comfort to demand a mans sorrow amongst many, and because many partake with thee in thine, there should be very little remainder for thy selfe. I will not cease to represent vnto thee the Emperour *Claudius*, as long as hee shall gouerne the world, and make it knowne that the Empire is farre better maintained by benefites then by armes, thou needest not feare that thou shouldst feele any crosse: thou hast sufficient security, and a consolation in him alone. Raise and rowse thy selfe, and as often as teares beginne to drie thine eyes, fixe them so often vpon *Cæsar*, and by beholding so great and so excellent a power, thine eyes shall bee dried; his brightnesse will so rauish them that they cannot admire any other thing but himselfe, and will keepe them fixed vpon himselfe. Hee it is whome thou beholdest day and night, and from whom thy heart is neuer estranged, & whose admiration must deuoure thee? This is hee that can assist thee against fortune, and I doubt not since hee is a Prince so courteous, and so well affected towards all his seruants, but that hee hath already applyed diuers remedies to thy wounds, and ministred diuers medicines to thy paines, for feare they should encrease. And what? although hee had done none of all these, doth not the onely presence and remembrance of him comfort & animate thee greatly? Vouchsafe all you gods and goddesses to giue him a long and happy life: let him exceede *Augustus* both in actions and yeeres, and so long as hee shall liue in this world, let him bee exempted from beholding the death of any of his. Let his dominion of long continuance be adorned with all iustice. Let the Emperour leaue his sonne for their Lord, and receiue him as an associate to his Father, before they accept him as a successor. Let the time runne slowly, and only during the life of our childrens children, wherein his subiects shall ranke him amongst the number of the gods.

CHAP. XXXII.

Senecaes vows and secret insinuations.

TOuch him nor O Fortune, neyther imploy thy forces against him, but in as much as thou art profitable, suffer him to heale mankind too long trauelled with sickenesse and misery, permit him to restore and reestablish all that which the fury of his Predecessor hath shaken. Let this starre euer shine that hath enlightned the world that was plunged in obscurity, and deuoured in darkenesse. Let him pacifie *Almany*, giue entry vnto *England*, triumph both for his owne, and his Fathers victories. His clemency the chiefe of all his vertues, promiseth mee that I shall bee one of the beholders; for hee hath not so humbled me, but he may exalt me, what say I humbled? hee hath not onely relieued, but hee hath sustained

ſuſtained me at ſuch time as fortune had deiected me, and when as I was headlong caſt downe to the ground, he hath courteouſly and mercifully raiſed me by his diuine hand. Hee interceded to the Senate in my behalfe, and hath not onely giuen mee life, but required it likewiſe; let him determine in what ſort hee would haue my cauſe eſtimated, eyther his iuſtice ſhall finde it good, or his clemency ſhall make it whatſoeuer befall me, be it that hee knoweth, or that hee would that I ſhould bee innocent, it ſhall bee alwayes a beneſite of his towards me; Meanewhile the greateſt comfort that I haue in my miſeries, is to ſee his mercy ſpred ouer all the world, which when it hath digged out many after the ruine of ſo many yeeres, and out of that very angle wherein I am buried, and brought them to light, I feare not, nay more I truſt, that hee will not leaue me alone deſolate. But hee beſt knoweth the time wherein hee ought to comfort and relieue euery man, for mine owne part, I will endeuor to the vttermoſt, that hee may not be aſhamed to ſuccour mee. How happie is thy clemency O *Cæſar* which hath cauſed thoſe that are baniſhed to liue in greater aſſurance vnder thy gouernment, then Princes did vnder *Caligula*? The baniſhed feare not, they expect not howerly for a Hangman to come and diſpatch them, neither are they abaſhed when they ſee the ſhippes approach, as by thy fauor there is ſome meaſure in their aduerſity, ſo hope they for a more proſperous condition, and they content themſelues in ſome ſort in the exile, becauſe it ſo pleaſeth thee. Thou muſt know that the fluſhings of thy lightning are not to bee feared, but darted of ſet purpoſe, when thoſe that are attainted therewith reuerence it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

To comfort with more effect hee inducetth Cæſar to perſwade Polybius.

THis price therefore, who is the publike ſolace of all men, hath or elſe I am deceiued already recreated thy mind, and hath applyed greater remedies to this thy ſo great wound: Hee hath already confirmed thee euery wayes, and with an exquiſite memory hath related vnto thee all the examples which are proper to enduce thee to moderate thy griefe, and hy his ordinary eloquence hath diſcouered vnto thee all the precepts of Philoſophie. A man therfore cannot find out any who is more fitting to ſpeake vnto thee then hee is. His wordes will be of greater weight then mine, and ſhall be ſo much reuerenced as ſo many Oracles, which hy thy diuine authority ſhall cruſh all the forces of thy ſorrowes. Suppoſe therefore thar he ſpeaketh vnto thee after this manner. Fortune hath not onely made choiſe of thee to examplifie her cruelty vpon. There neither is nor was any houſe in this whole world without ſome lament. I will ouerſlip common examples which although they are leſſe, yet are they wonderfull. I wil reduce thee to our Annals and publike Chronicles. Seeſt thou al theſe images, which haue filled *Cæſars* imperiall hate; there is not one of them that is not touched with ſome calamity of his parents or friends, euery one of theſe men who by their vertue ſhall aſtoniſh the ages to come, haue been aggrieued at the death of thoſe that touched them neere, or haue been with great ſorrow lamented by their friends after their death. What neede I recount vnto thee *Scipio* of *Africa*, who during the time of his baniſhment was reſolued of his brothers death. This brother that had deliuered his brother out of priſon, could not warrant him from death. All men ſaw how impatiently *Scipio* ſuffered

The twenty four. The examples of greater men that haue been afflicted ſhould confirme our reſolution.

fered the iniury that was done vnto his brother whom he loued ſo much: for the ſame day that hee deliuered his brother from the hands of the Sergeant: hee preſented himſelfe as a priuate man before the Tribune of the people, to obtaine fauour. Meanewhile he endured the death of his brother, with no leſſe courage then he had ſhewed in preſeruing his life. Shall I reckon vp vnto thee *Aemitianus Scipio*; who almoſt at one time ſaw his fathers triumph, and the obſequies of his two brethren? yet notwithſtanding although he were very yong, and but as yet an Infaut, he endured this ſodaine ruine of his family as conſtantly falling vnder the triumph of his father; as ſuch a perſonage as hee ſhould do, who was borne to that end, that *Rome* ſhould not be without a *Scipio*, nor *Carthage* without ruine.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

SHall I tell thee of the amity of the two *Luculli* that was diſſolued by death? Shall I reckon vnto thee the *Pompeis* whome cruell fortune permitted not to periſh vnder one ruine? *Sextus Pompey* ouerliued his ſiſter, by whoſe deceaſe the firme bonds of the Romane Empire, and the peace thereof were broken. He ouerliued his brother likewiſe, whom fortune had raiſed to this end, that his ouerthrow might not bee leſſe then the ruine of his father; yet after this fall of his, hee proued both ſufficient to diſgeſt this ſorrow, and to maintaine a warre. Infinite are the examples on euery ſide of brethren that haue died one after another, and I ſay on the contrary part, that ſcarſely ſhalt thou finde two brothers that haue liued ſo long as them both. But I will content my ſelfe with the example of thoſe of our houſe: ſuppoſing that no man will bee ſo deuoid of reaſon and iudgement, who vnderſtanding that fortune hath taken pleaſure to make Emperours weepe, will complaine that ſhe hath driuen others to ſorrow. *Auguſtus* loſt his deereſt ſiſter *Octauia*, neither did Nature take from him the neceſſity of mourning, to whom ſhee had deſtinated heauen; contrariwiſe, this Prince afflicted with all ſorts of death of thoſe that touched him neereſt loſt beſides her his ſiſters ſonne, who ſhould haue beene his heire. And leſt I ſhould enter into a particular account of his ſorrowes, hee loſt his ſonne in lawes, his children, his Nephewes, and no man amongſt all morrall men, had more feeling that hee was a man then hee did, whileſt hee liued amongſt men; yet notwithſtanding his heart, the moſt peaceable that a man might imagine, diſgeſted ſo many bitter griefes, and ſo made himſelfe victorious not onely ouer forrain nations, but alſo of his paſſions. *Caius Caſar* the Nephew of mine vncle by the mothers ſide, euen vpon the entrance of his youthly yeeres, loſt his brother *Lucius* moſt deare vnto him, a Prince as yong as himſelfe, during the preparation of the Parthian warre, and receiued a greater wound in mind then that was which afterwards offenced his body, yet endured he both the one and the other, both piouſly and ſtoutely. The Emperour mine vncle by the fathers ſide, ſaw his yonger brother, and my father die in his armes, at ſuch time as hee was ready to enter the heart of *Almayne*, and hee ſubdued the moſt ſauage nations of the world, and made them ſubiect to the Romane Empire; yet kept hee a meaſure in his ſorrow, and gaue order that others ſhould containe themſelues, reducing the Army not onely aggrieued but deſolate, and aſtoniſhed, and who generally demanded the body of their generall *Druſus* to the Romane cuſtome,

Other examples.

cuſtome and manner in mourning, iudging this that hee was obliged not onely to obſerue the rules of military profeſſion, but a meaſure in bewailing the dead. He could not repreſſe other mens teares, except firſt of all hee had reſtrained his owne.

CHAP. XXXV.

See Plutarch in this mans life and behold a true patterne of inconſtant fortune.

Marke Anthony my Grandfather inferior to none but him, by whome hee was ouercome, eſtabliſhing the Romane Eſtate, and being one of the Triumuirate, raiſed aboue all men, and (except his two companions) ſeeing all things vnder his feet, heard news that his brother was ſlaine. O inſolent Fortune, what pleaſure takeſt thou in procuring mens miſeries. At that time when *Marke Anthony* had the power of life and death amongſt the Romane Citizens, his owne brother was commanded to death; yet endured hee this ſo hatefull a wound with the ſame magnanimity of mind, wherewith he had endured all other aduerſities, and his mourning was of this nature, that hee ſolemnized his brothers funerals, with the bloudy maſſacre of twenty Legions. But to lay apart all other examples, and to the end that I may ſuppreſſe in my ſelfe other mens loſſes, Fortune hath aſſailed me twice in the death of my brothers, and I haue twice found this in my ſelfe, that I might bee hurt but not confounded: I loſt my brother *Germanicus*, whom how entirely I loued, hee may perfectly vnderſtand, who thinketh how much pious brothers loue their brothers; yet ſo gouerned I my affection, that I neither omitted any thing that might bee required at a good brothers hand, neither did ought that might be reprehended in a Prince. Thinke therefore that the parent of the common-weale relateth theſe examples vnto thee, and ſheweth thee how nothing is ſacred or vnattainted by Fortune, who out of theſe houſes durſt lead out funerals from whence ſhee was to receiue her goods. Let no man therefore wonder, if Fortune behaueth her ſelfe cruelly or vniuſtly: for can ſhee acknowledge any equity towards priuate houſes, or any modeſty, whoſe implacable cruelty hath vſurped vpon the gods? Let vs exclaime againſt her not onely in priuate but in publike, yet will ſhee not bee changed, her eares are deafened againſt all prayers and complaints. This was Fortune in humane affaires, and this will ſhee be; there is nothing that ſhee dare not attempt, nothing that ſhee leaueth vntouched: ſhee will forcibly enter thorough all things, and according to her accuſtomed manner, without making any difficulty to beare the dead into thoſe houſes, whereinto men enter by Temples, and to hang thoſe dores with blacke, which before times were adorned with lawrell.

The twenty fiue, If death ſpareth not the greater, why ſhould ſhe ſpare the ſmall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THis one thing let vs obtaine at her hands by vowes and publike prayers, except as yet ſhee hath not reſolued to confound all humane race.) That if with a fauourable aſpect ſhee continue as yet, behold the Romane name, that ſhee will be pleaſed to reſerue vnto herſelfe and to all men, this Prince who was raiſed to reeſtabliſh the decaying world: let her learne clemency of him, and by the mile-

The twenty ſixth If the great ones of the world beare their loſſes patiently, the leſſer ſhould follow their example.

deſt

deſt Prince of all others be inſtructed what mercy is. So then thou oughteſt to conſidet all thoſe of whome before time I haue made mention, either already receiued into heauen, or very neerely approch the ſame, and patiently endure fortune, who ſtretcheth her hand to thee alſo, wherewith ſhe attempteth thoſe likewiſe by name, by whom wee are accuſtomed to ſweare. It behoooueth thee to follow their conſtancy, and to ſuſtain & ſurmount misfortunes, and as much as may bee lawfull for a man to follow the ſteppes of the gods. Although that in other things there is a great differenee betwixt men, by reaſon that ſome are more highly raiſed then others; yet is vertue planted in the midſt of all men and diſdaineth not any man, prouided that he thinke himſelfe worthy of her. Be carefull to follow thoſe who hauing any occaſion to be diſpleaſed, becauſe they are cloaſed in, and viſited ſo neerely, notwithſtanding haue thought that fortune offered them no outrage in equalling them with other men, but that it was the law of mortality, and thus were they neither vexed nor grieued, neither haue they ſhewed any faint and effeminate hearts in ſuch like accidents: for not to feele a mans euils is the part of a beaſt, and not to endure them, is not the part of a man, yet can I not (after I haue ouerrunne all the *Cæſars* from whom Fortune hath taken their brothers & ſiſters) ouerſlippe this man whom wee ate to draw out of the number of the reſt) whom Nature hath produced and brought to light, to the generall diſgrace and deſtruction of all mankind, by whom the Common weale was vtterly ouerthrowne, and reduced againe by the clemency of our mercifull Prince. This *Caligula* that neither knew to grieue or reioyce accordiug as it beſeemed his dignity, when his ſiſter *Druſilla* was dead, retired himſelfe out of the ſight and conuerſation of all his Citizens, neither was hee preſent at his ſiſters obſequies, neither honoured hee her according to her dignitie, but retired himſelfe into his Albarium? yet relieued hee the ſorrow of theſe ſo hapleſſe funerals, by hearing pleas, and other ſuch like occupations. What ſhame was this for the Romane Empire? The ſport of a Romane Prince that bewailed his ſiſter, was to ſolace himſelfe at dice. The ſame *Caius* with furious inconſtancy, ſometimes ſuffering his beard and haire to grow long, ſometimes courſing along al the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, not following the ordinary wayes, and neuer certainely aſſured whether hee would haue his ſiſter bewailed or deified: for at the ſame time when hee reared Temples and honours to her, hee puniſhed them by moſt cruell torments, who ſufficiently bewayled not her death: for no leſſe intemperate ſhewed hee himſelfe in ſuſtaining the ſhocke of theſe afflictions. as he was immeaſurably proud in his proſperities, for hee ſwelled aboue humane meaſure. Farre bee this example from euery Romane Citizen, eyther to attenuate his ſorrow by vntimely ſports, or prouoke them in ſoyling himſelfe with odious and baſe vncleanneſſe, or to delight in other mens euils, and not in humane ſolace. Yet ſee thou that thou change nothing of thy accuſtomed carriage, becauſe thou haſt reſolued to loue thoſe ſtudies, which moſt fitly extoll a man to felicity, and moſt eaſily leſſen his calamity, and they are thoſe that are the greateſt ornaments and ſolaces of mankind.

Twenty ſeuenth, The inconſtant fury of Caligula *in the death of his ſiſter, ought to teach wiſe men how to temper and gouerne their ſorrowes, except they would haue their minds reputed vnbrideled.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Twenty eighth. A speciall consolation to Polybius, declaring that vertuous studies needes the greatest sorrowes.

NOw therefore drowne thy selfe more deepely in thy studies: now enuiron them about thee as the fortresses and bulwarkes of thy mind, neither let sorrow find any entrance in any part of thee: Publish likewise thy brothers memory in some one monument of thy writings, for this is the onely worke amidst all humane offices, which no tempests may hurt, no age consume: the rest that consist in gathering and laying stones in marble monuments, or earthly tombes that are raysed to a great height, will not continue long, for they themselues will bee consumed. The monuments of the mind are immortall; bestow these on thy brother, enshrine him in these. Thou shalt alwayes eternize him better by thy lasting wit, then by bewailing him with fruitlesse sorrow. As touching that which concerneth fortune, although that for the present a man may not plead her cause before thee (for all that which she hath giuen vs are hatefull vnto vs for this very cause, that she hath taken somwhat from vs) yet then will wee speake of it when time hath made thee a more equall iudge in her behalfe, for then maiest thou reenter into fauour with her: for shee hath prouided many things whereby shee may amend this iniurie, for many things will shee now giue, whereby she may redeeme the same: to conclude thou receiuedst that at her hands which shee hath taken from thee, Vse not thy wit therefore against thy selfe, neither accompany thou thy sorrow. Well I wot that thine eloquence can approue those things to bee great, which are but small. Againe, it can lessen great things, and bury them in obscurity, but let her reserue her forces to some other purpose, and now let her employ them wholly in comforting thee. But beware that this thing likewise bee not vnprofitable for thee; for nature exacteth somewhat at our hands, and vanity striueth to shorten it: yet neuer will I entreat thee to giue ouer sorrow wholly. I know there are some men more obstinate and inflexible then prudent and couragious, who maintaine that a Wiseman should not bee touched with sorrow. But these men seeme to haue neuer tasted of such like disasters, otherwise Fortune had driuen their proud wisdom from them, and had compelled them thogh against their wils to confesse the truth. Reason hath don enough, if she restraine the excesse of sorrow, but to haue it wholly rooted out, no man ought either to hope or desire it. Let him rather obserue this measure, it neither falleth into impietie or folly, and containe vs in that habite which becommeth a quiet and no disturbed mind. Let our teares flow, let them bee stayed: let our sighes be drawne from the bottome of our hearts; yet let them haue an end. So gouerne thy mind that thou mayest approue thy selfe to Wise-men, and to thy brothers. Labour to deserue that thou mayest oft times remember thy brother, to the end thou mayest magnifie him in thy wordes, and that by a continuall thought and remembrance thou mayest represent him vnto thee. Whereunto thou mayest finally attaine, if thou make his memory pleasant vnto thee, and not lamentable. For it is naturall for the mind to flie alwayes from that whereto she returneth with sorrow. Thinke vpon his modestie, thinke thou of his readinesse in his businesse, his diligence in executing them, his faithfulnesse in his promises. Let other men know, and do thou thy selfe remember all his deedes and words. Consider what he hath beene

Against those that condemne sorrow, and what measure wee ought to obserue therein.

and

and what can bee hoped that hee ſhall bee: For what cannot a man promiſe for ſuch a brother. This Diſcourſe haue I addreſſed vnto thee in the beſt ſort I may, hauing my ſpirite almoſt ſpent and dulled with ſorrow, which if it bee ſcarce anſwerable to thy expectation, or ſeeme to bee too weake to medicine thy ſorrow, bethinke thy ſelfe how hardly Latine wordes flow from him, whoſe eares are tired with the rude and vnpoliſhed language of the Barbarians.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

OF CONSOLATION.
WRITTEN
BY
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO
MARCIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

MARCIA a gracious and rich Matron, as it appeareth the daughter of AVLVS CREMVTIVS CORDVS, a man famous both for his ſtudies and writings, had a ſonne who died in his full yeeres, for hee was a husband, a father, and a Prieſt, and already three yeeres were paſt as appeareth in the end of the firſt Chapter, ſince hee died. I therefore gather that this booke was publiſhed about the beginning of CLAVDIANVS time, and not before. For it is ſcarſe probable that this METELLVS (for ſuch was his name) was raiſed to honour in TIBERIVS time. Vnder CAIVS therefore, who out of ſome other acts of TIBERIVS, and namely permitted AVLVS CREMVTIVS writings to be read: which likewiſe is touched in the firſt Chapter: and therefore this conſolation could not be publiſhed before, eſpecially the griefe being inueterate, and after three yeeres ſpace. Nay to him that well conſidereth the ſame, this Booke may bee ſuppoſed to bee written vnder CLAVDIVS, and after his exile. It matters not much. Touching the Booke, it is one of his beſt, although it bee not voide of feminine flattery. There are two partes thereof. In the former he prayſeth her, and both by his own and other mens examples comforteth her vntill the ſixth Chapter; in the latter hee deſcendeth to reaſons, and firſt hee alleadgeth the common reaſon that ſorrow profiteth nothing. Then that is vnnaturall, and rather is grounded on tenderneſſe, and inconſideration, becauſe wee foreſee not that thoſe things which may bee done, are futurely to ſucceede. And againe, he produceth the examples of men and women. Then paſſeth hee ouer to the eſtate and condition of thoſe that are borne, to whome death is annexed, vntill the nineteenth Chapter. Then offereth hee this Dilemma: That neither the mother nor hee are iniured. Of the mother, in ſhort, ſhee is gracious, and onely vexed by opinion. Of the ſonne diuerſly, hee is in quiet: and deliuery both from caſualties and vices. What if hee had beene inclined to thoſe in ſo corrupt a City? that hee was therefore taken away in good time, and at laſt the Father

ther CREMATIVS *is in perſon prouided, comforting and animating his daughter, and inciting her with a conſtant ſpeech to regard and behold cæleſtiall and diuine things.*

CHAP. I.

EXcept I knew *Marcia* that thou wert ſo farre eſtranged from womanniſh infirmity of minde, as from other vices, and that euery man obſerueth thy manners, as it were ſome ancient patterne of vertue. I durſt not vndertake to encounter with thy ſorrow, whereunto men are too willingly inclined & ſubiect: neither had I conceiued any hope in a time ſo vnreaſonable, before a Iudge ſo partiall, in a crime ſo hatefull, that I conld effect this, that thou ſhouldeſt complaine of thy fortune: but the approued conſtancy of thy mind and thy vertue confirmed by many trials, haue animated me, and made mee confident. It is not vnknowne in what ſort thou diddeſt behaue thy ſelfe in the perſon of thy Father, whom thou louedſt no leſſe then thou diddeſt thy children, except in this that thou diddeſt not deſire that hee ſhould not ouerliue thee, yet know I not whether thou diddeſt wiſh it mee or no. For a great piety permitteth it ſelfe ſome thing, which are not anſwerable to good and laudable manners of life. Thou hindereſt as many as lay in thy power the death of *Aulus Crenutius Cordus* thy father. But when hee had diſcouered vnto thee, that hee had but one meanes to eſcape from ſeruitude, wherein hee was detained by the vaſſals of *Seianus*, thou fauouredſt not his counſels, but ſuffereſt thy ſelfe to bee ouercome, and ſecretly powredſt forth teares, thou deuouredſt thy ſorrow, yet couldeſt not conceale it with a merry countenance: and this in the age wherein it was great piety to doe nothing impiouſly. But as ſoone as the reuolution of time preſented thee any occaſion, thou broughteſt him to light for the generall good of all men) the teſtimonies of thy fathers wiſdome, who was put to death, and exemptedſt him from the graue by publiſhing and communicating thoſe his bookes vnto the world, which that worthy man had written with his owne bloud. Worthily haſt thou deſerued of the Romane ſtudies, for the greater part of them was conſumed by fire; worthily of poſterity, to whom the incorrupted truth of former occurrents ſhal bee teſtified to the glory of that great man thy father, who wrote them; worthily at his hands, whoſe memory ſhall flouriſh and liue as long as men are deſirous to know the Roman affaires, as long as there ſhall bee any who will reflect & read the acts of antiquity, as long as there is any that would know what a braue Romane, who ſeeing the yoake of *Seianus* vpon his necke, and his feete treading on the heades of euery man, hath brauely diſcharged himſelfe of that ſeruitude, and ſhewed that both in vnderſtanding, ſoule, and hand hee was a free man. Truely the common weale had ſuffered a great loſſe, if thou haddeſt not brought this worthy perſon to light, who was buried in obliuion, to let vs ſee two worthy parts in him, to witte, his eloquence and liberty: hee is read, hee flouriſheth, hee is entertained in mens hands and hearts, he feareth no iniury of time. But the hainous crimes of thoſe bloudy butchers, who deſerue

Seneca in this place intending to comfort Marcia in the death of her ſonne, propoſeth two things in this Preface. The one the greatneſſe of her courage in the death of her father. The other the good ſhee did vnto the Romans by reducing his hiſtories, which teſtifie that ſhee patiently endured ſuch a loſſe.

He excuſeth the vehemencie, her is reſolued to ſe conſidering the rigor of Martias minde, the time paſt ſince her afflictions, and the contempt of thoſe conſolations that haue beene miniſtred vnto her.

memorie for nothing but their murthers, ſhall bee obſcured. This greatneſſe of thy minde, forbad me to looke backe vnto thy Sexe, forbad me to behold thy countenance, which the continuall ſorrowes of ſo many yeares as it once clouded, it ſo now couereth it: But conſider that I intend not to ſurpriſe thee, neither thinke thou that I will ſteale away thy paſſions. I haue refreſhed the memorie of thine ancient euils: And wilt thou know that this wound alſo is cureable? I haue ſhewed thee the cicatrice of as great a wound. Let other men therfore dally and flatter with thy ſorrowes, I am reſolued to combat with thy griefe, and if thou wilt heare a truth, I will drie vp the current of thoſe teares that haue wearied and wafted thine eyes, which rather now flow by cuſtome then any deſire or cauſe, which may bee done if thou fauour thoſe remedies which I preſent thee: if not, I will doe it againſt thy will, although thou retaineſt and entertaineſt thy griefe, which thou haſt reſerued to continue in thy Sonnes place. But what end ſhall there be? All things are attempted in vaine. Thy friends are wearied with talking with thee, thy Allies and other great perſonages know no more what to ſpeake vnto thee, thy deaff-eares entertain no ſolace, although a man relate vnto thee that which thou haſt learned, and the goodly meanes and demeaſneſſe that thy father left thee. Theſe are words that ſtand thee in no vſe, but for the time they are a ſpeaking. The naturall remedie of time likewiſe, which appeaſeth the greateſt ſorrowes, hath loſt his power in thee alone. Three yeares are already paſt, and yet the vehemence of this thy paſsion is no wayes moderated, thy ſorrow reneweth and fortifieth it ſelfe daily by courſe of time it hath gotten poſſeſsion; yea, and is growne to that height, that thou reputeſt it a ſhamefull thing to diſmiſſe it and giue it ouer. Euen as all vices get poſſeſsion and preheminence in the heart, except they be oppreſſed, euen then when they appeare. So likewiſe theſe perplexities and miſeries, enraged againſt them ſelues, doe feede them ſelues at laſt by their owne acerbitie, and ſorrow becommeth a depraued pleaſure of the vnhappie minde. I could haue wiſhed therefore that I could haue miniſtred a medicine to this ſorrow in the beginning, a ſleight remedie had beene ſufficient to extinguiſh the furie of this paſsion vpon the firſt approach. Where now ſince the griefes are inueterate, the remedies ought to be more vehement. For thoſe wounds are eaſily cured which are but newly inflicted; then are they ſeared, ſearched, and indure the touching; yea, they are hardly healed when they are putrified, and that time hath brought them to an inueterate vlcer. I can not now to pleaſe thee, handle thy rebellious wound gently, I muſt preſſe out the poiſon, and cleanſe it with ſharpe medicines.

CHAP. II.

Entring into the matter, he beginneth to comfort her by examples. Fulla of Octauia which made her ſelfe miſerable, by vſing conſolation. But Martia hauing a more vehement minde, ſo the more ſhe was admonished.

I Know that all thoſe men, who will admoniſh any man, beginne with precepts and end in examples; yet muſt I alter this courſe. For ſome are to be handled in one ſort, ſome other in an other. Some there are that will be perſwaded by reaſon, to ſome wee muſt oppoſe the names and authoritie of great perſons to ſtay their mindes, that are aſtoniſhed at the luſtre of things. I will ſet before thine eyes two famous examples of thy Sexe and of our time; Of one woman that gaue her ſelfe ouer to griefe, of an other that hauing had no leſſe loſſe but farre greater damage, yet ſuffered not her ſorrow to raigne long time ouer her, but ſudaine-

sudainely setled and pacified her minde. *Octauia* and *Liuia*, the one the sister, the other the wife of *Augustus*. Lost each of them a Sonne, hauing both of them hope that one day they should haue beene Emperours. *Octauias* Sonne was called *Marcellus*, on whom his Vnckle and his wiues father began to build them selues, in committing to his hands the affaires of the Empire, a yong man of sharpe vnderstanding, of a great minde, modest and meruailously continent, and considering his yeares and fortunes, very laborious, enemie of delights, and readie to vndergoe all that which his vnckle would lay vpon him, or (if I may so speake it) build on his backe: Neither failed hee in his choice, for this yong man was sufficiently enabled to vndertake all sortes of burthens. His mother seeing him dead, ceased not all her life time to mourne and weepe, neither would shee admit any consolation, nor likewise suffer any by any meanes to dissuade her from her pensiue thoughts. But intending this one thing, and wholly fixing her minde thereupon, such was shee all her life time as shee was at his funerall. I say not that shee durst not rise, but that shee refused to bee raised, iudging it no lesse then a second orbitie to surcease her weeping. Shee would haue no Image of her deerest Sonne, neither would shee listen to any that made mention of him, shee hated all mothers, and was most mad against *Liuia*, because that felicitie that was promised her Sonne, seemed to bee translated to hers. All her pleasure was to liue in darknesse and solitude, shee no wayes thought on her brother, reiecting those Verses that were composed, and those honours which famous men had inuented, in memorie of *Marcellus*. In briefe, shee shut vp her eares from all comfort, shee retired her selfe from all solemne Offices, and hating that too much resplendent fortune of her brothers greatnesse, shee hid her selfe, and if I may so speake it, buried her selfe aliue. Although her owne children, and their childrens children came flocking about her, yet would shee not giue ouer her mourning robe, offering out-rage in this respect to all those that were her Allies, because shee thought her selfe alone when they remained in safetie.

CHAP. III.

LIVIA had lost her sonne *Drusus*, who should haue beene Emperour, and was at that time a great Captaine. Hee had already entered very farre into Germanie, and fixed his Ensignes there, where it was scarcely knowne that there were any Romanes. In this expedition hee died a Conquerour, and during his sickneſſe his very enemies gaue him great honour, not daring to promise themselues that good which was expedient for them: To this death which hee endured for the Common-weale, there was ioyned a multitude of Romane Citizens, of peoples that were Allies, and of all Italy (who had conducted his body thorow the Cities, and Prouinces which were peopled by the Romans, who had made great moane for him) as farre as Rome, as if *Drusus* had entred the same in triumph. His mother, that for a long way had followed his body, and being extreamely grieued, by reason that as many Piles as shee saw flaming thorow out all Italy, so many times seemed shee to behold her dead Sonne, had not the meanes to enioy his last kisses, nor heare his sweete and latest words, yet incontinently when the obsequies were performed, and that shee had closed him in his Tombe; shee buried her sorrowe with him, without aggrieuing her selfe

2. Liuia *contrariwise disgesteth the death of her sonne wisely and patiently whereby she was esteemed*

more then either her grauity, or *Augustus* greatnesse, or the equity of the cause required. Meane while shee ceased not to publish her sonnes prayses in euerie place, to represent him vnto her selfe both priuately and publikly, to speake most willingly of him, and take pleasure in those that recounted his praises, whē as no man could make mention of any other, but incontinently the remembrance of *Drusus* made her perceiue: Choose therefore which of these examples thou thinkest most probable; if thou wilt follow the first, thou cutteſt thy selfe off from the number of the liuing, thou wilt teach both thine owne and other mens children, and wanting him, thou wilt make all mothers afraid that meete with thee. Thou shalt disclaime thine honest and lawfull pleasures, as ill beseeming thy condition, and shall require nought else but to bee sequestred from company: in briefe, thou shalt loath thine owne life, because it endeth not as quickly as thou desirest. Besides, which is a thing estranged, and vnworthy thy mind, which hath a far contrary reputation, thou wilt make it known that thou wilt not liue, and that thou canst not die. But if thou fashion thy selfe according to the example of this great woman, which is more milde and moderate, thou shalt not vaile bonnet vnder thy sorrow, neither macerate thy self in afflicting thy self so much: for what folly is this (poor woman as thou art) to drowne thy selfe in sorrow, and to encrease thy miseries? maintaine in this accident the vertue, and moderation which thou hast approued in all the rest of thy former life; for if there bee any conueniency in sorrow, when thou hast alwayes the name of this young man (most worthy of rest) in thy heart and in thy mouth, thou thy selfe shalt place him in a happy abode; if hee appeare before thee merry and ioyfull as he did during his life.

CHAP. IIII.

The third, Sorrow should not be extreame, or perpetuall.

NEither will I perswade thee by more forcible precepts, command thee to endure humane accidents with a mind more then humane, that vpon the very day of the funerall thou shouldest dry vp the teares of a mother. I will doe thee iustice. The question is betweene vs, whether thy griefe ought to be great or perpetuall: I assure my selfe, that the example of *Liuia*, whom thou hast inwardly both knowne and honoured will please thee more then the other. Shee cals thee to counsaile her. Shee in the first fauour (whome as miseries are most impatient and furious) gaue an eare to the counsels and comforts of the Philosopher, *Areus* that attended her husband; and confessed that it yeeldeth her much more comfort then the Romane people, whom shee would not disgest by her sorrow, more then *Augustus* who was troubled, who had lost one of the staies of his Empire (nor was to bee deiected by the sorrow of any of his) more then *Tiberius* his son, who effected this then, that in that biter & displeasing funerals to all nations, found nothing missing but the number of one. This as I thinke, was the induction of that discourse which hee vsed in regarde of this woman, that was so setled in her opinions. Hitherto liued, and as neerely as I could conceiue, in as much as I was an inward Counsellor to *Augustus* thy husband, (who not onely knew thy publike sayings and actions, but also the secret motions of thy mind, thou hast carefully endured that no man should finde any thing that might giue him cause of exception. Neither hast thou obserued this onely in affaires of importance, but in the smallest things thou hast taken care,

A proofe here by a discourse which Areus vsed to Liuia: Seneca purposely here to the end hee may perswade Marcia more powerfully.

lest

leſt thou ſhouldeſt doe any thing that might bee afraide of report, which freely conſumeth the actions of the greateſt in this world. Neither thinke I that there is any thing that is more worthy thoſe that are in high place, then to pardon many things, and to require pardon of nothing. Thou art therefore to obſerue in this thing thine accuſtomed manner, not to limit any thing whatſoeuer, th at thou wouldeſt haue done leſſe or otherwiſe.

CHAP. V.

AFter this, I deſire and entreat thee, that thou ſhow not thy ſelfe froward and intractable to thy friendes. For thou art not to bee ignorant, that all theſe know not how to behaue themſelues, whether they ſhall ſpeake any thing before thee of *Druſus*, or nothing, leſt eyther the obliuion of ſo noble a young man ſhould doe him iniurie, or his memory and mention wrong thee, when wee are drawn apart, and are aſſembled together; wee magnifie his deedes and ſpeeches as much as in vs lieth, and hee deſerueth, but in thy preſence wee make no mention whatſoeuer: you are therefore depriued of a great pleaſure, which is the prayſes of thy ſonne. When I aſſure my ſelfe thou wouldeſt eternize, if thou hadſt the meanes, although it coſt thee thy life. Suffer therefore, nay more, command men to ſpeake of him, and yeelde thine eare to the name and memory of thy ſonne, thinke it no irkeſome thing (as other men doe) who in ſuch caſes interprete all thinges to the worſt that is ſpoken to them; if a man propoſe thee ſome conſolations; thou inclineſt now to the other ſide, and forgetting all the goods thou haſt receiued, thou regardeſt the worſer face of fortune, wherewith ſhee moſt affrighted thee In ſtead of caſting thine eyes on the conuerſation of thy ſonne, vpon his pleaſant and gracious entertainement, vpon his childiſh and wanton flatteries, vpon the aduancement of his ſtudies, thou ſecureſt to bee enchaned to this laſt apparance of life, and as if it were not monſtrous enough of it ſelfe, thou heapeſt vp together what ſoeuer may bee poſſible. Long not I beſeech thee after ſo vnmeaſurable a glory, which may make thee being miſerable, amongſt miſerable.

The fourth. Wee muſt accuſtome our ſelues in time to yeeld a willing care, to thoſe that ſpeake of them, whoſe deceaſe we haue bewailed in bitter teares.

CHAP. VI.

THinke likewiſe that it is an act of a generous mind to carry a great appearance in proſperity, when as life exhauſteth her courſe with a full ſayle. For a peaceable ſea and a fauourable wind approue not the ſufficiency of a Pilot. There muſt ſome ſtorme encounter vs that may approue the mind. And therefore diſcourage not thy ſelfe, but contrariwiſe ſtand firme in thy place, and endure euery burthen that is laide vpon thee, being onely affrighted with the firſt aſſault: there is nothing that ſo much confoundeth fortune, as a reſolute mind. After this hee ſhewed her her ſonne in ſafety, hee ſhewed her her Nephewes, to recompence the loſſe of her ſonne. At that time *Marcia* thy affaires were in hand, *Areus* ſate by thee, and comforted thee vnder another name But thinke *Marcia* that death hath taken from thee more then euer was taken from any mother (I will not flatter thee, or leſſen thy loſſe) if teares may conquere the deſtinie, let vs vnite our

The fifth. In aduerſity onely wee are to make proofe of the conſtancy of our mind.

onr teares, let vs ſpend euery day in ſorrow, let the ſleeples night conſume it ſelfe in ſadneſſe, let our hands violate our torne breaſtes, and let our nayles imprint our ſorrow in our faces, let diſcontent exerciſe and extend it ſelfe in all ſorts of cruelty. But if the dead are recalled by no teares, if Fate be immoueable, and euerlaſtingly fixed, no miſery is changed, and death poſſeſſeth whatſoeuer hee hath taken away; let ſorrowes ceaſe becauſe it is vnprofitable. For which cauſe let vs gouerne our ſelues, neither permit this paſſion to tranſport vs beyond meaſure. It is a ſhame for a Maſter of a ſhippe to ſuffer his helme to bee beaten out of his hands by the billow, to neglect his Sailes that are ſhattered in the wind, and leaue his ſhippe to the mercy of a tempeſt, but hee euen in ſhipwracke is to bee commended, who holdeth his helme in his hand, though the ſeas ſwallow and ſinke him.

The ſixth, Since that ſorrow is vnprofitable, becauſe death is not moued thereby, wee ought to refrain ſorrow.

CHAP. VII.

The ſeuenth, Wee muſt keepe a meaſure in ſorrow.

BVt yet there is a naturall inclination in vs to bewaile thoſe whom wee loue, who denies it as long as it is moderate? for there is a neceſſity that preſſeth vs, and retireth, and aſtoniſheth the moſt conſtant hearts, not onely at ſuch time as our friends die, but alſo when in this life by diuers occaſions they are ſeparated from vs. But that which opinion addeth, is more then Nature commandeth. Conſider how vnbrideled the deſires of bruit beaſts are, and yet they are ſhort. Cowes for a day or two lowe after the Bull, neither doth the wanton and wandring courſe of Mares laſt long. Wilde beaſtes after they haue ſented the foote of their young ones, and haue ſearched them ſometimes amidſt the forreſt, when they returne backe againe to their empty dennes, in a few dayes surceaſe their rage. Birdes with great chattering flie about their empty neſts, but in an inſtant they are appeaſed, and keepe their accuſtomed flight. There is no creature that ſo long time bewaileth the want of his young ones as man, who accompanieth his owne griefe and is not onely touched with the ſenſe thereof, but alſo with the concluſion; hee hath taken with himſelfe to torment himſelfe thus and ſo long time. And to the end thou maieſt know, that it is an vnnaturall thing to bee broken with ſorrowes; firſt one and the ſame loſſe is more hurtfull to women then men, to barbarians then ciuill men, to the ignorant then the learned. But thoſe that haue receiued their forces from nature keepe the ſame tenure in all things. That which is diuers, is not naturall: Fire at all times will burne the Inhabitants of all Cities, as well men as women. Iron will ſhew it ſelfe in euery body that it hath power to cutte vpon. Why? by reaſon that nature which doth nothing in vaine hath giuen them this property. One man feeleth pouerty, paine, loſſe of children in one kind, and that man in another kind as cuſtome teacheth him, and as a feeble opinion of fearing of thoſe things that are terrible, maketh him eyther impatient or conſtant.

Nature teacheth it not.

The eighth, It is the property of cowardes and degenerate powers to torment themſelues much.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

AGaine that which is naturall decreaſeth not by delay, but time conſumeth ſorrow. Bee ſhee neuer ſo rebellious, bee ſhee neuer ſo continuall, be ſhee neuer ſo obſtinate againſt remedies, yet time which is the moſt effectuall meanes to mitigate fury, will weaken it. True it is *Marcia*, that as yet thou art very much afflicted, and it ſeemeth that thy ſorrow (not ſo vehement as at firſt, but ſetled and obſtinate) hath contracted a calloſity, and is wholly heardned. Yet will time draw this from thee by little and little, as oftentimes as thou ſhalt exerciſe thy ſelfe in other things, thy minde ſhall finde ſome reliefe. Now thou haſt a guard ouer thy ſelfe: bnt there is a great difference whether thou permitteſt or commandeſt thy ſelfe to mourne. How farre more beſeeming is it for thine honeſt and venerable manner of life to giue an end to thy ſorrow, then to expect that it ſhould end of it ſelfe? neither oughteſt thou to attend the day wherein ſorrow ſhould abandon thee againſt thy will. But beginne thou firſt to giue him paſſport.

The ninth, We muſt ſuffer time to extinguiſh ſorrow.

CHAP. IX.

WHence grow wee therefore ſo obſtinate in our complaints, if this that is done, bee not by the commandement of nature. It is becauſe wee thinke that euill ſhall neuer encounter vs, except then when wee feele the ſame: but as if wee had a letter of exemption, and that wee were entred into a way more plaine then other men; the ſiniſter accidents of our neighbours cannot teach vs that our danger is as great as theirs. We ſee ſo many dead bodies paſſe before our dores, and ſo many mourners that attend them with bitter teares, but in ſtead of thinking our death, wee ſhape out in our thought a mans garment for our young children, wee runne to the warres, and already husband the inheritance and ſucceſſion of our fathers. Wee ſee ſo many rich men ſodainely become poore; yet neuer ſinketh it into our hearts, that our riches may as eaſily ſlip out of our hands, as theſe did from them. Our fall therefore muſt bee the greater, becauſe wee feele not that wee are ſubiect to ſlippe, but then when we are falne and brought vnto the loweſt. Thoſe things that are long time foreſeene, aſſault vs more leaſurly. Wilt thou know how thou art expoſed to all ſtrokes, and that thoſe weapons that haue wounded thee, haue beene enforced againſt thee? Suppoſe that being diſarmed, thou mounteſt vpon ſome wall, or ſome place well defenced by the enemy, hard to bee ſcaled, and that thou expecteſt to be reſcued, ſodainely wounded, that thon makeſt a certaine account that thoſe arrowes, thoſe ſtones, thoſe darts that flie in the aire are aimed at thee, when thou ſhalt ſee that they fall on one ſide, or behinde thy backe, then maieſt thou cry; O fortune thou ſhalt not deceiue me, neither ſhalt thou ſurpriſe me, eyther ſecure or negligent. I know thy deſignes, thou wouldeſt haue ſtrucken me, but haſt wounded another. But what man is he that euer conſidered his goods as if they ſhould periſh? who is he amongſt vs that durſt be ſo bold, as to thinke on his exile, his pouerty or ſorrow? who is he, that if he bee admoniſhed to thinke vpon his parents ſecurity, refuſeth it not as a direfull and ominous preſage

The tenth, The common condition of all mankind ſhould make vs reſolute otherwiſe aſſ ictions would very hardly be digeſted.

The eleventh, Afflictions that are foreſeen are ſlight.

The twelfth, That which may befall any man may also befortune vs. When it is come, let vs endure it.

sage, and that prayeth not that this mishappe may sooner fall vpon the head of his enemy, or of that his vntimely Counsellor and admonisher? I thought not that this should come to passe, Thinkest thou that which thou knowest is incident vnto many, and that thou seest befall other men, cannot happen to thee: I hard an excellent verse and worthy *Publius*;

That which befortunes one may fall to many.

This man hath lost his children, and thou maiest lose thine. That man is condemned, and thine innocency is vnder the stroke. This error deceiueth vs; this maketh vs effeminate, whilest we suffer those things which we neuer foresee that wee could succour. He taketh away the power of present euils, who foreseeth the future.

CHAP. X.

The thirteenth, All our goods are giuen vs to be restored again at Gods pleasure let vs not bee aggrieued that he redemand them.

ALL these accessaries *Marcia* that shine about vs as children, honours; riches, large pallaces, and people that expect at our dore to salute and attend vs, a worthy, noble and fayre wife, and other such goods as depend on the inconstancy of mutable fortune, are but forraine and hired ornaments, which are not giuen but lent vs to decke the Theatre wherin the Sceane of our life is acted, and which ought to bee returned to those to whom they appertaine. Some of these must bee brought home the first day, others the next day; few shall persever, and continue to the end. Wee are not therefore to esteeme them, as if they were our owne, they are but lent vs. The vse of them is ours, according as it pleaseth him to whom they appertaine. Wee ought to haue in a readinesse those things which were giuen vs for a certaine time, that when they be called for, they may be restored without grudging. Wicked is that debtor that slandereth and iniureth his creditor; so then wee ought to loue those in such sort, who are issued from vs, and whom according to the law of nature wee desire to leaue in this world after vs, and doe not amisse to wish that we may die before them, as if wee had no promise that they should suruiue vs or continue with vs. Oftimes the manner is to bee admonished to loue them as transitory things, yea as such as are already parting from vs, and let vs possesse all that which fortune hath giuen vs, as a thing that must vanish in an instant: take your pleasure of your children, and let them haue the fruition of your selues, and without delay enioy all that pleasure you affect. Let no man builde vpon to morrowes content, I haue giuen you too long, delay nothing of that howre in which we are. Wee are to make hast, death attendeth at our backes, and all this number that attendeth vs shall bee scattered in a moment. In lesse then a watchword, all these secreties shall be dispersed. All things are vanished from vs miserable men; you haue not the spirit to liue in following life; if thou complayneſt the death of thy sonne, the fault is in the time wherein he was borne, for at that time was hee destinated to die. Hee was giuen thee vpon that condition, and as soone as hee came out of thy wombe, hee ranne after this arrest. We are vnder the rigorous & vnconquered power of fortune, and endure our good or euill according to her pleasure: shee afflicteth, outrageth and tormenteth our bodies; some burneth shee with fire, either to ruine them, or to heale them:

The fourteenth, It is Gods ordinance that hath limited our life what wee shall depart withal, when it pleaseth him.

them: some shall she cast into the sea, where after they haue strugled with the waues in stead of casting them on the shore or the sand, shee shall cast them into the bellie of some great fish. Othersome there are that shee shall detaine long time betwixt life & death, hauing tired them by diuers sorts of sicknesses; and likewise tied them to an vnconstant and lasciuious mistris, that maketh no account of her slaues, but sometimes tormenteth and striketh them, sometimes flattereth and rewardeth them. What neede wee complaine of the partes of our life. The whole is lamentable; new incommodities shall vrge thee before thou hast satisfied the olde: you ought therfore to moderate your selues in those things, especially, which you impatiently suffer, applying one part of your thoughts to the apprehension of euils, an other to the sense of them.

CHAP. XI.

BVt whence commeth it that thou thus forgettest thine owne estate, and the condition of the whole world. Thou art borne mortall, and hast brought forth mortall children; thou hast a body enclined to corruption and distraction, hauing beene beaten with so many accidents and sicknesses; didst thou hope in so fraile and weak a matter that thou crauedst some thing solide and eternall. Thy sonne is departed, that is, hee hath finished his course, to which end they that are more happy then thy sonne doe flocke and hasten. All these that wrangle at the Palace, that fill the Theaters, that pray in the Temples, march thether but in a different place. Euen those things which you reuerence, and those things which you despise, one death shall make equall. The same is commanded thee by the inscription of the Oracle of *Apollo*, *Know thy selfe*. What is man? a broken vessell, a thing moore fraile then may bee imagined; there needs no great tempest to breake thee, whersoeuer thou art cast, thou art shattered. What is man? a weake, fraile, and naked body, disarmed by nature, that needeth an others helpe, abandoned to all the outreges of fortune; in the greatest vigor of his age, exposed for a pray to wilde beasts, subiect to bee spoyled by the next that meeteth him, framed of those thinges that haue no firmity or continuance, faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either colde, heate or trauell. Tending through his age and idlenes, to consume himselfe, fearing that which nourisheth him, because that sometimes the want thereof grieueth him, and sometimes the abundance bursteth him. Careful and suspitious of his security, his soule but borrowed and loathing his abode, a sodaine noyse and vnexpected, and dreadfull touch of the eare will driue her from him, and alwayes his nourishment corrupteth and humbleth him. Doe wee remember that death which is necessary to all men, striketh at one man? was not this building raised to the end to bee ruined? His odors, sauors, lassitudes, watchings, humors, meates and other things, without which hee could not liue, are the occasion of his death. On what side soeuer hee turneth himselfe, he incontinently espieth the markes of his infirmity. Euery ayre is not good for him, the change of waters, an vnaccustomed breath of winde, and other light and hurtfull causes make him feele that hee is sickly, rotten, broken, and that hee beganne his life with teares. Meane while, what troubles doth this catife creature cause? how many thoughts hamAcreth hee in his head,

The fifteenth, Since wee are mortall, let vs not thinke it strange or euill if that which is begotten by vs, be subiect to death.

The description of the miseries of life.

head being forgetfull of his owne condition? His thoughts wander vppon immortalities and eternities, he diſpoſeth of the affaires of his third and fourth generation, and whilſt hee thus ſwelteth after theſe long apprehenſions, death laies hould on him, and that which wee call age is but a ſmall reuolution of yeeres.

CHAP. XII.

TEll me O *Marcia*, if thy ſorrow haue any ground or reaſon in it, whether it reſpecteth thine incommodities or theſe of thy ſonne? Whether art thou moued in the loſſe of thy Sonne, becauſe thou haſt receiued no pleaſures by him, or for that thou mighteſt haue enioyed greater if he had liued longer? If thou ſay that thou haſt receiued none, thou wilt make thy loſſe more tollerable. For men leſſe complaine, the miſſe of thoſe things that haue giuen them neither ioy nor pleaſure. And if thou confeſſe that thy Sonne hath highly contented thee, thou art not to complaine, becauſe hee is taken from thee, but to giue thankes for that thou haſt enioyed. Thou haſt likewiſe reaped great fruit of thy labours in his very education, except happily they, who carefully nouriſh yong whelpes and birds, and ſuch like friuolous delights of the minde, conceiue ſome pleaſure in the ſought touch and wanton fawning of mute beaſts, and that education it ſelfe is not the fruit of education, to thoſe that nouriſh their children. Although therefore his induſtrie hath profited thee nothing, neither his diligence hath preſerued thee, that his prudence hath not employed it ſelfe to doe thee good, yet that which thou haſt had and loued is the fruit of thy labour. But it might either haue beene longer or greater? Yet art thou delt better with all, then if it had not happened at all; for if choice may be giuen, whether it be better to be happie for a ſmall time or neuer, it were better for vs to enioy thoſe goods which muſt quietly paſſe from vs, then to haue none at all. Hadſt thou rather haue had an vnthrift, who had nothing good in him, but the title and name of a Sonne, or this thy Sonne who was of ſo good a nature? The young man was quickly prudent, quickly pious, quickly a husband, ſudainely a father, quickly a magiſtrate or officer, and ſudainely a Prieſt; In briefe, all good things appeared ſudainely in him. Scarcely doth long and great goods befall any man. There is no felicitie that endureth long, and attaineth his period, but that which encreaſed by little and little. The immortall gods intending to giue thee a Sonne for a little time, did preſently giue thee him, ſuch as hee might haue proued by continuance. Neither canſt thou ſay this, that thou onely art choſen by the gods to enioy thy Sonne a little while. Caſt thine eyes euery way amongſt thy acquaintance and ſtrangers, thou ſhalt euery where meete with greater. Great Captaines and Princes haue taſted hereof. The Poets haue not exempted the gods themſelues, and I thinke they haue thus made men beleeue, that the gods were deiected, that they might pacifie and leſſon the ſorrow we conceiue in the loſſe of our neereſt friends. Prie I ſay into euerie place and thou ſhalt name me no houſe ſo miſerable that ſhall not finde ſolace conſidering another that is farre more afflicted and miſerable. Aſſuredly I haue not ſo ill an opinion of thy manners that I would thinke that thou wilt more eaſily endure thy croſſe, if I ſhould recken vp vnto thee a great number of mourners. A troope of miſerable men, is an enuious kind of ſolace, yet ſome

Sixteenth. Whether it be that thoſe that are deceaſed, haue beene in ioy litle or long time, with vs their condition is ſuch that we haue no occaſion to bewaile them.

The Seuēteenth, The more excellent the goods we haue are, the more willing ſhould we be to reſtore them becauſe the diuine prouidence is not accuſtomed to allow vs a long poſſeſſio of that, which from the beginning hath perfected.

some will I recken vp vnto thee, not to the end thou shouldest know, that this is wont to happen vnto men, for it is a ridiculous thing to collect the examples of mortality: but to the end that thou maist know that there were many who haue lessened their aduersities by bearing them patiently. I will begin with a most happie man. *Lucius Scilla* lost his sonne, neither did this casualty weaken his malice or his extreame rigor both towards enemies & his cittizens, neither was it the cause why hee might not seeme to vsurpe that surname securlie which he tooke vpon him after the losse of his sonne, neither affraide of the hatred of men on whose miseries his ouer fruitefull felicities consisted; neither of the gods displeasure, whose crime it was that *Scilla* was so happie. But what *Scilla* was, let vs leaue amongst those things that are vncertaine, yet will his enemies confesse that he tooke vpon him armes happily and gaue them ouer discreetely. And in regard of that whereof we now speake, it appeareth that it is no great euill which attainteth and attaineth those that are most happie. And no lesse let Greece admire that father, who during the time of his sacrifice receiuing tidings of his sonnes death, onely commaunded the musition to hould his peace, and tooke the crowne from his head, and afterwards duely finished the rest of the sacrifice.

The eighteenth Other mens afflictions should teach vs to digest our enemie.

CHAP. XIII.

THis did *Puluillus* the chiefe bishop, who at that time as hee held the post, and dedicated the Capitoll, receiued tidings of his sons death, and yet without making shew of that was tould vnto him, he pronounced the solemne hymme of the pontificall consecration, without interrupting the same with any sighes, and hearing the name of his sonne, he caused *Iupiter* to be propitious and fauourable to the cittie & common weale. Wouldst thou thinke that this sorrow which vpon the first day, and the chiefest assault could not draw the father from the publique altars and solemne dedication, should euer haue ceased? vndoubtedly *Puluillus* was worthy of a memorable dedication, worthy of a high priesthood, who desisted not from worshipping the gods; no not when they were displeased: yet the same man as soone as he came home, and had satisfied his griefe with teares, and powred forth some lamentations, and hauing fulfilled those offices which were accustomably due vnto the dead, returned to the Capitoll with a merrie countenance. *Paulus Æmilius* about that time of his so renowned triumph, wherein he led before his chariot the king *Perseus* as his prisoner, and giuen two of his sonnes to be adopted into another famelie, sawe the two others buried, whom he had reserued to himselfe? what were these two thinkest thou, when as *Scipio* was one of these that was giuen to be adopted? yet the Romane people beheld *Paulus* chariot voide & yet he vnmoued, yet declaimed he, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods, because they had graunted him his wish. For he had besought them often times, that if for so great a victorie some greater incomoditie might befall him, it might rather redowne to his priuate, then the publique damage. Seest thou with how great a minde he bare it? he gaue them thanks for the death of his children. Could such a change moue any man more? he had lost in one instant his solaces and his staies, and yet *Perseus* had not that credite to see *Paulus AEmilius* sad or distressed.

Other examples of Zenophon and Puluillus.

CHAP. XIIII.

The foureteenth, Examples of Lucius Bibulus.

WHy should I leade thee thorow so innumerable examples of great men, and complaine their wretchednesse? as if it bee not a harder matter to finde out happy men? what house is it that hath continually stood at one stay in all respects? wherein there hath not hapned some disaster and perturbation? Consider the yeeres one after another, and marke those that haue beene Consuls, and if thou will *Lucius Bibulus*, and *Caius Cæsar*, and thou shalt see betwixt these two companions that were mortall enemies, one and the same fortune. *Lucius Bibulus* a man more honest then stout, had two of his sonnes slaine at one time. They were both of them a scorne to an Egyptian souldier; so that the Father had more occasion to bewaile the indignity they had receiued at his hands, then the losse of his children; yet *Bibulus* that during the whole time of his Consulate, had kept house by reason of the euill carriages of his fellow Consull, receiuing tidings of this accident, came abroad and performed his wonted and publike offices. What could hee doe lesse then bestow one day on his two sons? so quickly ended hee his sorrow for his children, who had bewailed the Consulate a whole yeare. *Caius Cæsar* when hee had ouerrunne the whole Country of *England*, and could not containe his felicity within the Ocean, had tidinges that his daughter was dead, that by her losse drew the publike peace into danger: he had represented before his eyes his sonne in law, *Cnaius Pompey*, who could not endure that any other should be reputed or held more great in *Rome* then himselfe, and who would haue opposed himselfe against all those which pretended to bee aduanced, although it were not to his disaduantage; yet notwithstanding all this, *Cæsar* which three dayes executed that charge which was committed vnto him in being Generall, and ouercame his sorrow so soone as hee was wont to ouercome all other things.

CHAP. XV.

The sixth example of Augustus.

WHy should I relate vnto thee the funerals of the other *Cæsars*, I will onely tell thee this, that in my iudgement fortune hauing so rudely assailed them, hath giuen by this meanes a profitable instruction to the whole world; for shee maketh them see that the children of the gods, and such as should engender gods, haue not their owne fortune in their hands as they haue other mens. *Diuus Augustus* hauing lost his children and nephewes; in briefe the whole Progeny of the *Cæsars* supported his desolate house by adoption; yet endured hee these losses as temperately as if hee had beene already deified, and as if some one had done him iniury, if hee should haue come and complained of the Deities. *Tiberius Cæsar* both had lost him whom hee begat, and him whom he had adopted, yet notwithstanding hee himselfe pronounced the funerall Oration, in prayse of his sonne in the publike place of declamations, and constantly stoode in the sight of the dead body, and had but a vaile betweene them to conceale the body from the sight of the high Bishoppe. Although the Romane people wept, hee changed not his countenance, and made *Seianus* know who stood fast by him, that hee was armed with patience to endure the losse of his children. Seest

thou

thou not this great number of men of note, enriched with so many gifts of the mind, and so many honours both publike and particular, whome death (that deuoureth all thinges) spareth not? nay further, this tempest extendeth it selfe ouer the whole world; and without election destroyeth all things, and maketh them as her owne. Command euery man to giue a reason, and thou shalt finde that no man hath entred into this world but to forsake it.

CHAP. XVI.

To satisfie Marcias obiection, that these are the examples of men, he inducth Lucretia.

I Know what thou wilt say. Thou hast forgotten that thou comfortest a woman, and onely tellest vs of the examples of men: but who dare maintaine that nature hath shewed her selfe partiall in womens behalfe, and hath restrained their vertues. Beleeue mee they haue the same vigor and free faculty of mind, as men haue to apprehend that which is honest, and if they accustome themselues, they endure both labour and sorrow as equally as they doe. Good gods in what City speake wee this? In that where *Lucretia* and *Brutus* deliuered the Romanes from the captiuity of Kings: wee must acknowledge our liberty to proceede from *Brutus*, and wee are indebted to *Lucretia* for *Brutus*. In that where wee haue eternized *Cælia* the virgin in the number of the most valiant of her time, by reason of her vndaunted boldnes, when in despight of the enemy she swam ouer *Tiber*. Her statue on horseback, planted in the midst of that famous and sacred street, reproacheth our young men that are mounted in their Coaches, and enter in that sort into that City, wherein wee haue made presents of horses vnto women: but if thou wilt haue mee set thee downe an example of women that haue endured the death of their friends constantly, I will not begge it from dore to dore, I will produce out of our family the two *Corneliaes*. The first was *Scipioes* daughter, and mother to the *Gracchi*. She had twelue children that all of them died before her. As touching ten of them, whom *Rome* neither apperceiued liuing or dead, if I may so speake it, the losse might in some sort bee borne. But in respect of those her two sonnes *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Gnaius*, (whom though men admit not for peaceable men, yet must they acknowledge them for honourable Personages) she saw them slaine and vnburied. And when as some one in comforting her called her poore and desolate mother: *Neuer* (saith shee) *will I call my selfe vnhappy who haue bred the Gracchi.* The other *Cornelia* lost *Liuius Drusus* her sonne a yong Gentleman, well borne of great hope, and one that followed the example of the *Gracchi*, who hauing left some suites of great importance vnperfect, which concerned the common-weale, was slaine in his owne house, and no man knew who did the deed; yet *Cornelia* endured the bloody and vnreuenged death of her sonne, that shee her selfe presumed to bee so bold, as to publish certaine Edicts in way of consolation to the people. Now *Martia* shalt thou become friends with fortune againe, if thou consider that shee hath darted the like arrowes against thee, as shee did against the *Scipios* their mothers three children, and *Cæsars* themselues. Life is repleniished and broken with diuers accidents, which haue no long repose, and almost no truce. Thou hast had fower children *Marcia*: but they say that there is no arrow that falleth in vaine that is shot against a troupe of the enemy. Is it so great a wonder that so great a company could not be ouerpassed without enuy or losse? But in this was Fortune more vniust, because

The nineteenth, He answereth a new complaint of Marcias, and sheweth her what occasion shee hath to comfort her selfe, considering those comforts that are left behind, and this is it that wee ought to consider in our afflictions, that God oftentimes leaueth vs many helpes, when he might take away all.

ſhee not onely tooke away thy children, but made choice of them, yet ſay thou not that hee is wronged that hath his equall part and portion with his Lord. Fortune hath left thee two daughters and their children, and of all theſe ſhee hath onely borne away thy ſonne, whom thou ſo much bewayleſt, hauing forgotten the other that was dead before him. Thou haſt by this ſonne two daughters who reſemble their father, if thou bring them vp and nouriſh them againſt thy heart, they are two mighty burthens; contrariwiſe if thou take pleaſure in them, they will bee great comforts vnto thee. To this end brought hee them thee, that ſeeing theſe daughters they ſhould refreſh the memory of thy ſonne, and not of thy ſorrow. The husbandman when hee ſees his trees ouerturned, which eyther the winde hath rent vp by the roote, or the violent tempeſt hath broken by a violent wherry, nouriſheth the reſt of their ſiens, and preſently ſetteth the ſeedes of thoſe plants hee hath loſt, and in a moment (for time is as violent and headlong in increaſes, as ſhe is in loſſes) they ſpring more flouriſhing then thoſe that were loſt. Subſtitute now theſe daughters of *Metillius* in his ſtead, and fill vp the voide place. Relieue thou our ſorrow with a double ſolace. Truely this is the nature of mortall men, that nothing is more pleaſing then that which is loſt, wee are more partiall to thoſe that are left, and more deſirous of thoſe that are taken from vs. But if thou wilt eſtimate how much fortune ſpared then, euee then when ſhee was angry with thee, thou ſhalt know that thou haſt more then comforts, witneſſe ſo many Nephewes and two daughters.

CHAP. XVII.

The twentieth. The condition of our life ought to inuite vs to conſtancy.

SAy this likewiſe *Marcia*, it would moue mee, if fortune ſhould reſpect euery one according to his behauiour Good men ſhould neuer be ſeconded by misfortunes; but now I ſee without any difference, and after the ſame manner, that both good and bad are indifferently diſtreſſed: yet is it a grieuous matter to loſe a young man whom thou haſt brought vp, and that now would be both an help and ornament to his father and mother. Who denies that it is a grieuous matter? yet is it humane. To this wert thou borne, that thou ſhouldeſt loſe, that thou ſhouldeſt die, that thou ſhouldeſt hope, that thou ſhouldeſt feare, that thou ſhouldeſt diſquiet both thy ſelfe and others, that thou ſhouldeſt feare & wiſh death, and that which is worſt of all, that thou ſhouldeſt neuer know in what eſtate thou wert. If a man ſhould ſay to him that would embarke and ſayle to *Siracuſa*: Before thou ſet ſayle, conſider all the commodities and incommodities of thy voyage, then enter thou the ſhippe. Theſe are the things that thou maieſt wonder at. Firſt of all thou ſhalt ſee *Sicily* diuided from *Italy* by a little arme of the ſea, whereas in times paſt they were of one continent. The ſea in that place maketh ſodaine inſults;

Vnder an excellent deſcription of a voyage by ſea in o Sicily he ſheweth to what goods and euils our liues are allotted, to the end in proſperity to prepare vs to aduerſity.

Diuiding Italy from Sicily.

Then ſhalt thou ſee (for thou muſt ouerpaſſe ſwiftly that dangerous ingate of the ſea) that gulfe of *Charibdis* ſo renowned amongſt the Poets, which as long as it is free from the ſoutherne winds is peaceable and calme; but if any wind breath from that place, ſhee ſwalloweth ſhippes in her deepe

deepe and deuouring billowes. Thou shalt likewise see the fountaine of *Arethusa*, so celebrated amongst the Poets, wonderfully cleere and pure in the bottome and bubling vppe water that is very colde, whether thou draweſt it from the spring, or where shee stealeth from vnder the earth, when shee looseth her selfe, and passeth vnder the sea without intermixing it selfe loosing her sweetnesse amiddest the salte water. Afterwardes thou shalt arriue in the secureſt hauen that Nature euer made, or that humane industry hath accommodated for the security of shippes, so assured and calme that the fury of most greateſt tempests cannot any wayes afflict or encrease the same. Thou shalt see the place where the Athenian Nauy was discomfited, when so many thousand men were loſt, and lockt vppe in that renowned prison, so immeasurably high and builded of hewen stone. After this the great City of *Syracusa*, and her towred walles of greater extent then are the Confines of diuers Cities, and no day without Sunne-shine. But after you haue seene all these commodities, on the other side, there presenteth it selfe a most hote and vnholesome Summer time, which corrupteth the benefites that the Winter had caused. There shalt thou find the Tyrant *Dionisius* sworne enemy of liberty, Iustice, and lawes; desirous of gouernement, and domination, and of life also. After his banishment; some he will burne, otherſome he will beate, these vpon a sleight occasion hee wil command to bee beheaded, to satisfie his lusts; hee shall make vse both of male and female. and amongst the loathsome troupes and attendants of kingly intemperance, it shall bee a small matter at one time to commit pollution both wayes. Thou hast heard what may inuite thee, and what may withdraw thee; therefore eyther sayle onward or stay behind. If after this relation any man should say that hee would enter *Siracusa*: can hee iustly complayne against any man but himselfe, who should not haue saine vnto these miseries, except willingly and wittingly hee had sought them out? Thus speaketh Nature to vs all. I deceiue no man, thou if thou beareſt children maiſt haue them faire, maiſt haue them deformed, and if happily thou bring forth many, one of them may as well bee a Protector of his Country, as an other a Traitor. Thinke not that they shall mount to that high dignity, that no man dare speake euill of thee for feare of them. But propose this to thy selfe, that they may bee so dissolute and licentious: that euery one will curse them. Nothing hindreth them to acquite themselues of that deuotion which they owe vnto thee. neyther are they forbidden to praise thee, set dispose thy selfe, as if thou wouldeſt lay them on the Beere, eyther children, young men or olde men; for yeeres concerne this matter nothing at all: because there is no funerall, that is not accompanied with sorrow, and attended by the parents. If after these conditions, which haue been proposed, thou burieſt thy children, thou canſt in no sort complaine against the gods who haue promised thee nothing.

CHAP. XVIII.

An application of that he hath ſpoken of the voyage to Syracuſa.

NOw therfore let vs apply and compare all the courſe of our life according to this example; I haue tolde thee ſince thou art determined to viſite *Siracuſa*, what thing may pleaſe thee, and what offend thee, & ſuppoſe that now when thou art to enter life I come and giue thee this counſell. Thou art to enter a City, that is common both to gods and men, comprehending all things, obliged to certaine eternall and irreuocable lawes; where the cæleſtiall bodies performe their courſe without repoſe or laſſitude. There ſhalt thou ſee innumerable ſtars, and wonder to ſee one Planet that enlightneth all things; the ſunne that by his daily courſe diuideth the ſpaces of day and night, equally diſtinguiſhing the yeere into Winter and Summer. There ſhalt thou ſee the nocturnall ſucceſſion of the Moone borrow her milder and remiſſer heate from her brothers beames; ſometimes hidden, and ſtraight againe ouerlooking the whole earth with a full face, admirable in her encreaſes and decreaſes, being no one day the ſame, but altered continually. Thou ſhalt ſee the fierie Planets obſeruing different courſes, and ſhining oppoſitely the one againſt the other in their Spheares: on their ſo ſodaine courſes depend the deſtinies of nations, great and leſſer effects doe follow, according to the benignity or malignity of their aſpects. Thou wilt admire to behold the clouds that are gathered, the rains that fall, the oblique flaſhes of lightning, and the thunder in the ayre; when thon ſhalt caſt thine eyes vpon the earth that are already glutted with the ſight of celeſtiall wonders; thou ſhalt be entertained with an other forme of things and wonderfull in an other kinde. On this ſide the extent of ſpacious Planets that the eye cannot apprehend them, on that ſide the toppes of mountaines enuying the cloudes, charged with ſnow the downefall of riuers, the floudes iſſuing from one and the ſame ſowrce, running from eaſt to weſt, the forreſts nodding their bowes vpon the toppes of the higheſt mountaines, ſo many woods with the beaſts that inhabite them, and ſuch variety of melodious birdes. After theſe the diuers ſituation of Cities, the nations ſeparated the one from the other by the difficulty of paſſages, the one retiring themſelues to the mountaines, the other ſpared themſelues along the riuers ſides, lakes, vallies, and marſhes: the harueſt forwarded by the husbandmans hand: the trees fruitfull without aſſiſtance of man, the gentle fleating of breakes and of the lawndes, the pleaſant gulfes, the commodious hauens, ſo many Iſles diſperſed in the Ocean, which by their ſituation diſtinguiſh the ſeas. I ſpeake not of pearles or pretious ſtones, nor of golde that runneth amidſt the ſands of the moſt violent riuers, nor of thoſe fires that are enkindled both in the earth and in the ſeas, nor of the Ocean, which is the bond of Nations which ſeparateth them with a triple ſtraight, hauing otherwayes her perpetuall flux and reflux. When his billowes are layde and ſteale along without any agitation of the winds, thou ſhalt ſee terrible fiſhes, and of incredible greatneſſe: others more heauie which ſwimme along vnder the conduct of others, ſome very ſwift, and more ſodaine in their turninges then a veſſell with many Oares, others breathing out water to the great daungers of thoſe that are Paſſengers. Thou ſhalt obſerue on theſe Seas certaine Veſſelles that goe to ſeeke out new found Landes, thou ſhalt ſee that humane boldneſſe would know and diſcouer all thinges and thou thy ſelfe bee a looker and the greateſt

Aduen-

Aduenturer in the voyage thou shalt learne & teach with some tending to the commoditie, other some to the ornament and others to the gouernment of this life. But on the other side in this cittie there shall be a thousand plagues of bodie and soule, wars, thefts, imprisonings, shipwrackes, heate, could, terrible changes of the aire, and cruell punishment of our bodies and of those whom we loue most; but finally death which thou knowest whether it shall be sweete and easie or accompanied with tortures and grieuous punishments. Deliberate with thy selfe, and ballance carefully which of these two thou wilt entertaine, if thou hast part of those goods that are mentioned before, thou must issue likewise thorow the midst of those miseries. Thou wilt answer that thou wilt liue and why not? nay rather I thinke that thou pretendest not to approch such a thing whereof thou canst not endure that any one should pull any portion from thee! Liue therefore as it becommeth thee, no man saist thou hath demaunded our aduice Our parents haue consulted about vs, who whereas they knew the condition of life verie well, haue brought vs vp vnto that end.

CHAP. XIX.

BVt to returne to consolations, wee must first of all see what the infirmitie is whereunto we ought to applie a remedie. Secondly in what manner. He that mourneth is moued with the losse of him whom he loued, and this appeareth tollerable in it selfe. For wee bewaile not those who during their life time are and ought to bee absent from vs, although we bee depriued of their presence and the aide they might yeelde vs. It is therefore opinion that tormenteth vs, and all affliction is as much to be prised as wee haue rated it at. The remedy is in our owne hands. Wee iudge that our friends, parents, and neere kinsfolke are absent, and wee deceiue our selues? we haue dismissed thē; nay more we haue sent thē before with a purpose to follow them. This likewise moueth him that mourneth; I shal want one to defend me, & protect me frō contempt. To vse a scarce probable but yet a true comfort. In our cittie want of children getteth vs more grace then it taketh from vs. And so much hath solitude enabled ould age that was wont to destroy it; that some faine hatred of their children, some forsweare them, and willingly make themselues desolate, I know what thou wilt say, my detriments moue me not, for he is vnworthy of solace that taketh it heauily that his sonne is departed from him, as if he had lost a slaue, and that considereth in his sonne any other thing then his owne person. What therefore moueth thee *Marcia?* whether art thou agreeued because thy sonne is dead? or for that hee liued not long? If because he is dead, thou shouldst haue beene alwaies in griefe, for thou knowest alwaies that he should die. Thinke this that the dead are afflicted with no euils, those things that make hell terrible vnto vs, are but fables, wee know that the dead are not enfoulded in darkenesse, that they are not in prison. Wee beleeue not those flouds flaming with fire, neither the lake of forgetfulnesse, nor the iudgement seate, neither that there are any guilty in that so large libertie, neither likewise that there are tirants. These are poeticall, and thus haue they tormented vs with vaine terrors. Death is both the solution and end of all sorrow, beyond which our euils passe not that reposeth vs in that tranquilitie wherein we lay before we were borne. If a man will be sorrowfull for those that

The One and twentieth, They that are deceased are not absent, neither haue abandoned vs, but haue gone before vs, and we shall sodainely follow after them.

The two and-twentieth, Oft times it is better for vs to be alone then in companie.

The three and twentieth, Since those that are dead were created to die, we should not weepe for them.

The foure and twenteth, Death is the end of miseries, But this must be so vnderstood: that it is intended onely in respect of the body and till the time assigned wherein the world shall haue an end.

that are dead, let him haue compaſſion likewiſe on thoſe that are vnborne. Death is neither good nor euill. For that may bee either good or euill which is any thing, but that which of it ſelfe is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, betrayeth vs to no fortune. For thoſe things that are good and euill haue relation to ſome matter. Fortune cannot detaine that, which nature hath diſmiſſed, neither can he bee a miſerable man that is no man. Thy ſonne is exempted from thoſe bands wherein he was in bondage. He is entertained by a great and eternall peace, he is not afflicted with the feare of pouertie, the care of riches, the prouocations of luſt attainting the minde by pleaſures, hee is not touched with the enuy of another mans felicity, neither are his modeſt eares beaten with any ſlanders, hee beehouldeth neither publique nor priuate ſlaughters, he taketh not care for that which is to come, neither dependeth he on euents which tend and incline alwaies from euill to worſe. At laſt he is ſtaied in ſuch a place, from whence nothing may driue him away, and where nothing affrighteth him.

CHAP. XX.

The fine and twentieth. He proſecuteth his diſcourſe wherein he proueth more particularly the commodities of death.

HOw ignorant are men of their miſeries, who praiſe not death which is the beſt inuention of nature, which whether it include felicitie, or repe calamity, or terminateth ſacietie or laſſitude of old age, or carries away youth in his flower whilſt better things are hoped for, or cutteth off childehood before hee vndergoe dangerous courſes; The end of al, the remedy of many, the wiſh of diuers men, deſeruing better of no men, then of thoſe to whom ſhee came before ſhe was called. She diſmiſſeth the ſlaue in diſpight of his Lord, ſhe vnchaineth priſoners, ſhakes off the fetters of thoſe men whom tirants hold captiue. She ſheweth baniſhed men that haue alwaies their hearts and eies fixed vpon their country, that it is a ſmall matter amongſt whom they are laid and buried. Shee when as fortune hath diuided common goods vnequally. And hath giuen to two brothers different things, maketh them equall. She it is that hath neuer done anie thing according to another mans liking, ſhe it is in which no man hath felt his humility, ſhe it is that hath obaied no man, ſhe it is *Marcia* whom thy father deſired. She it is I ſay that bringeth it to paſſe that to bee borne is no puniſhment, that cauſeth me not to looſe my courage when I am threatned by infinite accidents that maketh mee preſerue my minde entire and maiſter of himſelfe; I know where I muſt arriue; I ſee on this ſide libbets of diuers faſhions, ſome hanging their heads downeward towards the earth, ſome thruſt thorow with ſtakes, ſome hauing their armes ſtretched out vpon the gallowes. I ſee cords, ſtrapadoes, and tortures for euery member of the body, yea likewiſe I ſee death. On the other ſide, I perceiue furious enemies, and proude cittizens, but heere likewiſe ſee I death. It is no hard matter to ſerue, when as at ſuch time as a man cannot endure his maiſter, he may attane his libertie by ſtepping one foote forward, againſt the iniuries of life I haue the benefit of death. Thinke how much good a fit and commodius death affordeth vs, and what euils haue befallen many by liuing too long If *Pompey* that honor and ſupport of our common weale had died at Naples, vndoubtedly a man might haue ſaid, Behold the prince of the Romaine people is deperted. But now the adiection of a little more time made him fall from the height of his dignitie. Hee ſaw his legions ſlaine before his

The five and twentieth, one death diſchargeth vs of many ſorrowes.

his face, and what miſerable remainders were theſe of that battaile, where the Senators led the armie to their end, that their Generall might be ſaued? For anon after he ſaw the Ægyptian murtherer, and preſented his ſo venerable bodie to a ſouldier that ſlew him. And had his life beene ſaued, he had repented himſelfe. For what a ſhame had it beene that a King ſhould haue giuen *Pompey* his life? If *Marcus Cicero* had died then, when he deliuered himſelfe from that maſſacre, which *Catiline* pretended to execute vpon him and Rome, that Common-weale that was defended by him, had called him her protector and ſafegard. Afterwards had he followed his daughter, then might his death haue beene eſteemed happie, hee had not ſeene thoſe threatning ſwords that were brandiſhed ouer the heads of his Citizens, nor the goods of thoſe that were murthered, giuen to the murtherers, in ſuch ſort that riches were cauſe of their deathes, who poſſeſſed them, he had not vnderſtood that thoſe goods that were taken from Conſuls were ſold at out-cries; nor of the murthers, nor of the ſpoiles which were recompenced out of the publike treaſure, nor of the warres and rapines of three as bloudie as *Catiline*. Had the ſea ſwallowed vp *Cato* when he returnd from Cyprus, with thoſe goods which the King had bequeathed by his will to the Roman people, or had he periſhed with all that ſiluer which he brought with him, which was afterwards employed in the maintenance of ciuill warre, had he not died happily? Surely he had carried away this honour with him, that no man had or durſt doe any fault in *Catoes* preſence. But now the adiection of a few yeares conſtrained this man, who was borne to maintaine both his owne, and the publike libertie to flie from *Ceſar*, and to follow *Pompey*. No euill therefore hath vntimely death brought to *Metillius*. Nay more, he is thereby exempted from all euils; yet died hee too ſoone and too yong. Firſt preſuppoſe that he liueth yet, and conſider how little time is allotted man, in regard of the yeares of his life. And what is this? We are placed in this world for a moment of time, and ſhall in leſſe then an inſtant diſlodge from the ſame: and hauing entered thereunto vpon this condition, we haue alwayes our eye fixed on that place whither we muſt tend: I ſpeake of our yeares which fleete away with an incredible ſwiftneſſe. Examine how many yeares, Cities haue ſtood, and thou ſhalt ſee how little while they haue laſted, yea euen thoſe that moſt glorie in their antiquitie. All humane things are fraile, and ſcarce occupie any place in this vaſt extent of infinite time. We ſay that all this earth, with the people thereof, theſe Cities, riuers, and that ſea which incloſeth them, is but a point in reſpect of the vniuerſe. Our life is leſſe then a point, if it be compared with all that time which is paſt, and is to come, which hath farre greater extent then the world, conſidering that time ſo oftentimes turneth and meaſureth himſelfe in this ſo great incloſure of the ſame. What auaileth it vs then, to extend that which being brought to his full extent, will be almoſt as much as nothing? In one kinde we haue liued enough, and long enough, if it ſufficeth vs. And if thou liueſt as long as I can deſire, and that therein old age be extended ſo farre as thou mayeſt make reckoning of ninety or of an hundred yeares: yet if thou wilt fixe thy thought vpon all the time of eternitie, there will be little difference betwixt the ſhorteſt and the longeſt life: if conſidering how many yeares euery one hath liued, if thou compare them with thoſe wherein he hath not liued. Againe, he died not vntimely, for he liued as long as he ſhould haue liued: for there was no ouerplus of time wherein he ſhould haue liued longer. The age of old men is not alike, no more is that of beaſts. Some creatures are a weary of life after fourteene yeares, and this is their longeſt age,

The ſeuen and twentieth, That no man dieth too ſoone.

The eight and twentieth, No man dieth before his time, becauſe he hath liued as much as he ought.

age, which to a man is but the firſt. Each one hath a different facultie of liuing. There is no man dieth too ſoone, who was not to liue longer then he liued. Euerie mans time is prefixed, it ſhall alwayes continue where it was ſetled; neyther ſhall eyther diligence or care aduance him farther: he knoweth that he breaketh his braines, and looſeth his labour that pretendeth the contrary. Thy ſonne hath runne his race, and hath attained to the prefixed end of his life. Thou art not therefore to loade thy ſelfe in this ſort. He might haue liued longer. His life was not interrupted, and fortune neuer croſſed the courſe of his yeares. Euery one is payed that which is promiſed him: the deſtinies are carried according to their proper vehemency: they neyther lengthen or ſhorten the time: in vaine are they beſought or ſollicited. Euery one ſhall haue as much as the firſt day of his life hath aſſigned him. From that time he began to ſee the light, he hath entered the way of death, and approached deſtinie: thoſe yeares that were added to his youth were ſtoine away from life: we are all in this errour, that we thinke that none but olde and aged men are neere vnto death, whereas infancy, youth, and euery other age leadeth vs thereunto. The Fates ply their buſineſſe, they ſteale from vs the apprehenſion of our death; and to the end ſhe may more eaſily ſteale vpon vs, ſhe masketh her ſelfe vnder the name of life. Childehood carrieth away infancy, youth rauiſheth childehood, and olde age youth: but if thou calculate well theſe decreaſes, they are as many decreaſes and loſſes.

The nine and twentith, We are all in error, there is no man more eſtranged from life then another.

CHAP. XXI.

THou complaineſt *Martia*, that thy ſonne liued not ſo long as hee might, but how knoweſt thou whether it were expedient for him to liue longer, or more profitable for him that he died thus? What man canſt thou finde at this day, whoſe affairs are ſo firme and well aſſured, that he hath no cauſe to feare that which is to come? Humane affaires ſteale and ſlip away. Neyther is there any part of our life more declining and incertaine, then that which pleaſeth vs moſt. And therfore the moſt happy ought to wiſh for death; becauſe amidſt this inconſtancy and confuſion of things, nothing is certaine but that which is paſt. Who could aſſure thee that this faire bodie of thy ſonne, and the marueilous care that hee had of his honour, maintayned in the middeſt of ſo many eyes of a Cittie, founded and confounded with diſſolutions and exceſſe, could in ſuch ſort warrant himſelfe from ſickeneſſe, that vntill olde age his beautie and ſeemlineſſe ſhould haue remained vntouched?

The thirtith, It is only God that knoweth when it is expedient for vs to leaue our liues.

CHAP. XXII.

DRopoſe vnto thy ſelfe a thouſand infirmities of the ſoule: for many excellent ſpirits haue not maintained vnto their olde age, that hope that we had conceiued of them in their youth; but oftentimes they haue degenerated. In their latter dayes therefore conſequently, and to their greater ſhame, they haue addicted themſelues to palliardiſe, which hath made them ſoile the faire beginnings of their life. Or being plunged in drunkenneſſe and gourmandiſe, their principall care hath

The one and thirtith, No man can ouerthrow his deſtiny, and the beſt aduiſed cannot force that which is to come to paſſe; we ought not therefore to bewaile thoſe that die in youth.

hath beene to know what they ſhould eate or drinke. Adde hereunto the burnings, the ruines, ſhipwrackes, the operation of Surgeons, who cut off their members, pull out their braines, thruſt their hands into their entrailes, and heale their priuie parts, not without exceſſiue paine: after theſe, baniſhment, for thy ſonne was no honeſter man then was *Rutilius*: and priſon, ſure he hath not bin a wiſer man then *Socrates*: and with the ſtab of a Poinard that was voluntarily buried in his breaſt, ſure he was not more vertuous then *Cato*. In conſidering theſe things thou ſhalt finde that they are happy whom nature hath retyred in good time into a place of ſecuritie, conſidering that in the end they could not receiue any other reward of their life, then that or ſome ſuch like. There is nothing ſo deceitfull as mans life, nothing ſo trayterous. No man would haue accepted life except it had beene giuen at vnawares: and therfore it is a great happines not to be born, and another happines that death is neere to ſhorten that life, and put vs in that eſtate wherein we were before we liued. Call to thy remembrance thoſe wretched times, wherin *Seianus* made a preſent to *Atrius Secundus* his Clyent of the confiſcation of thy fathers goods, which he tooke from him by reaſon of ſome confident ſpeeches he had vttered: for thy father could not holde his peace, ſeeing that men intended not onely to make vs ſubiect to *Seianus*, but that by degrees he mounted to the ſoueraigne authority. It was decreed that a ſtatue ſhould be raiſed for him in *Pompeis* Theater, which the Emperour cauſed to be reedified becauſe it had beene burned. *Cordus* exclaimed, *That then the Theatre was wholly ruinated.* And what heart would not haue burſt, ſeeing *Seianus* ſit vpon *Pompeis* Cinders, and a wicked ſouldier enſtalled in the place of a great Captaine? Notwithſtanding the ſtatue was reared with a ſubſcription. On the other ſide thoſe Maſties that this curſed *Seianus* nouriſhed with humane bloud, to the end that they ſhould be priuate to himſelfe, and inraged againſt all others, began to barke on euery ſide againſt thy father, who thought not of them. What ſhould he doe? To maintaine himſelfe in life, it behooued him to humble himſelfe before *Seianus*; to die, to haue licence from thee his daughter. But it was impoſſible for him to pacifie *Seianus*, and his daughter leſſe; yet at the laſt *Cordus* reſolued with himſelfe to deceiue his daughter. Hauing therefore taken his bath, the more eaſily to deceiue her, he retired himſelfe into his chamber, as if he intended to take ſome refection before his ſupper; and hauing diſpatched his ſeruants and pages about ſome buſineſſe, he caſt ſome morſels of meat out of the window, to the end it might be thought that he had eaten. Afterwards, as if he had ſufficiently nouriſhed himſelfe in his chamber, he abſtained from his ſupper, continuing the ſame courſe the ſecond and third day: vpon the fourth day the infirmitie of his body diſcouered what he meant. Embracing thee therefore, he ſaid, *My deereſt daughter, I haue concealed nothing from thee during my whole life, but this, I am entred the way of death, and haue almoſt attained the halfe: thou neyther ſhouldeſt, nor canſt recall me back againe.* After he had ſpoken this, he commanded the lights to be carried away, and retired himſelfe into an obſcure place. This act of his being diſcouered, euery one was glad that the prey was taken out of the throats of thoſe greedie Wolues. His accuſers by *Seianus* incitation, preſented themſelues before the ſiege of the Conſuls, complayning that *Cordus* was a dying, to the end to obtain permiſſion to withdraw him from that whereunto they had compelled him; ſo much were they aggrieued that *Cordus* ſhould eſcape their fingers. The queſtion was vpon a matter of great importance, whether thoſe that were adiudged to die ſhould be hindered from procuring their death. Whilſt this matter

A notable manifeſtation of Cremutius Cordus *conſtancy and death, yet let men temper their iudgement: there is a law aboue Stoicall when that muſt reſorme theſe reſolutions.*

was

was in debating, and the accusers goe and come, *Cordus* was deliuered from their clawes. Seest thou not, *Marcia*, how vnexpectedly the reuolutions of wretched times doe steale vpon vs? Doest thou weepe because one of thine must needs die? Thou seest how hard a thing it was for him to get this priuiledge.

CHAP. XXIII.

The two and thirtieth, Our bodies are the prisons of our soules, which conceiue great content to get their recourse to heauen.

BEsides this, that euery future thing is vncertaine, and the way to the worse is more assured: it is eatier for vs to ascend to heauen, whereas our mindes are quickly dismissed from humane conuersation. For they haue gathered lesse dresse and ordure, and being deliuered, before which were confused and ouerwhelmed with the meditation of earthly things, they are more light to flie backe againe to their originall; and more easily ouerpasse all that which may hinder them. For neuer did great wits take pleasure to remaine in their earthly prisons, they are glad to forsake them, and breake thorow them: these so strict limits are displeasing to them, being accustomed to raise themselues aboue the heauens, and to contemne from aboue all humane and base things. Thence is it that *Plato* crieth, *That a wise mans minde is wholly intended vpon death, that this he willeth, this he meditateth, that he is alwayes possessed with this desire, when he beholdeth exterior things.* What thoughtest thou, *Marcia*, when thou sawest a yong man replenished with aged wisedome, a minde triumphing ouer all pleasures, reformed, deuoid of vice; rich without auarice, raised to honor without ambition, desirous to haue pleasures without dissolution to keepe him long time? Whatsoeuer hath attained his perfection hasteth to his end. Perfect vertue retireth it selfe and vanisheth from our eyes: neither do the fruits expect their Autumne, that are ripe in Summer. The fire the more it shineth, the sooner is it extinguished, and that lasteth longest which being mixed with a moist matter and hard to kindle, and smothered in smoke, shineth thorow the smother. For that which nourisheth it, as it were by constraint, is the cause it continueth more long time. So good spirits, the more famous they are, the shorter they liue. For whereas there is no place of encrease, there decrease is the nearer. *Fabianus* said, and our predecessors also haue seen it, that there was an infant at Rome, as great as an absolute man, but he liued not long, and euery one that had iudgement was of opinion that hee should die shortly. For he could not encrease so much in yeares, as hee had attained by his stature. So maturitie is a token of imminent ouerthrow, and the end aproacheth where encreases are consummed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

BEginne to estimate him by his vertues, and not by his yeares. He hath liued enough, he was left a pupill, and vntill the fourteenth yeare of his age he was vnder the gouernment of Tutors, but alwayes vnder his mothers custodie: when hee had a house of his owne, yet would he not leaue thine. Being a yong man, both in stature, beautie, and other strength of the bodie, borne to be a souldier, he refused warfare, because hee would not leaue thee desolate. Consider *Marcia*, how many mothers there bee in diuers houses, that see their children verie little. Thinke you that those mothers, whose sonnes follow the warres, lose in respect of them whole yeares, and liue solitarilie? then shalt thou know that there is much time remaining thee, in which thou hast lost nothing. Thy sonne neuer departed out of thy sight, hee framed his studies in thy presence, shewing himselfe of a most excellent spirit, but it was accompanied with a modest feare, the which hath buried many perfections in diuers men. He was one of the goodliest Gentlemen that a man might behold, yet behaued he himselfe with so great temperance and modestie, that amiddest so great a troope of men-corrupting women, he gaue no occasion of suspition: and whereas some of their impudence had attempted so far as to tempt him, he blushed and was angrie with himselfe, because he had pleased. This holinesse in his manners was the cause, that so yong as he was, he was thought worthie to be entertained amongst the number of those that intermedled with those things that appertained to religion, and that by the aid and assistance of his mother. In contemplation of these his vertues so behaue thy selfe, as if he were more conuersant with thee now then euer. Now hath he nothing to withdraw him, he shall neuer put thee in care, or cause thee to sorrow, and all the griefe thou hast conceiued for so good a sonne is finished: the rest being exempted from casualties, are full of pleasures, if thou knowest how to make vse of thy sonne, and if thou knowest that which hath beene most precious in him, thou hast but lost the Image and resemblance of him, although it resembled him not rightly. For he is eternall, and for the present in better estate then euer, despoiled of forren incombrances, and at his full libertie. These bones that thou seest wreathed about with nerues, this skin that couered vs, this countenance, and these ministring hands, and those other members that enclose vs, are the bonds and fetters of the soule which is deiected, obscured, infected, and hindered from knowing the truth of those things that appertaine vnto her, and distracted with error. Shee hath a grieuous combate with this flesh, to the end she may not be made captiue and slaue vnto it. She extendeth and raiseth her selfe to the place from whence she was sent: there is her eternall repose, where in stead of troubles and confusions of this world, she shall see nothing but that is cleare and pure.

The three and thirtieth, He that hath liued vertuously, ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the longer he had stayed, the more might he haue beene corrupted.

CHAP. XXV.

THou hast no cause therefore to runne vnto thy sonnes sepulchre. There lye his bones and ashes, the worser part of him, and most troublesome vnto him, and are no more parts of him then his raiment and other couertures of his bodie. He is fled away wholly, and is departed wholly out of this world, without leauing any thing of himselfe vpon the earth: and afterwards hauing made a little pause

The foure and thirtieth, The body is not the man but the soule, which leaueth nothing of her selfe vpon the earth.

aboue vs, to clenſe him from thoſe ſpots that were remaining in him, and to ſhake off the ruſt of this corruptible life, he hath beene carried to farre higher places, where he conuerſeth with the happier ſoules, and hath beene entertained by that holy company of *Scipioes*, *Catoes*, and others that haue contemned this life, and now enioy a full libertie by the benefit of death. There *Martia* thy father embraceth his nephew (although that there al be parents) ioyfull to ſee him enlightned with a great brightneſſe, and teacheth him the courſes of the neighbouring Starres, not by coniecture, but as one that is truely expert, and leadeth him willingly into the ſecrets of Nature. And as he that ſhoweth the ſingularities of an vnknowne Citie, is an agreeable gueſt to that ſtranger that hath not ſeene them: ſo is this domeſticall interpreter welcome to his nephew, that examineth the cauſes of celeſtiall things, and taketh delight to prie into the ſecrets of the earth. For he hath a ſingular contentment to behold from on high that which he hath left. Behaue thy ſelfe therefore in ſuch ſort, O *Marcia*, as if thou wert in the preſence of thy father and thy ſonne, now ſuch as thou knoweſt them, but without compariſon more excellent and highly raiſed. Be aſhamed to eſtimate them, ſo as if they were in ſome abiect and contemptible eſtate, bewaile not them who are happie, and who haue attained through free and ſpacious fields to the place of eternitie. They are not hindered by entercourſe of ſeas, neither by high mountaines, nor by deepe valleyes, nor by the dangerous ſtraits and quickſands of the ſea. Their way is eaſie euery where, they may change, and end them eaſily, the one teach the other, and are intermixed with the Starres.

The fiue and thirtieth, We ought not lament thoſe, that without compariſon are more happie out of the world, then in the world.

CHAP. XXVI.

THinke then, O *Marcia*, that thy father (who before time had credit with thee, as thou haddeſt with thy ſonne) addreſſing himſelfe vnto thee, from the celeſtiall tower ſpeaketh thus. But not with that thought wherewith he deplored the ciuill warres, and cauſed them euer to bee deteſted, who made vp the rowles of thoſe who were proſcribed, but with a ſence as farre more cleare, as he is more highly raiſed. Daughter, why ſo long time remaineſt thou in diſcomfort? Why art thou ſo long time blinded in the ignorance of the truth? to thinke that thy ſonne hath beene hardly dealt withall, in that being wearie of this life, he hath retired himſelfe amongſt his anceſtors. Knoweſt thou not with what ſtormes Fortune diſturbeth all things? how little fauour ſhee ſheweth, except to thoſe, who haue not in any ſort frequented with her. Shall I recount vnto thee by name thoſe Kings that ſhould haue been moſt happy, if death had more maturely taken them from their inſtant euils? or thoſe Roman Captains, who wanted nothing of their greatneſſes, if ſomewhat had beene diminiſhed of their yeares? or thoſe noble and famous perſons, who haue yeelded their neckes, and expected the ſtroake of their ſouldiers ſwords? Behold thy father and thy grand-father. The one fell into a murtherers hand, that tooke away his life. I offered my ſelfe to no other mens hands, and forbearing my meate, made it knowne, with how great a minde I had written. Why is he ſo long time lamented in our houſe, who died moſt happily? We are altogether vnited together, and ſee that you that are aliue are inuironed with profound darkneſſe. There is nothing amongſt you that is to bee wiſhed for, nothing excellent

For concluſion and confirmation of all that which is paſt before he inducеth Marciaes father to diſcouer the ioyes of thoſe that are dead, and too Stoically ſpeaketh he of the end of the world. Laugh at the abſurdities, pitie his ignorance, embrace the beſt.

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or worthy: but all things are humble, heauie, and incertaine: neither see you but a little parcell of our light. Shall I tell thee that heere are no warres, nor battels fought by land or sea, that Parricides are neither imagined nor thought vpon here, that our Courts are not confused with pleas, but that our daies are perpetuall, that nothing is done in obscuritie, that our mindes are simple, our hearts open, our liues laid open to euery one, and that all ages and euents are manifest? I tooke delight to collect together all the aduentures of a whole age, in a corner and remote place of the world, and such actions as were attempted by a few. Now may I see so many ages, the course and carriage of so many yeares, and whatsoeuer time is past. Heere may I behold those Kingdomes that are rising, and those that fall to ruine, the ouerturne of mightie Cities, and new courses of the seas. For if it may yeeld thee any comfort to vnderstand the secrets of common destinie. I tell thee, that nothing that standeth shall continue stedfast: age shall destroy and carrie away all things with it, and shall play her part not onely amongst men (for how slight a portion are they of Fortunes power?) but also in places, countries, and parts of the world. So many mountains shall she suppresse, and enforce others in another place: shee shall sup vp the seas, and turne riuers; and breaking of the commerce of Nations, shall dissolue the societie of mankind. In other places she shall deuoure Cities with horrible yawning of the Earth, and shake them with Earth-quakes: shee shall cause pestilent exhalations to arise from the earth, and shall couer the inhabited countries with deluges of water, killing euery creature, drowning the whole world, and with vast fires shall terrifie and burne all mortall men. And when the time shall come, that the world shall cease, to the end it may be renewed againe: these things shall beate and breake one another, and all things set on fire, all that which now shineth by an artificiall brightnesse, shall bee consumed by one and the same fire. We also that are blessed soules and partakers of eternitie, when it shall seeme good vnto God to warpe these things once againe, when all things shall be confounded; then we who are but a small part of this great ruine, shal returne into our ancient elements. O *Marcia*, how happie is thy sonne, who alreadie knoweth all these things.

Stoicall conclusions, prayse God that hath giuen thee a better light.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

OF CONSOLATION,

WRITTEN

BY

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS MOTHER HELVIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke was written during the time of his exile, which was about the firſt yeare of CLAVDIVS raigne (in the yeare ſince the Citie was builded DCCXCIIII.) by the ſuggeſtion of impure MESSALINE. This publike Harlot obiected againſt him, that he had committed adulterie with IVLIA GERMANICVS daughter, and charged SENECA therewith. Of this haue we ſpoken in his Life. Now therefore being baniſhed into Corſica, he comforteth his mother, and ſheweth her how he brooketh his misfortune conſtantly, and that ſhe ſhould doe no leſſe. He wrote it not preſently vpon the beginning of his exile, which the Preface teſtifieth, but the laſt of the firſt yeares, or the beginning of the ſecond. But this wrote he now, when he was in the vigor and maturitie of his iudgement, being ſomewhat more then fortie yeares old. And therefore his writing is anſwerable, full of confidencie and eloquence. Perfect in ſtile and ſtructure, and more orderly diſpoſed then all the reſt. I dare ſay it carrieth away the Palme from all other bookes. He maketh two heads of this his Conſolation. Thou muſt neither be ſorie for my ſake, nor for thine owne. Not for my ſake, for none of thoſe which the common ſort repute for euils, as Change of place, Pouertie, Ignominie, Contempt, are euils, and thus orderly proueth he till the fourteenth Chapter. Neither muſt thou be ſorie for thine owne ſake, for there are two things that may afflict thee, either becauſe thou haſt loſt ſome helpe and comfort by me, or becauſe thou canſt not endure my want. The firſt belongeth not to thee, becauſe thou art not ambitious, neither euer didſt boaſt of the grace and power of thy children. Neither ought the other, becauſe thou wert alwayes conſtant aboue thy ſex. Thou haſt ſuffered many miſeries, endure this. Imploy thy ſelfe in the ſtudie of wiſedome which will further thee. Turne thy ſelfe to my brothers, and of thy nephewes by them and mee, thou art not alone, nor leadeſt a ſolitarie life. This will both ſerue and delight thee. Turne thy ſelfe likewiſe to

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my sister, which will proue both a comfort and example vnto thee. And he concludeth his booke with her praises.

CHAP. I.

Haue alreadie oftentimes vndertaken this resolution (most dearest mother) to comfort thee, and oftentimes haue I contained my selfe. Many considerations moued me thereunto. First, I supposed that I should despoile thee of all sorrow, it being vnable as yet to suppresse thy teares, I should in the meane space wipe them away. Secondly, I assured my selfe that I should haue more authoritie to excite thee, if first of all I had conformed and confirmed my selfe. Furthermore, I was afraid that if I had not mastered Fortune, she would haue troden vnder foote some of those whom I most loued. I therefore endeuour howsoeuer, in laying my hand on mine owne wound, to creepe forward and binde vp yours: notwithstanding there were some things on the contrarie side that crossed this my resolution. I knew well that it behoued me not at the first to encounter with thy sorrow, when it was most vehement, for feare lest my consolations should incense and afflict thee the more. For in infirmities and sicknesses, likewise there is nothing more pernicious, then vntimely remedies. I expected therefore, whilest thy sorrow had weakened and disheartned it selfe, to the end, that being mitigated and confirmed, by delay to sustaine remedies, it might suffer it selfe to be comforted and cured. Moreouer, after I had turned ouer all the monuments of those happie wits which they had composed to pacifie and moderate sorrow, I found not any example of such a man who had comforted his friends, when as he himselfe was bewailed by them. So then I remained perplexed in this new accident, and was afraid lest my endeuour, in stead of prouing a consolation, should become a renewing and cause of further griefe. Besides this, had not that man need of new words, not borrowed from vulgar and ordinarie discourse, that lifting his head from the Beere, should vndertake to comfort his friends? But it cannot otherwise be, but that the greatnesse of a griefe that exceedeth all measure, should vtterly deface the ornament and choice of words, when as oft-time it stoppeth and cloaseth the mouth. Yet howsoeuer I will endeuour, not in respect of the confidencie I conceiue in mine owne wit, but because I may serue for a most assured consolation, because I propose it my selfe. My hope is, that since thou wouldest vouchsafe me any thing that I should require, that thou wouldest doe me this fauour (although that all sorrow is rebellious) to suffer me to prefixe some limittes to thy discontent.

He proposeth diuers reasons why he deferred to comfort his mother.

CHAP. II.

The ſumme of his diſcourſe is, that ſince his mother hath approued her ſelfe couragious and a conquerour in other afflictions, ſhe ſhould not giue place to this.

BEhold how much I vſurpe vpon thine indulgence. I doubt not but I ſhall be as powerfull with thee as thy griefe, which notwithſtanding is a paſſion that wonderfully mattereth the afflicted; neyther will I ſuddenly attempt to charge him, I will firſt defend his cauſe, I will diſcouer all things whereby he is prouoked, and cut vp thoſe things that are alreadie cured. Some man will ſay, What kinde of conſolation is this, to reuiue long buried euils, and to diſcouer vnto the vnderſtanding all his aduerſities, that can ſcarcely endure the preſence of one onely? But let this man thinke that thoſe afflictions that are ſo croſſe and pernicious, as they ſurmount their remedies, are oftentimes cured by their contraries. And therefore will I preſent ſorrow with all her owne attendants, and will not make a palliatiue cure, but I will ſeare and ſcarrifie: what ſhall I get by it? That thy inuincible ſpirit that hath ouer-maſtered ſo many miſeries may be aſhamed to ſhrink at one wound in a body that hath ſo oftentimes bin cicatrized. Let them therefore weepe and mourne longer, whoſe delicate minds haue beene weakened by long felicitie, and are quickly dieſted vpon the motion of the ſlighteſt miſeries, but let them who haue ſpent their whole yeares in calamitie, indure the moſt grieuous aſſaults, with a confident and vnmoueable conſtancy. This one good hath continuall infelicitie in it, that finally ſhe hardneth thoſe whom ſhe tormenteth ordinarily. Fortune hath not giuen thee any intermiſſion, but hath exerciſed thee in moſt grieuous ſorrowes, nay, ſhe hath not ſpared thee on the very day of thy birth. Thou diddeſt looſe thy mother as ſoone as thou wert borne, nay, euen in thy very entrance into the world, and as ſoone as thou wert, as it were, abandoned to this life. Thou wert brought vp vnder thy ſtepdame, whom thou by all obſequiouſneſſe and pietie (as much as could be expected from a naturall daughter) compelledſt to be thy mother; yet none there is that hath not paide dearely to finde out a good ſtepdame. When thou expectedſt the arriuall of thine vncle by the mother ſide, a man both vertuous and valiant, thou diddeſt looſe him. And leſt that fortune ſhould make thy misfortune more ſlight by delay, a moneth after thou buriedſt thy deereſt ſpouſe, by whom thou haddeſt three ſonnes. In the height of thy ſorrow theſe mournefull tidings were brought thee, euen then when thy children were abſent, as if all thy miſeries had beene reſerued till that time, to the end that thy ſorrow might haue no meanes of reliefe or refuge. I paſſe ouer ſo many dangers, ſo many affrights that inceſſantly aſſaulted thee, and which thou haſt endured. Into the ſame lap wherein before time thou haſt dandled thy three little Nephewes, thou haſt afterward entertained their dead bones. Twenty dayes after thou haddeſt ſolemnized the obſequies of my ſonne, who died enfolded in thine armes, and attended by thy louing kiſſes, thou heardeſt the newes that I was baniſhed. Thou wert as yet vnexerciſed to bewaile the liuing.

CHAP. III.

I Confeſſe that this later wound is one of the moſt grieuous that thou haſt euer felt, and that it hath not only ſcratcht of the skin, but hath pierced into the depth of thy breaſt and entrailes. But euen as yong Souldiers bemoane themſelues ouer-much for a ſlight wound, and are as fearefull of the Phiſitians hand as the Surgeons razor, where contrariwiſe they that are old Souldiers, although they are thruſt thorow, doe patiently and without groning ſuffer their armes and legs to be cut off, as if their bodies were not their owne: ſo muſt thou now preſent thy ſelfe with a great courage to entertayne thy cure. Remoue from thy ſelfe theſe lamentations, theſe ſhrill ſhreeks and other immoderate howlings of diſconſolate women. For in vaine haſt thou ſuffered ſo many miſeries, if thou haſt not yet learned to be miſerable. What thinkeſt thou that I deale too fearfully with thee? I haue taken none of thine euills from thee, but haue heaped them vp and laid them before thee. I haue done this reſolutely, for I am reſolued to ouer-come thy griefe, not to circumſcribe it.

That although this accident be grieuous, yet Heluias *conſtancie ſo much approued before both can and may reſiſt that.*

CHAP. IIII.

I Shall firſt of all get the vpper hand as I thinke, if I ſhall approue vnto thee that I ſuffer nothing, in reſpect whereof I might be called wretched, and much leſſe make other men wretched whom I touch. Secondly, if I ſhall paſſe ouer vnto thee and approue that thine accident which dependeth on mine is not grieuous. This firſt will I vndertake, which thy pietie will be content to giue eare to, that I haue no euill: and if I cannot approue this vnto thee, I will make it manifeſt, that theſe things wherewith thou thinkeſt me to be oppreſſed, are not intolerable. But if this may not be belieued, yet will I pleaſe my ſelfe the more, becauſe I ſhall be happie amongſt thoſe things which are wont to make others miſerable. Thou art not to credit others in that which concerneth mee, I my ſelfe tell thee to the end thou maieſt not be deluded by ill grounded reports, that I am not miſerable; nay, I ſay further to ſecure thee more, that I cannot be miſerable.

Senecaes *intēt in this Treatiſe which he diſtinguiſheth into two principall points.*

CHAP. V.

WE are firſt borne vnder a good condition, except wee forſake the ſame. Nature hath ſo diſpoſed things, that to liue well, we haue no neede of great neceſſaries: euery man may make himſelfe bleſſed. Theſe externall things are but ſlight matters, and haue no great effect either in proſperitie or in aduerſitie, neither doe the one of theſe raiſe a wiſeman, neither doth the other depreſſe him. For hee hath alwaies endeuoured that his greateſt goods ſhould conſiſt in himſelfe, and the complement of his contents ſhould bee reſident in his heart. What then? ſay I that I am a wiſe man? no: for if I could freely ſpeake it, I would not only denie that I was miſerable, but contrariwiſe I would maintaine it boldly, that I was the moſt fortunate of all men, and would repute my ſelfe to be moſt neare-

ly

He entereth into the conſideratiō of the former point, which concerneth himſelfe, and ſheweth that he is not miſerable. Firſt, nature hath taught vs to bee contented with a little.

ly lodged by the Gods. For the preſent, which is ſufficient, to mitigate all my miſeries I haue wholly dedicated my ſelfe to wiſe-men, and being ſcarce able enough to aſſure and counſaile my ſelfe, I haue retired my ſelfe into another mans Campe, that is to ſay, amongſt thoſe who eaſily both defence themſelues and their owne fortunes. They haue commanded me alwayes to ſtand addreſſed, as if I were enioyned to ſtand Sentinell, and to foreſee all the aſſaults and attempts of fortune long before they aſſaile me. To them is fortune tedious whom ſhe aſſaileth ſuddainly, and eaſily repulſe they her, who continually expect her. The enemies charge moſt inſtantly defeateth thoſe whom they ſuddenly ſet vpon: but they that before the battell haue prepared themſelues for a future warre, being well arranged and in a readineſſe, do eaſily ſuſtaine the firſt aſſault, which commonly is the moſt dangerous. I neuer gaue credite to fortune, although ſhe ſeemed to claime a truce at my hands: and as touching all thoſe things which with a liberall hand ſhe hath beſtowed vpon me, ſuch as are ſiluer, honours, and great credite, I haue put them in that place where ſhe may fetch them, without eyther my diſcontent or preiudice. There was a great diſtance betwixt her and me, and therefore hath ſhe carried them away from me, and not pulled them out of my hands. No man hath aduerſitie ouerthrowne, but him whom proſperitie hath deceiued. They that haue loued her preſents as if they had beene perpetuall and properly theirs, who would haue themſelues reſpected by reaſon of the trifles; diſcomfort themſelues incontinently, when theſe falſe and fraile delights abandon their feeble and childiſh vnderſtandings, who know not what true pleaſure is. But he that is not puffed vp with proſperitie, neyther reſtrained by aduerſitie, hath an inuincible heart at all times, and an approued conſtancie in eyther fortune; for he knoweth well in his felicitie, that he can make head againſt miſhap I haue therefore alwayes had this opinion in thoſe things which all men wiſh for, that there is no true goodneſſe in them; nay more, I haue alwayes found that they were vaine and outwardly ſmoothed with a deceiueable gloſſe, but inwardly hauing nothing that is anſwerable to their exteriour reſemblance. For in thoſe things which we call euils I find nothing ſo terrible and hard as the common opinion threatneth. The word it ſelfe by a certaine perſwaſion and conſent, is now-a-dayes more diſtaſtefull vnto the eares, and afflicteth thoſe that heare the ſame, as if it were ſome heauy and execrable thing, for ſo will the people haue it: but men of wiſedome doe for the moſt part diſanull the ordinances of the people.

Secondly, nothing hath befalne him that he hath not foreſeene, becauſe he neuer gaue credit to worldly proſperitie.

Thirdly, the goods of this world are not truely goods, and the euils are but apparantly euill.

CHAP. VI.

He diſputeth plentifully of baniſhment, and proueth that there is no euill therein, and that thoſe euils which accompany the ſame ſhould not be called euils.

LEauing apart therefore the iudgement of diuers men, which is extinguiſhed by the firſt appearances of things: howſoeuer they be beleeued, let vs conſider what baniſhment is. It is the change of place. It may be thought that we ſeeme to leſſen the ſame, and that we take from it all that is worſt in it. This change of place is accompanied with the incommodities of pouerty, of ignominy, and contempt: againſt theſe hereafter I will combate. In the meane while I will firſt of all haue this looked into, which incommoditie this change of place breedeth. It is an intollerable thing to be depriued of a mans countrey. Behold this multitude which may hardly be contained within ſo many thouſand houſes of this Citie, the greateſt part of this troupe wanteth their countrey; they are retired hither from

from their Hamlets, Colonies, and all the quarters of the world. Som are drawn hither by ambition, other ſome by the neceſſitie of publique offices, ſome by Embaſſages enioyned them, otherſome are inuited for ryot ſake, that hunteth after the opportunity of riches, and a fit place wherein to exerciſe their diſſolutions; otherſome are drawne with a deſire of liberall ſtudies; others with a delight to haunt the Theaters; ſome to viſite their friends, others to make proofe of their induſtry, hauing gotten an ample meanes to make ſhew of their vertue; ſome haue brought their beautie to ſet it out to ſale, otherſom their eloquence. All ſorts of men reſort hither, where both vertues and vices are highly prized. Command and cite euery one of theſe in perſon, and aske of euery of theſe whence he is; thou ſhalt ſee that for the moſt part of them they haue forſaken their country, to come and dwell in this ſpacious Citie, which notwithſtanding is but a Citie, and not their owne. Againe, depart from this Rome, which may be called a common countrey of all men, and ouerſee other Cities, and there is none of theſe wherein thou ſhalt not finde a greater part of forraine multitude. But leaue thou theſe countries, and all thoſe who for the pleaſant ſituation of the place, are drawne to inhabite there, and goe into the deſarts and deſolate Iſles, as thoſe of Cithnon, Serephium, Giare, and Corſica. Thou ſhalt not finde any place of baniſhment, but that ſome one remaineth there for his pleaſure. What place may a man finde more naked and craggie on euery ſide, then this mountainous Iſle which I inhabite? Is there any ſoyle more barren? Are any people more ſauage? Is any ſituation of place more vnholſome, or are more diſpleaſing and intemperate? Yet are there more ſtrangers dwell here then thoſe that are naturall, borne in that countrey. So little therefore is the change of place grieuous vnto men, that this Iſle hath withdrawne ſome from their owne countrey. I finde ſome that will ſay that there is a certaine naturall deſire in mens mindes to change their ſeats, and to transferre their houſes. For man hath a moueable and vnſetled minde giuen him, he is neuer Maſter of himſelfe, he is confuſed, he intrudeth his thoughts into all knowne and vnknown things, ſtill ſtirring and neuer quiet, and beſt contented with the noueltie of things; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou conſider his firſt originall. The minde is not compoſed of a terreſtriall and waighty matter, it is a parcell of the celeſtiall ſpirit. But the nature of celeſtiall things is alwayes to be in motion; he flyeth and is carried away with a moſt ſwift courſe. Behold the Planets that enlighten the world, there is none of them that ſtandeth ſtill, but they inceſſantly turne, and daily change their places. Although they whirle about with the heauens, yet haue they their contrary motion. The Sunne runneth thorow all the ſignes of the Zodiaque, his motion is perpetuall, neyther remayneth hee at any time in one point. All things turne and paſſe without ſtay; and as the law and ſetled ordinance of nature hath determined, they are carried from one place to another: when as the celeſtiall bodies ſhall within certaine ſpaces of moneths and yeares, ſhape their courſe in their ſpheares, they ſhall renew the ſame. Goe therefore now and make thy ſelfe beleeue that humane vnderſtanding compoſed of the ſame ſeeds that diuine things are, euer patiently endures a paſſage and change from place to place, ſince that God himſelfe taketh pleaſure in a continuall and ſudden motion, and maintaineth himſelfe thereby. But withdraw thine eyes from theſe celeſtiall things, and behold theſe terreſtriall and baſe things. Thou ſhalt ſee Nations and people change their ſeate: what meane theſe Cities, peopled with Græcians, euen in the very middeſt of barbarous Nations? What meanes this Macedonian language amongſt the Indians and

Whence it commeth that men are ſo mutable.

and Persians? *Scithia* and all that tract offierce and vnconquered nations shew vs the Cities of *Achaia*, built vpon the shores of the Pontique sea. The continuall colde and the strange and inflexible natures of those Nations more vnited then their ayre, could not hinder the Grecians from planting their Colonies there. There is a company of the Athenians in *Asia*, the city of *Miletum* hath peopled seuenty fiue Cities in diuers places: All that side of *Italy* that bordereth vpon the lower sea, was the greater *Greece*. The Tuscans issued from *Asia*, the Tirians planted themselues in *Africa*, the Africans in *Spaine*, the Greekes in *France*, and the French in *Greece*. The Perinean mountaines forbad not the Germanes to passe onward, humane leuity led them by vnhanted and vnknown wayes. They drew with them their children, their wiues, and their parents loden with age. Some of these being wearied with long trauell, chose not their habitation by iudgement, but by reason of their wearinesse made choice of that they next met withall. Some maintained their possession by force of Arms; some in seeking out vnknowne Countries perished by sea; some planted their pauilions there where necessity commanded them; neither had they all of them the same cause of seeking out, and leauing their Country. Some of these after the ruine of their Cities, escaped from the fury of their enemies, haue by force made themselues Lords of other Cities, and haue driuen out the right owners. othersome haue beene disperſed by ciuill warres, othersome when their Cities were ouer peopled, were mustered and sent away to other places, as superfluous. Some Nations haue beene driuen out of their habitations by the plague, or by often earthquakes, or by some insupportible incommodities of the territorie: and othersome haue beene allured by the bruit that ranne, that such or such a Country was farre more pleasant and fruitfull then their owne. Some others haue forsaken their houses for diuers occasions. This then is euident that no one hath remained in the place where hee was borne, and that humane kinde ceaseth not to runne hither and thither. There is dayly some change in this so great a world. Heere some men lay the foundation of new Cities, there ariseth a new Nation, and the name of the olde is lost, and is made and becommeth more great then any other. But what are all these transmigrations of peoples but publike banishment.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth the change of place by these that first founded and peopled the Empire of Rome.

WHy leade I thee in so great a Windelesse? What neede I specifie vnto thee *Athenor* that builded *Padua*? or *Euander* that Planted the Kingdome of the Arcadians vpon the bankes of *Tiber*? What should I tell thee of *Diomedes*, and so many others, who both victorious and vanquished, haue beene scattered by the Troian warre into so diuers Countries? Behold the founder of the Roman Empire, who being an Exile, a fugitiue, gathering together some few scattered souldiers with him after the sacke of *Troy*, constrained by necessity, and to warrant himselfe from the hands of his victorious enemies, searched out forraine Countries and arriued in *Italie*. After all this, how many people hath hee sent in Colonies thorow out the Countries of the whole world? Whereſoeuer the Roman is Conquerour there dwelleth hee. To this change of places euery one willingly subscribed his name, and the oldest forsaking their altars and fires, willingly accompanied those that sought out other Countries beyond the Seas.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

THe matter requireth not much example, I will onely adde that which I know to bee ordinary, the Isle where I am hath changed the inhabitants diuers times. But wee ought not to insist vpon those histories which antiquity hath buried. The Greekes themselues, who at this time inhabit *Marsilles*, had before time made their abode in this Isle. No man knoweth who draue them thence, whether it were the ayre which is vnpleasant, or the feare they had of *Italy*, which is the Mistrisse of the world, which is more neighbour to the Isle, or because there is dangerous landing at it. That the naturall fierceneese of Islanders was not the cause it appeareth, because these Greekes went and intermixed themselues with the French, a cruell nation, and who at that time knew no ciuility: Anone after these of the Coast of *Genes* came hether, the Spaniardes likewise, which appeareth by their resemblance in manners, and the behauiour both of the one and the other; for their head attire is the same, and their shooes, such as the bordering Spaniard vse; they retaine likewise some wordes of their language, hauing forgot their mother tong by reason of the conuersation they haue had with the Greekes and Genowayes. After these *Marcius* caused a Colony of Romane Citizens to bee sent thither, and *Scilla* an other. See here how oftentimes one barren, cragged and mountainous Conntry hath changed inhabitants. In briefe, thou shalt not finde one Angle of the earth that a man may say it was manured by the homebred Countrymen of that place. All are mixed, transported and translated from one quarter to another. One people hath succeeded an other. One Nation hath desired to dwell there which an other hath dispeopled. That other haue been driuen from that place whence they expulsed others. So hath it pleased the Destinies, that nothing should alwayes remaine firme and continue in one place. *Varro* the most learned man amongst the Romanes, thinketh this a sufficient remedy, that whereseeuer we become, wee account it the same world. *Marcus Brutus* thinketh this sufficient for those that are banished to carry their vertues with them. If any one thinketh that these two expediments considered apart, haue little power to comfort a banished man; hee will confesse that these two together may doe very much. For that which wee haue lost, deserueth it to bee called any thing? Two the most excellent priuiledges, that is to say, common nature, and our proper vertue will follow vs in euery place whereseeuer wee fixe our foot. Belieue whosoeuer hath created this vniuers, whether it be that Almighty God, whether it be incorporall reason, that Workmaster of great things, whether it be a demy spirit, equally extended and spred amidst all great and small Creatures, whether it be Destiny, and this immutable succession of things enchained the one within the other: such a one hath caused that no things (except they be things most abiect and of little worth) are not out of our power. All that which is good in man, is not subiect to humane power and violence, which neither can giue it, or take it away. Nature hath created this world which is the greatest and fairest thing that a man may see, But as touching the soule that contemplateth and admireth the world, whereof she is the most excellentest part, she is proper vnto vs, shee is perpetuall and shall continue so long with vs, as wee continue: let vs goe forward therefore willingly and confidently, whethersoeuer our fortune leadeth vs; let vs march forward with a confident pace.

A second proose by the inhabitants of the Isle whereinto he was banished.

The third in all the estates of the world. Priuiledges which exile cannot take from vs.

A doubtfull opinion of Seneca, *as touching the Deity, and his ordinary Paradox, tying the first cause which is God to secondary causes, reade here with aduice.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Another notable consideration in exile is, that the whole worlde is a mans country

LEt vs trauell ouer what countries soeuer wee will, and wee shall finde no Country in this world that is not accessible by a man. On what soeuer side wee addresse our eyes towardes heauen; these things that are diuine are separated from those that are humane by equall distance: so then prouided that mine eyes bee not hindered from beholding the heauens, as long as it shall bee lawfull for mee to beholde the Sunne and Moone, and to consider neerely the other celestiall bodies, their risings, settings and distances: Search out the causes why the one haue more swifter motions then the other; behold so many shining starres by night, the one fixed, the other shaping a short course, and retiring into their Spheares, some appearing sodainely, others blemishing the eye with their spatious cleareness, as if they would fall; others flying with a long tract, and great light. As long as I shall behold these things, and exercise my selfe amidst these celestiall troupes, as much as is lawfull for a mortall man, and if I haue alwaies my mind lifted vp on high in contemplation of those things that concerne the same, what care I vpon what ground I tread? But this land wherein thou liuest is not fertile, neither beareth it shadowie trees it is not watered by the currents of great and nauigable riuers, it bringeth forth nothing that other Countries might seeke after; scarsly is it able to sustaine the inhabitants: no precious stone is cut here, no veines of golde or siluer are digged out of it. Base is that mind that taketh pleasure in terrestriall things; to those things must hee be addressed which euery way appeare equally, and euery where shine equally, and this is he to thinke, that the goods of this world through the false opinion that men haue conceiued of their firmity, doe but obscure and hinder the true goods. The more they enlarge the walkes and porches of their houses, the more high they raise their turrets, the more larger they extend their streetes, the more deeper they digge their caues and summer retreates, the more higher they rayse the roofes and seelings of their dining Chambers, the more they hide the heauens from themselues. An accident hath driuen thee into a certain Country, where in steade of a Pallace thou hast but a little Cabbin, truely thou hast but a weake minde, and such as is comforted with base delights, if therefore thou endure this patiently, because thou knowest *Romulus* his cottage. Rather say thus, whatsoeuer the house bee, it is bigge enough to entertaine vertues. Then will it bee more faire then all the Temples when iustice shall bee seene there, when continency, when prudence, piety, the meanes how to discharge himselfe of his duety, and the knowledge of diuine and humane things. No place is too straight that entertaineth this troupe of so great vertues, no banishment is grieuous, wherin a man may march in such cõpany. *Brutus* in that booke which hee wrote of vertue, saith; *That hee saw Marcellus that was banished into Mitilene, and as farre as humane nature permitted, liuing most blessedly, neuer more desirous of the knowledge of good letters then at that time*: hee therefore added, *that hee in departing from him, rather thought that hee went into banishment, who was to returne backe againe without him, then that hee left him an exile.* O farre more happy *Marcellus* at that time when hee approued his banishment to *Brutus*, then when he iustified his Consulat to the people of *Rome*. How great a man was he, who brought to passe that, that man should seeme a banished man in his own iudgement, in departing from him that was an exile. The same *Brutus* sayth, that

that *Cæſar* paſſing along by *Mitelene*, would not onely enter into the ſame, becauſe hee could not endure to behold a deformed man. The Senate by mutuall ſupplication obtained *Marcellus* reuocation, ſo penſiue and ſad were they, that a man would haue ſaid at that time, that euery one of them had *Brutus* ſoule, and beſought not for *Marcellus* but for themſelues, for feare leaſt being without him, it ſhould proue a true baniſhment, yet more attained he that day when *Brutus* was ſorry to leaue him an exile, and *Cæſar* to ſee him: for by this meanes he had a teſtimony from them both. *Brutus* was ſorry to returne without *Marcellus*, *Cæſar* was aſhamed: doeſt thou doubt that this ſo worthie a man did not encourage himſelfe to endure his baniſhment with a quiet mind in theſe or ſuch like words? *It is no miſery for thee that thou wanteſt thy Country: ſo haſt thou informed thy ſelfe with good letters, that thou knoweſt that euery place is a Wiſemans Country. And what ſhall wee ſay of him that hath baniſhed thee? hath hee not beene out of his Country for the ſpace of ten whole yeeres? Vndoubtedly it was to the end to encreaſe the Romane Empire, yet was he abſent ſo long. And now behold Africa draweth him vnto her, being repleniſhed with the alarums of a threatning war.* Spaine *recalleth him that repaireth the broken and diſperſed troupes of* Pompey, *perfidious* Aegypt *calles him forth, and in concluſion the whole world which is intent vpon this occaſion of the ſhaken Empire. Whether ſhall he march firſt, againſt what party ſhall hee firſt oppoſe himſelfe. His victory ſhall driue him thorow all the countries in the world. Let all Nations reuerence and ſerue him, as for thy ſelfe finiſh thy dayes with this content, that thou art much eſteemed by* Brutus. Conſtantly therefore did *Marcellus* endure his exile, neither did the change of place any waies change his mind, although he were preſſed with pouerty, wherein there is no euill, as that man knoweth very well, when auarice and diſſolution (which ouerturne all things,) haue not as yet ouerturned his vnderſtanding. For how little is it, that is neceſſary for a mans entertainement? hath a vertuous man need of this or that? For mine owne part I finde that I am diſpoſſeſſed of many incumbrances, and not of my goods. The deſires of thoſe things whereof the body ſtandeth in need are ſhort, hee demandeth no more but a couering to defence him againſt the colde, and meate and drinke to extinguiſh his hunger and thirſt. All that a man deſireth beſides theſe, ſerueth but to entertaine exceſſe, and hath no true vſe. It is not neceſſary to ſound all depthes, nor to murther ſo many beaſtes to fill the belly, nor to goe and fiſh for Oyſters in forraine and vnknown ſeas: The Gods and Goddeſſes may deſtroy thoſe men, whoſe diſſolution hath exceeded the bounds of the Romane Empire ſo much enuied. They will haue the fowle of their ambitious Kitchens taken and brought from beyond the floud *Phaſis*, which is in the further part of *Aſia*, and are not aſhamed to ſend for their dainties from the Parthians: from whome as yet wee haue not demanded recompence for the wrongs they haue done vs. They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle theſe gluttons appetites: that which theſe decayed ſtomackes will hardly diſgeſt, being glutted with too many dainties, is brought from the fartheſt Ocean: they vomit to the end they may eate, they eate to the end they may vomit: they take not time to diſgeſt thoſe dainty morſels which they ſearch through the whole world. If a man diſpiſe theſe delicacies, what wrong doth hee to pouerty? if a man deſire them, pouerty likewiſe profiteth him. Some there are that are not healed but againſt their wils, and if a poore man being depriued of theſe dainties, ceaſeth not to wiſh for them, yet vndoubtedly when hee cannot, hee is like to him that will not. *Caius Cæſar* whom Nature as I thinke brought into this world to ſhew

Notable conſiderations to pacifie the fury of exile, worthily ſet downe vnder the perſon of Marcellus.

what great vices might doe in a great and worldly prosperitie, spent at one only supper the summe of two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, and being herein assisted by the wits of his best belly-gods, yet scarcely found he how he might consume in that one repast all the reuenue of three Prouinces. O miserable men whose pallats are not pleased but with precious dainties, which are made precious, not by reason of their excellent sauour or any sweetnesse they yeeld the taste, but by reason of their raritie and cunning in dressing. Otherwise if they would awaken themselues neuer so little what neede they so many arts to entertaine their bellies? what neede they such traffiques, such desolation of woods, such fishing of Seas and Riuers? Nature hath furnished in all places sufficient meat for our bodies. But these Countries and places like blinde men they passe ouer, and trauell through all Nations, and saile all Seas, and when as they may satisfie their hunger with a little, they prouoke the same with much.

CHAP. X.

A continuation of his inuective against intemperance.

IT pleaseth me to aske: Why rig you and lanch you your ships? Why arme you your hands both against wilde beasts and men? why runne you hither and thither so tumultuously? why heape you riches vpon riches? will you not thinke how litle your bodies are? Is it not a desperate furie and extreme folly when as thou canst hold so little, to desire so much? Although therefore you increase your rents, and enlarge the bounds of your lands, yet shall you neuer make your bodies greater. When your traffique hath beene prosperous, your warfare hath brought home rich spoiles, when all the dainties you haue sought for from all places are gathered together: where will you bestow all this prouision? why heape you vp so many things? vndoubtedly your ancestors whose vertues at this time sustayne your vices were vnhappie, who prepared their meat with their owne hands, whose bed was the earth, whose houses as yet shined not with gold, whose temples as yet shined not with precious stones. In these daies they sware religiously by Gods made of earth, and those that had sworne by such Images returned to the enemie with resolution to die, to the end they would not violate their plighted Faith. By this accompt lesse blessedly liued our Dictator who gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Samnites, at such time as he dressed his homely victuals by the fire with his owne hands. Yea such hands as had alreadie oftentimes defeated the Enemie, and put the crowne of Laurell in the lap of *Iupiter Capitoline*. Better then *Apicius* liued in our memorie, who in the same Citie out of which sometimes Philosophers were commanded to depart, as if corrupters of youth, made profession of the science of gourmandise, and infected the whole age with his discipline, whose death it shall not be amisse to consider and know. After he had gathered together into his Kitchin the summe of two millions and a halfe in gold, after hee had in his particular banquets consumed all the presents that were giuen him by Princes, and the great reuenue of the Capitoll, finding himselfe very much in debt, he beganne at that time to consider in what estate his affaires stood, and finding that there remained as yet the summe of two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, supposing that it was too litle, and that he should be in danger to die for hunger, he killed himselfe by poison. How great was his dissolution that thought

The frugalitie and prosperitie of the ancient Romans.

thought himſelfe poore hauing two hundreth and fiftie thouſand crownes? Goe now and thinke that the meaſure in monie and not in minde, is pertinent to the matter.

CHAP. XI.

APICIVS made ſmall reckoning of two hundreth and fiftie thouſand crownes, and that which other men deſire with wiſhes, he droue away by poiſon. But to a man of ſo depraued a minde, that laſt potion was the moſt holſommeſt. Then eate hee and drunke he poiſon, when as he was not only delighted with immeaſurable banquets, but gloried therein: when he bragged of his vices, when as he had drawne the whole Citie into admiration of his riot, when as hee had incited the youth (who of themſelues are apt enough to follow euill examples) to follow and imitate him. This is the end of thoſe men who keepe no meaſure in the vſe of worldly goods, which notwithſtanding haue their bounds, but abuſe and follow euill cuſtomes, that hath no limit or rule but his vnbridled wil. Couetouſneſſe thinketh no thing enough, nature is ſufficed with a very little. Is pouertie then no incommoditie to thoſe that are baniſhed? none; for there is no exile ſo miſerable that is not fertile enough to nouriſh one man. Should not a baniſhed man couet a gowne or a lodging? if hee deſireth them only for vſe, hee ſhall neither want houſe or cloathing: for the body is couered with as little as it is nouriſhed. Nature hath made euery thing eaſie which ſhee knew neceſſarie for a man. If he wiſh for a furre gowne of purple embroidered with gold, compoſed of diuers colours, and after a rich faſhion, hee is poore by his owne default, and not by the rigour of aduerſitie. Reſtore vnto ſuch a man all that hee hath loſt, yet ſhalt thou doe nothing for him, becauſe hee ſhall want more of that which he deſireth thee, a baniſht man wanteth of all that which he hath had. If he coueteth a Cubberd garniſhed with veſſell of gold, ſiluer cups of great price, becauſe that long agoe they were laboured by cunning workmens hands, medals made precious by a few mens madneſſe, and a troupe of Seruants ſo great that the houſe (which otherwaies is ſpacious) is vnable to containe them; a goodly ſtable furniſhed with many fat and gallant Horſes, marbels, and other ſtones of price, brought from all the corners of the World. Let a man gather vp together as many of theſe things as he can, yet will they neuer ſatisfie an vnſatiable minde: no more then all the water in the world is not ſufficient to quench his thirſt, that deſireth to drinke not to ſatisfie his neceſſitie, but to extinguiſh the heat proceeding from the inflammation of his entrailes. For this is no thirſt but a ſickneſſe: neither hapneth this only in monie, but in meate alſo. This is the nature of euery deſire that proceedeth from errour, not from want: all whatſoeuer thou ſhalt heape vp will but ſerue to inflame him, not to ſatisfie him. He then that containeth himſelfe within a naturall meaſure will haue no ſence of pouertie, but he that exceedeth this mediocritie in midſt of his greateſt riches ſhall alwayes finde that pouertie attendeth him. The moſt ſolitarie and barren places ſuffice thoſe that content themſelues with neceſſarie things but they that deſire ſuperfluity haue neuer enough although they had whole Kingdomes. It is the minde that maketh men rich, he it is that accompanieth them in exile and in the deſart, where finding ſufficient to maintaine his bodie he hath goods in aboundance, and enioyeth them

Hauing ſufficiently deteſted intemperance, he proueth againe that euery Countrie hath enough in it ſelfe to nouriſh him that inhabiteth the ſame. The deſire of worldly goods is inſatiable.

Mediocritie on the contrarie ſide is alwaies, and euery where content.

contentedly. Mony appertaineth nothing to the mind, no more then all those things which vntrained minds, and too much addicted to their bodies so much affect, concerne the immortall Gods. Precious stones, gold, siluer, great tables well garnished are but earthly burthens, which a sincere minde, and such as is not forgetfull of his nature cannot loue, because it is alwayes light, and will mount as high as heauen as soone as he findeth the gate open; in the meane while, and in as much as these bonds of the body, and masse of the flesh which inuironeth the same will permit, vpon the wings of a suddain and swift thoght he visiteth and raiseth celestiall things. And therefore a free-man that is allied to the gods, as great as this world, or time, can neuer be banished: for his thought circleth the heauens, and examineth both time past and that which is to come. This fraile body, the ferters and giues of the soule, is tossed hither and thither, punishments, thefts, and sickenesses are exercised vpon it. As for the minde, it is sacred and eternall, and hands cannot be laide vpon it.

Why ve thous men cannot loue the goods of this world.

CHAP. XII.

The fourth fruit of exile and ponertie is, that it hath no care or torment of mind, and contrariwise, the rich aee poore for the most part of their liues.

NEyther thinke thou that to lessen the incommodities of pouertie (which no man feeleth to be grieuous except he that supposeth it) that I vse only the precepts of Philosophy: first, consider how great the number of poore men is, whom notwithstanding thou shalt not see more pensiue or carefull then the rich; contrariwise, I dare almost auow it, that they are more ioyfull, because their mindes are lesse distracted by affairs. Let vs ouer-passe the poore, and com vnto the rich: In the greatest part of their life resemble they not poore men? If men would trauaile they scantle their burthens, and trusse vp their packes, and as often as necessitie requireth them to make more hast, they ouergoe the troupe of their companions. They that follow the warres, for the most part carry none of their necessaries with them, because that militarie discipline permitteth them not to carrie much luggage. Besides this condition of time, and incommoditie of places, which equalleth them with the poore; sometimes they are so glutted with their riches, that some dayes they will content themselues to suppe vpon the grasse, and will command their vessels of golde and siluer away, and content themselues to be serued in platters and vessels of earth: mad and vnaduised they alwayes feare that which they couet sometimes. What cloude of errour, and what ignorance of truth shaddoweth these men, which auoyde that which they imitate to yeelde them pleasure? For mine owne part, as often as I consider the life of our ancestors, I blush and dare not vse the solace that pouerty giueth me, because that dissolution hath gotten so great a head in this time, that at this day banished men haue a greater viaticum, and more commodities then great Princes patrimonie and reuennues came to in times past. It is well known that *Homer* had but one seruant, *Plato* three, and that *Zeno* the author of that seuere and manly wisedome of the Stoickes had none at all. If any one will therfore say, that they liued miserably, wil not he think himselfe a catiue & miserable, by reason of this his false opinion? *Menenius Agrippa*, who made a peace betwixt the Senate and the Romane people, that were ready to assaile one another, was buried at the common charge. *Attilius Regulus* after hee had ouerthrowne the Carthaginians in Africa, wrote vnto the Senate that his husbandmanwas dead, by reason whereof his lands were vnmanured, whereupon the Senate

Diuers examples of the temperance of our ancestors. See Titus Liuius in his second booke and eighteenth chapter: Valerius Maximus in his fourth booke and fourth Chapter.

Senate tooke order as long as *Regulus* was absent. So much was it to him that he had not a seruant, that the Common-weale of Rome became his husbandman. *Scipio's* daughters were married at the Cities charge, because their father had left them nothing. Truely there was great reason why the people of Rome should pay tribute vnto *Scipio* once, when as they exacted a tribute from Carthage alwayes. How happy were the husbands of these daughters, who had the Romane people for their fathers in lawe? Thinkest thou them more happy, whose daughters after they had played in the Theatres, had twentie thousand crowns to their marriage, then *Scipio* was, who from the Senate their Tutor, haue receiued some small summe of money for their dowry? What man is he that dare disdaine pouertie, that hath so worthy examples? Would a banished man complaine that he wanted this or that, when as *Scipio* had no money to marry his daughters? *Regulus* was without a husbandman, *Menenius* had need of friends to pay for his funerals; and considering that all that which was wanting to those worthy men, hath beene more plentifully ministred vnto them then they had need; so then such Patrons not onely make pouertie secure, but also gratious.

CHAP. XIII.

An obiection, that ignominy annexed with pouertie is a thing very odious

TO this it may be answered, Why so artificially discoursest thou on these things, which considered apart may be maintained, but if they be compared cannot? Change of place is tolerable if thou onely change thy place: pouertie is tolerable, if ignominy be taken from it, the which alway is wont to oppresse mens mindes. To him who would terrifie me with a troupe of euils, thus would I answer; If thou haue force enough against euery part of fortune; the like mayest thou haue against all. When vertue hath once hardned the mind she maketh him invincible. If auarice dismisse thee, which is the most violent plague of mankind, ambition will neuer leaue thee at rest. If thou beholdest thy last houre, not as a punishment, but as a lawe of nature, into that breast whence thou hast driuen the feare of death, there is no feare of any thing that dare enter. If thou thinkest that the honest desires of marriage, was not allotted man to feed his lust, but to encrease his family. He that is not violated with this secret mischiefe infixed in his bowels, euery other desire will ouerpasse and touch him not. Reason not onely ouerturneth vices one after another, but all of them together: she fighteth at once, and ouercommeth the enemie at one stroake. Thinkest thou that a wise-man that is grounded in vertue, and estranged from vulgar opinions is shaken by ignominie? Death is more ignominious then one simple ignominie; yet *Socrates* with the same countenance and resolution entered the prison, wherewith he in times past alone brought the thirtie tyrants into order, and tooke the ignominie from the place by his entry: for that could not seeme to be a prison wherein *Socrates* was lodged. What man is he so brutish, that will say or thinke that *Marcus Cato* was disgraced, at such time as he demanded the Prætorship, and afterwards the Consulate? It was a disgrace both to the Prætor and Consulate who were honoured by *Cato*. No man can be despised by another man, except he first be contemned by himselfe. An humble and abiect minde becommeth subiect to this contumely; but whosoeuer encourageth himselfe against these terrible accidents, and ouercommeth those euils where-

His opinion as touching death, proceeding from the ignorance of the fall of the first man.

Examples to confirme his answer.

with other hearts are ouerturned, reputeth his afflictions to be his ornaments. When we are thus affected, that nothing moueth more admiration in vs then to see a man couragious in his miseries. *Aristides* was sent by the Athenians, and commanded to be put to death, who made all those hang downe their heads and mourne that saw him in that estate, not as if they had executed a iust man, but iustice her selfe; yet was there one amongst them that spit in his face: this might he haue taken heauily, because he knew that no man that had modestie would haue done it, yet wiped he his face, & smilingly beheld the Magistrates, and said thus, *Admonish this man, that hereafter he open not his mouth so vncleanely.* This were enough to humble outrage it selfe. I know that some will reply, that nothing is so hardly dis-jested as contempt, and that death seemeth more pleasing then the same. To these I answere, that oftentimes exile is exempted from these incommodities. If a man of note fall vpon the ground, yet is he alwayes the same, and as great; neyther is contemned any more, then when as the ruins of sacred Temples are troad vpon, which as well both the religious as the standers by doe adore. Thou canst not therefore finde any want of thy sonne that is taken from thee, whom during his aboade with thee, thou neuer thoughtest to appertaine vnto thee.

CHAP. XIIII.

He now cõmeth to the second point of his d.s. course, the scope whereof is, that Helua in regard of her selfe, hath not any occasion to torment her selfe for the absence of her sonne, and that for two principal causes.

SInce, most deere mother, thou hast not any occasion in respect of me to afflict thy selfe thus continually, there must be therefore some particular considerations that presse thee thus. But these are two; for eyther thou tormentest thy selfe because thou thinkest that thou hast lost some stay, or because thou canst not endure the sorrow thou sustainest. I will slightly touch the first consideration; for I know that thy heart loueth nothing in thy children but themselues. Let those mothers, who by their indiscretion breede much discontent in their children that are growne in credite, consider what they doe. Being vnable to execute publique charges, they shew themselues ambitious by their children; they embezzill and spend their reuennues, and by their bables breake their heads who are constrained to giue eare vnto them. But for thine owne part thou hast greatly reioyced at the goods that haue befalne thy children, which thou hast neuer had a part of. Thou hast alwayes restrained our liberalitie, when thou hast had no power of thine owne: thou being but the daughter of a family, hast not forborne to bestow thy fauours plentifully vpon thy children that were rich: thou hast administred the goods that our father left vs, as if they had beene thine own, and hast beene as sparing of them as if thou haddest had them to restore them to some strangers: thou hast spared our credite as if thou haddest been to employ such a one that were no wayes allied vnto thee: our estates and honours were but a charge and pleasure to thee, and thou neuer diddest respect vs to enrich thy selfe: thou canst not therefore want thy sonne that is taken from thee, who in his safetie neuer thoughtest that he appertained vnto thee.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

To remedie his mothers ſorrow, the better he ſpecifieth the parties, and applieth diuers remedies.

ALL my conſolation muſt be aimed to withſtand that, whence the true force of thy motherly ſorrow doth ariſe. I want the embraces of my deare child, I cannot ſee him, I cannot deuiſe with him. Where is he, by whoſe ſight I redeemed my ſorrow, to whom I communicated al my diſcontents? Where are his diſcourſes, wherwith I could not ſatisfie my ſelfe? Where are his ſtudies, which I entertained more willingly then a woman, more familiarly then a mother? Where is this meeting, wherein the ſonne ſhewed himſelfe ioyfull to behold his mother? Thou wilt adde hereunto the very places where I was wont to reuerence thee, to drinke and eate with thee: the place likewiſe, whereas we met the laſt time, which cannot but haue great efficacie to afflict the minde. For this likewiſe did Fortune moſt cruelly complot againſt thee, becauſe that when thou wert ſecure, and feareſt no ſuch matter, ſhe dared to aſſault thee three dayes before I was ſtrucken. We had before times beene fitly ſeparated by diſtance of places, and our abſence during ſome yeares, had as it were, diſpoſed thee to this affliction: thou cameſt backe againe vnto me, not to enioy any pleaſure or contentment by thy ſonne, but to the end thou mighteſt not loſe the good to conuerſe and communicate with him. Haddeſt thou beene ſeparated from him long time before, this aſſault had not ſo much vexed thee, becauſe the diſtance of time might haue aſſwaged thy ſorrowes: if thou haddeſt not beene ſeuered from him, thou haddeſt endured thy loſſe more contentedly, becauſe thou haddeſt enioied this laſt fruit to be yet two daies in thy ſons companie. But cruel deſtinie hath carried the matter in ſuch ſort, that thou foundeſt me not at Rome at ſuch time as I was baniſhed, and arriueſt there intontinently afterwards, to receiue the more griefe, becauſe I was then vpon departure. But the more furious theſe aſſaults are, the more oughteſt thou to call thy better reſolued vertue to aſſiſt thee, and to fight more confidently with thine enemie, which is ſufficiently knowne vnto thee, and that heretofore hath beene diuers times defeated by thee. This blood of thy preſent affliction, is not the firſt that thou haſt loſt, thy precedent wounds, as yet vnhealed, haue beene renewed againe.

CHAP. XVI.

He confirmeth her by the conſideration of other womens infirmities.

THOu oughteſt not to alleage in thine excuſe, that thou art a woman, which is almoſt permitted to weepe her fill, and yet ought there to be ſome meaſure. And therefore our Anceſtors allowed them ten moneths ſpace to bewaile their husbands, and in limiting in this ſort by their publike ordinance this obſtinate ſadnes of women, they pretended not to hinder their teares, but to bring them to ſome end. For it is a fooliſh and vnbridled affection in any one to torment himſelfe inceſſantly, for the death of another whom he loueth. As contrariwiſe not to be moued, is to be reputed to haue a heart both obdurate and inhumane. The beſt meane that we can obſerue betwixt pietie and reaſon, is to feele ſome remorſe, and afterwards to extinguiſh the ſame. There is no reaſon thou ſhouldeſt build vpon certaine women, that hauing once begunne to entertaine ſor-

row,

row, neuer giue it ouer till death hath made an end of them. Thou haſt knowne diuers, that hauing loſt their ſonnes, haue neuer afterwards put off their mourning garments. The conſtancie that thou haſt alwayes ſhewed heretofore, requireth ſomewhat more at thy hands. Such a one as in times paſt hath approued it to all men, that ſhe was deliuered from all feminine imperfections, cannot alleage for her excuſe, that ſhe is a woman. Impudicitie, one of the moſt greateſt euils that raigne in our time, hath not entangled thee amongſt diuers others: pearles and precious ſtones haue not tempted thee, riches, which are eſteemed the greateſt good in this world, haue not bewitched thine eyes, the dangerous examples wherewith the wickeder ſort ſeduce the beſt haue not diſtracted thee, thou that haſt beene well brought vp in a Noble and well ordered Familie, art not aſhamed to haue beene fetile, and the mother of diuers children: as if thou wert vpbraided thereby that thou art old. Neuer haſt thou according to the cuſtome of diuers other women, which deſire nothing more then to be reputed bewtifull, hidden thy groſſeneſſe, as if it had beene an vnfitting burthen, neither haſt thou made away the fruit of thy wombe, which thou thoughteſt thou haddeſt receiued. Thou haſt neuer painted thy ſelfe, nor taken any pleaſure to weare ſuch garments as might diſcouer thy naked skinne. Modeſtie is the onely ornament which thou haſt eſteemed to be moſt fitting, moſt ſeemely, and ſuch as cannot bee indemnified by age. So then thou canſt not to the end thou mayeſt obtaine licence to weepe; pretend the name of a woman, becauſe thy vertues haue ſeparated thee from that ranke. So farre oughteſt thou to be eſtranged from the teares of this ſex, as thou art from their imperfections. Women likewiſe themſelues will not permit thee to cenſure and ſubmit thy ſelfe to thy ſorrow: but hauing ſuffered thee to weepe a little, and as much as need requireth, they will make thee riſe vp, eſpecially if thou wilt behold thoſe women, who for their excellent vertues, haue beene numbred amongſt the moſt famous men. Fortune reduced *Cornelia*, the mother of twelue children, to that paſſe, that ſhee had onely two remaining: if thou wouldeſt count thoſe ſhe had buried, they were ten, if thou wilt eſtimate them ſhe had loſt, the *Gracchi*, yet expreſſely forbad ſhe thoſe that wept about her, and curſed that vnhappie aduiſe to accuſe Fortune in any ſort, which had giuen her the *Gracchi* to her ſonnes. By this woman ſhould he be bred, who ſaid vnto a certaine perſon that declamed before the people: *Speakeſt thou euill of my mother that bare mee?* But the mothers ſpeech, in my iudgement, is more couragious. The ſonne made high reckoning of the birth of the *Gracchi*, the mother of their deathes. *Rutillia* followed her ſonne *Cotta* into exile, and her loue towards him was ſo entire, that ſhee had rather endure exile then his want; neither returned ſhe backe againe into her Countrey, before ſhe returned with her ſonne. After his returne, and at ſuch time as her ſonne was raiſed to the greateſt honors: ſhe bare his death as conſtantly as ſhe had followed him couragiouſly; and no man could euer marke that ſhe let one teare fall from her eyes after he was enterred. She made proofe of her vertue at ſuch time as ſhe was baniſhed, and of her wiſdome, when death drew him out of this world. Nothing hindered her from ſhewing her ſelfe charitable, and nothing detained her in a ſottiſh and ſuperfluous ſorrow. My deſire is that thou ſhouldeſt be numbered amongſt ſuch women, and becauſe thou haſt alwayes imitated their life, bee thou continuallie moſt ſtudious and carefull to follow their example, and to repreſſe and ſuppreſſe thy ſorrow. I know that the matter is not in our power, and that there is no paſſion that will bee moderated, and eſpecially not that which

He animateth her by worthie examples.

Afterwards he counſelleth her to conquer, and not to diſguiſe her paſſions.

which proceedeth from griefe, for it is fierce and rebellious against all remedy: yet will wee in the meane time that it master and swallow vp sorrowes, and yet notwithstanding permit we teares to streame along a counterfeit and concealed countenance: wee will endeauour to exercise the mind in sports, or in seeing the Sword-players skirmish; but amidst all these spectacles that shall detaine the same, wee are content that a light touch of griefe shall shake the same. It is far better to ouercom the passion then to abuse it: for sorrow withdrawn by the pleasures of this world, or beguiled by occupations, relieueth himselfe, and by the meanes of repose gathereth more greater forces, and skirmisheth afterwardes more confidently. But the mind that giueth place to reason, attaineth a perpetuall repose. But I will not teach thee these remedies which I know diuers other s haue vsed, namely that thou shouldest passe the time in some long voyage, or that thou shouldest sport thy selfe in places of pleasure, or that thou shouldest employ many daies in carefully ouerlooking how thy affaires are caried, and to order thy reuenew, or in short that thou shouldest entangle thy selfe alwaies in so me new affaires. All these things profite for a short moment, and are not reme dies, but delayes of sorrow. For mine owne part I had rather thou shouldest cea se then deceiue thy griefe. I will therefore lead thee thether whether all they o ught to haue recourse, who flie from fortune, that is to Philosophy, which wil heale thy wound, & plucke out all sorrow from thy mind. Though hitherto thou hast neuer addicted thy selfe thereunto, yet now must thou doe it; but thou hast not studied all the liberall sciences, thou hast onely tasted so much as the ancient seuerity of my father permitted thee. I could haue wished that my Father (one of the best men in the world) had beene lesse addicted to the fashions of o ur ancestors, and that hee would haue permitted thee seriously to bee instruc ted in Philosophy, and not sleightly: now then shouldest thou not haue neede to prepare a remedy against Fortune, but thou shouldest bee exercised therein. As for these that vse good letters, not for wisdome sake, but rather for ostentation and pride, for their cause hee suffered thee the lesse to follow thy studies, but by reason of the pregnant witte thou hast apprehended more in a little ti me then could bee expected. The foundations of all sciences are laide in thee. Returne now vnto these, and they will make thee secure: these will comfort thee, these will delight thee, these if they enter thy mind in good earnest; neuer shall sorrow or sollitude, nor the vaine sorrow of superfluous affliction enter into thy heart any more, thy breast shall lie open to none of these, for alr eady is it shutte vppe against all other vices. These are the most assur ed remees, and such as can onely deliuer thee from fortune. But whilest thou hast attained that part which studies promise, thou hast neede of some supports and staies, and therefore in the meane while will I shew thee thy comforts. Behold my brothers who being in security, it is vnlawfull for thee to accuse fortune, thou hast in both to delight thy selfe for their seuerall vertues, the one by his industry hath attained honours, the other hath contemned them wisely: content thy selfe in the one of thy sonnes dignity, and the others quiet, note the piety of them both. I know the inward affections of my brethren, the one in this respect affecteth dignity, that hee may bee an ornement vnto thee, the other hath retired himselfe to a peaceable and quiet life, onely to attend thee. Fortune hath disposed thy children wel; both for thy succour, and for thy delight; thou maiest bee defended by the dignity of the one, and enuy the others retirement. They will contend in offices towards thee, and the desire of one shall bee supplyed by the piety of them both

A principall remedy in foolish and vnbrideled passions to haue recourse to Philosophy, whereunto he exhorteth his mother.

Particular remedies. He requireth her to consider her other children that continue with her, and describeth the benefites and pleasures shee enioyeth by their presence.

both. I dare boldly promiſe thee, thou ſhalt want nothing but the number. From theſe behold my Nephewes likewiſe, *Marcus* that pretty wanton lad, at whoſe ſight all ſorrow muſt be baniſhed, there is nothing ſo great, nothing ſo newly impreſſed in any mans breaſt, which hee by his wanton dalliance will not leniſie, whoſe teares will not his pleaſures ſuppreſſe? whoſe mind except it bee wholly contracted by care, will not his merry and witty ieſtes make ioyfull? Who will not bee drawne to delight by beholding his wantonneſſe, who though wholly fixed and deuoured in thoughts, would not bee delighted by his prety prattle, and ſo pleaſing that neuer wearieth any man? I beſeech the Gods to grant him long life amongſt vs. Let all the wearied cruelty of the Fates be ſpit and ſpent vpon me, let all my mother ſhould grieue for, be tranſferred to me, or what afflicts my grandmother, afflict me. So the reſt may flouriſh in their accuſtomed eſtate, I ſhall not complaine of mine owne ſolitude and condition. Let mee onely be the expiation of the family, that hereafter ſhall liue in repoſe. Keepe in thy lappe my *Nouatilla* that ſhall ſhortly make thee a great Grandmother with that affection I appropriated and made her mine owne, that hauing loſt me, ſhee might ſeeme to bee an Orphan, although I am now liuing. Loue her I pray thee for my ſake: Fortune of late hath taken her father from her, thy piety may effect this that ſhe ſhal only haue cauſe to bewaile the death of her mother, and yet notwithſtanding ſhall haue no ſenſe of this loſſe. Now faſhion her mind, and then her manners. Precepts take beſt hold when they are imprinted in tender yeeres. Let her accuſtome her ſelfe to your ſpeeches, let her conforme her ſelfe according to thy manners, thou ſhalt giue her much, although thou giue her nothing but thy example. This ſo ſolemne an endeuour will ſerue for a remedy, nothing can diuert a mind that is piouſly ſorrowfull, but eyther reaſon or honeſt occupation. I ſhould number thy Father likewiſe amongſt thy great comforts, but that hee is abſent: but now bethinke thy ſelfe by thine owne affection what concerneth him, and thou ſhalt vnderſtand how far iuſter a thing it is that thou art reſerued for him, then beſtowed vpon me. As often as immoderate force of ſorrow ſhal inuade thee, and ſhall command thee to follow him, thinke vpon thy father; in giuing him ſo many Nephewes and Nephewes children, thou haſt brought to paſſe that thou art not alone. Meanewhile thou enioyeſt this honour, that thou haſt happily finiſhed the courſe of thy life, and as long as hee liueth, it is vnlawfull for thee to complaine that thou liueſt.

Secondly, her Father.

CHAP. XVII.

Thirdly, her ſiſter, whoſe vertues and conſtancy ſhee commendeth.

YEt had I almoſt concealed thy greateſt ſolace, thy ſiſter that hath alwayes been ſo faithfull vnto thee, in whoſe boſome thou haſt familiarly diſcharged all thy ſorrowes, and who hath ſhewed towards vs all an affection of a mother: thou haſt mingled thy teares with hers, and thou firſt breathedſt in her mouth. Shee alwayes followeth thine affections, and yet in my behalfe ſhee grieueth not ſo much for thee. By her hands was I brought into this City, by her pious and motherly nurſing, I recouered after a loug and dangerous ſickneſſe, ſhee employed her credite to make me Quæſtor. And whereas ſhe bluſhed if any one ſhould haue ſpoken to her, or ſaluted her with a lowder voyce, ſhee was not aſhamed to go and ſpeake with diuers ſeuerall men in my behalfe, neither could her retired

courſe

courſe of life, neyther her modeſty (in ſo great petulancy of Country women) neither her quiet, neither her ſecret and inclined manners, aymíng at nothing more then repoſe, detaine her from ſhowing her ſelfe ambitious in my behalfe. This deare mother is a ſolace whereby thou muſt bee comforted, as much as in thee lyeth ioyne thy ſelfe to her, and tie thy ſelfe to her ſtrict embraces. They that are in ſorrow are wont to flie thoſe things which moſt they loue, and to ſeeke a liberty for their ſorrow: but ſee that thou both retire thy ſelfe, and whatſoeuer thou thinkeſt vnto her, whether thou wilt keepe this habite, or lay it aſide, with her thou ſhalt finde, eyther a companion, or an end of thy ſorrow. But if I be not deceiued in the wiſdome of this moſt perfect woman, ſhee will not ſuffer thee to conſume thy ſelfe in fruitleſſe lament, and will propoſe thee her owne example, whereof I my ſelfe was a witneſſe. Hauing beene married young, ſhee loſt her husband, and our vnckle vpon the ſea, yet in the mean while, & at the ſame time ſhe endured her ſorrow and feare, and afterwardes eſcaping from the ſtorme ſhee ſolemnized his funerals. O how many worthy actions of women are buried in obſcurity, if this woman had liued in the time of our anceſtors, who with a pure affection honoured their vertues; how many braue ſpirits ſhould haue enforced themſelues to extoll a woman, who without any apprehenſion of her weakenes, neither feared windes, neither letted by waues, expoſed her ſelfe to all hazards to bury her husband, and thinking of his obſequies, had not any thought at all of her owne? The Poets haue enobled *Alceſtis*, that hazarded her life to ranſome her husband from death. But this is more, to ſearch with the expence of her owne life a Tombe for her husband: the greater is the loue that redeemeth by eminent danger that which ſeemeth to be little. Furthermore, is not this a thing worthy of admiration that during the ſpace of ſixeteene yeeres, in which her husband was gouernour of *Aegypt*, ſhe was neuer ſeene in the ſtreet, neither ſuffered ſhee any of that Prouince to enter her houſe, ſhee demanded nothing at her husbands hands, neither ſuffered any other to entreat ought elſe at her handes: by reaſon wherof this Prouince ſo talkatiue and ingenuous to defame their gouernours, wherein diuers hauing carried themſelues honeſtly, haue notwithſtanding beene accuſed of euill conuerſation, reuerenced thy ſiſter as the onely example of ſanctity, and enforcing their owne natures which is to take pleaſure in ieſting whatſoeuer become of it, carefully contained their tongs, and although they hoped not euer to haue had ſuch a Gouerneſſe, yet wiſhed ſhee the like dayly. It was much for her to make her ſelfe knowne in *Aegypt* in ſixeteene yeeres ſpace, but it was farre more to conceale her ſelfe ſo long. I recount not theſe things to the end to rippe vp the prayſes of this woman, for to repreſent them ſo briefly, is to diminiſh them; but to the end that thou mayeſt vnderſtand that ſhee is a woman of a great mind: whom neither ambition, nor auarice (the companions and plagues of all humane greatnes) could ouercom, neither the apprehenſion of death, affrighted ſo much (althogh ſhe ſaw the ſhip diſarmed and ready to ſinke) but that holding her dead husband embraced in her armes, ſhee ſought out, not the meanes to eſcape, but how ſhe might bury his body. The like reſolution oughteſt thou to ſhow, and retire thy minde from ſorrow, and behaue thy ſelfe ſo that men may not thinke that thou repenteſt this that thou haſt brought me into this world, but becauſe it is needfull when as thou haſt done all things, yet that they ſhould now and then reflect vpon me, neither that any of thy children ſhould be more frequent in thy memory, not becauſe they are leſſe deare vnto thee, but becauſe it is a naturall thing

The Heroicke vertues of Heluias ſiſter.

For concluſion, and for his laſt conſolation, he ſaith that Heluia hath no occaſion to bee ſad, becauſe her ſonne enioyeth a ſingular contentment in minde in his exile.

thing to lay thy hands more often on that which is aggrieued. Behold what thou oughteſt to thinke that I am: I am ioyfull and merry, as if all my affaires were in the beſt eſtate of the world, and ſo they be, becauſe my mind being diſcharged of all cares, imployeth it ſelfe in thoſe actions that are proper vnto it, and ſometimes delighteth himſelfe in more pleaſing ſtudies, and ſomtimes being greedy to diſcouer the truth, diſpoſeth and cauſeth himſelfe to conſider both mine owne nature, and the diſpoſition of the whole world. Firſt hee taketh a reuiew of all Countries, and ſearcheth out their ſituations. Afterwards he conſidereth the ſea that circleth them round about, and the ebbes and floats of the ſame; then regardeth he all that which is maruellous, and dreadfull in the heauens and earth, that is to ſay, this great ſpace, wherein the noyſe reſoundeth of ſo many thunders, of ſo many lightnings of contrary winds, of ouerflow of waters, of ſnowes and haile. And hauing trauelled through theſe low places, he aſcendeth more high to enioy the ſight of more diuine thinges, and remembring himſelfe of eternity, he examineth all that which either hath beene, or ſhall bee in all ages.

The End of the Booke of Conſolation.

OF

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HEe handleth that part of naturall Philosophie in these books, which is called Μετεωρολογια, *that is the discourse of Meteors, because for the most part it intreateth of sublime matters, and those things that are betwixt heauen and earth; yet intreateth he of the motion of the earth, as also of flouds and waters; but in this respect, because they haue their beginning or cause from spirit or ayre, and in the regard thereof haue some relation to sublime nature likewise. These books are both excellent and learned; I will not say more better, yet more plentifull then* ARISTOTLES *are vpon this argument, and such as he wrote when he was very olde, about that time when he wrote his Epistles. They are therefore fitly annexed in this place. This appeareth by diuers places, where he maketh mention of his olde age, where he speaketh of* CAIVS BALBILLVS, *who was Prefect of Egypt vnder* NERO, *but most manifestly in the beginning of his sixt booke, where he speaketh of that earth-quake which shooke Campania, when as* VIRGINIVS *and* MEMMIVS *were Consuls. And these were some two yeares before* SENECAES *death.*

THE PREFACE.

AS much difference as there is (most vertuous *Lucillius*) betwixt Philosophie and other Arts, so much suppose I that there is betweene that part of Philosophie that concerneth men, as the other that concerneth the gods. This is more high and couragious; it giueth it selfe a larger scope, and not content with that which she discouereth by the eyes, suspecteth that there is somewhat more greater and and more fairer, which Nature hath locked from our sight. In briefe, there is as much difference betwixt the one and the other, as betweene God and man. The one teacheth what is to be done vpon earth, the other what is done in heauen.

The difference betwixt Philosophy and other sciences, and betwixt that which is naturall and the other that is morall.

The one diſcuſſeth our errours, and miniſtreth vs light, whereby we may diſcerne the doubtfull things in this life: the other raiſeth vs aboue that gulfe of obſcuritie wherein we were confounded, and hauing redeemed vs from thence, bringeth vs thither where this brightneſſe ſhineth. Verily I then praiſe and giue thankes vnto nature when I behold her, not by this meanes which is publique, but when as I haue entred her ſecrets. When I learne what the matter of the world is, who is the author and conſeruer thereof, what God is, whether he be wholly intended in the contemplation of himſelfe, or whether ſometimes he haue a care of vs, whether he doe any thing daily, or whether he hath done it at once, whether he be a part of the world, or the world, whether it be in his power to ordaine ſomething to day, and to derogate ſomewhat from fatall deſtinie, whether it ſhould be a diuination of his maieſtie, and confeſſion of his errour, to haue made things that ſhould be ſubiect to change: for it is neceſſary ſince that nothing can pleaſe him that is not perfectly good, that thoſe things which pleaſe him ſhould be alwayes the ſame; and yet for all this is he no leſſe free and powerfull, for he is neceſſitie himſelfe. If I were not admitted to the knowledge of theſe things, there was no neceſſity why I ſhould be borne: for what cauſe had I why I ſhould be glad that I am numbred and placed amongſt the liuing? What to ſwallow downe and diſ-ject meate and drinke? what to glut this fraile and decaying body that muſt periſh, except it be interchangeably nouriſhed? or to liue a ſlaue to infirmitie, or to feare death', whereunto we are all of vs borne? If thou take away from life this ineſtimable good, it is not ſo much worth as to be ſweat or laboured for. O how contemptible a thing is man except he raiſe himſelfe aboue humane things! As long as we ſtruggle with affections, what doe we that deſerueth praiſe? Although we get the vpper hand, yet ouercome we but monſters. What cauſe haue we to boaſt of our ſelues becauſe we are vnlike the worſt men of the world? I ſee not why hee ſhould take pleaſure in himſelfe that is ſtronger then a ſicke man. There is great difference betwixt ſtrength and good health. Thou haſt eſcaped from the vices of the minde; thou art no hypocrite, nor flatterer, nor double, nor foyled with auarice, which denieth her ſelfe that, which ſhe hath taken from all men, nor grounded in diſſolution, which ſpendeth his goods and mony baſely, and getteth them likewiſe moſt villeinouſly; neyther trauailed with ambition, which will not leade thee to dignity but by indignities. Thou haſt as yet gotten nothing, thou haſt eſcaped many mens hands, but not thine owne. For that vertue which we affect is magnificent, not becauſe it is a bleſſed thing of it ſelfe to haue wanted euill, but becauſe it freeth the minde, and prepareth it to the knowledge of heauenly things, and maketh it worthy to come and accompanie God. Then enioyeth the minde the conſummate and complete good of humane condition, when as (treading all euill vnder-foot) he flieth to heauen and neſtleth in the ſecret boſome of nature. Then taketh he delight in wandering amidſt the ſtarres, to laugh at the pauements of the rich, and to deride the earth with all her golde, not onely that I meane which ſhe hath deliuered out and giuen to make money of, but that alſo which ſhe keepeth cloſe hidden, to content the auarice of proſperitie. He cannot contemne the porches, nor the houſe beames that are burniſhed with Iuory, nor the groues planted vpon the tops of houſes, nor the riuers drawne and conuayed thorow chambers before he hath circled the whole world, and beholding the globe thereof from aboue, ſmall and for the moſt part couered with the Sea, and in that place where it diſcouereth it ſelfe, hugely deſart, and eyther burnt or frozen, without ſaying to him-

Happy is contemplation if it be rightly gouerned.

This is wrath and other paſſions of the mind.

himselfe: Is this that point that is diuided amongst so many Nations by fire and sword? O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men? Let not the Dane passe beyond the riuer of Ister, let Strimo include the Thracians, let Euphrates bound the Parthians, Danubia separate the Samaritans and the Romanes, let Rhene border Germany, the Pyrenean mountaine, raise their heads betwixt France and Spaine; let the desolate vastnesse of sands diuide Egypt from the Ethiopians. If we should giue humane vnderstanding vnto Ants, would not they likewise diuide a litle Mole-hill of earth into Prouinces? When as thou hast raised thy selfe to those things that are truly great, as often as thou shalt see whole armies marching with displayed engines, and as if there were som great matter in hand, the horse-men now scowting and discouering before, now flancking the battell, thou mayest freely say,

The blacker Squadron trotteth through the Plaines.

What a vertuous mans thought is that enuieth the fruite of vertue.

All this is but a busines of Ants that labour in a Mole-hill. What difference is betwixt them and vs, except it be in the measure of their little bodies? It is but a point wherein you saile, wherein you goe on warfare, wherein you dispose Kingdomes, yea, and a very little one if a man consider the Ocean; that begirteth it on euery side. Aboue these there are spacious extents, into the possession whereof the minde is admitted. If hee bring with him a very little of the bodie, if he be cleansed from all ordure, and being expedite and light, and contented with a little, he hath shined in these lower parts. When he attaineth these, he is nourished, he increaseth, and being as it were deliuered from bondage, returneth to his originall. And this argument hath hee of his diuinitie, that he is delighted in diuine things, not as strange vnto him, but as his owne. He securely beholdeth the rising and setting of the Planets, and the different courses of so accordant creatures. He diligently obserueth where euery starre beginneth to rise, and lend her first light to the world, where her Zenith is, what way she shapeth her course, and how farre she descendeth. Like a curious obseruer he examineth and debateth on euery point, why should he not enquire, he knoweth that they appertain vnto him? Then contemneth he the straightnesse of his former house; for how farre is it betwixt the vtermost shoares of Spain and the Indies? It is sayled in a few dayes if the wind be in the Poop, and prosperous. But that celestiall Region turneth a way for thirty yeares space to the swiftest Planet, that neuer stayeth but runneth on his course with equall swiftnesse. There at length learneth he that which he hath long time sought. There beginneth he to know God: what is God? The mind of the Vniuerse. What is God? All that thou seest, and all that thou feelest not, so at length he attaineth his greatnes, then which no greater thing may be imagined, if he alone be all, and holdeth his worke both without and within himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the nature of God and Ours? Our better part is the minde: in him no part is without the minde: but he is all reason. And we while men are so dull as to esteeme that the heauen, which hath nothing like vnto it beautie, in disposition, or in continuance is more full of all things that turneth by chance; so that it findeth in itself much trouble amidst lightnings, cloudes, tempests, and other such noyses as shakes the eares and the earth. Neither is this folly onely pregnant among the common sort, but some professors of Philosophie likewise haue beheld [illegible] and thinke that they haue a minde, yea, such one as is impudent and dispersed

The affaires of the world are trifles.

A worthy description of vanity.

The argument of diuinity, is to contemplate diuine things.

euery thing, both his owne and others: but that this vniuerſe wherein likewiſe we are, is void of counſaile, and either is tranſported with a certaine temeritie, or by Nature, that knoweth not what ſhe doth. How profitable is it, thinkeſt thou, to know theſe things, and to prefixe limits vnto Science? To know how much God can, whether he formeth his owne matter, or vſeth that which is giuen him, whether the Idea was before the matter, or the matter the Idea. If God maketh all that which he willeth, or if in diuers things there faileth him ſomewhat to worke vpon, or if diuers things are kindly formed by their great work-maſter, not becauſe his art cauſeth, but becauſe the matter wherein he is exerciſed, is not oftentimes conformable to his workmanſhip. To examine theſe things, to learne theſe things, to ſearch the ſecrets of theſe things: is not this to exceed his mortality, and to be tranſlated into a better eſtate? What ſaieſt thou will theſe things profit thee, if they further mee in nothing elſe, of this I reſt aſſured, that all things are too little. But of this hereafter.

The ſupernaturall Philoſophie of the Stoickes.

The vſe of this diſcourſe.

CHAP. I.

BVt now let vs come to our intended purpoſe. Heare that which Philoſophie teacheth, as touching thoſe fires that the ayre driueth ouerthwartly. It is a ſigne that they are driuen by great force, becauſe they are carried ſide-long, and by a violent ſwiftneſſe. It appeareth that they goe not, but that they are forced. And of theſe fires there are diuers formes. *Ariſtotle* calleth a certaine kind of theſe Goats. If thou askeſt me why, thou muſt firſt of all giue me a reaſon, why they are called yong Kids. But if we be agreed vpon the name, as it is expedient, let none of vs examine one another, what this or that man ſaith. It ſhall be better to examine what the thing is, then to wonder at it, why *Ariſtotle* called a globe of fire that is in the aire a Goat. Such was that which appeared as great as the bodie of the Moone, when *Paulus Æmilius* made warre againſt *Perſeus*. And we our ſelues haue oftentimes ſeene a flame in forme as great as a pillar, which notwithſtanding in the verie courſe thereof was ſcattered. About the time that *Cæſar Auguſtus* died, wee ſaw the like Meteor, and prodigie: we ſaw the like, when *Sianus* was adiudged to death; neither was *Germanicus* death vnaccompanied with the like preſage. Thou wilt ſay vnto me, Art thou then ſo badly taught, as to thinke that the gods ſend ſome predictions of death, and that there is any thing ſo great on the earth, that the heauens ſhould foreſee the end? Wee ſhall finde another time for this matter: meane while we will ſee if all things be deduced by a certaine order, and the one ſo infoulded in the other, that that which goeth before, is either the cauſe of thoſe things that follow, or the ſigne. We will ſee whether the gods haue care of humane affaires, or whether the order of things diſcouereth by certaine markes, that which ought to be done. Meane while, I think that theſe fires are aſſembled by a vehement agitation of the aire, when as the inclination thereof hath extended it ſelfe towards one part, and hath not giuen place, but fought within himſelfe. From this encountrie and enterſhocke of the aire ariſe theſe pillars, theſe globes, theſe flaſhings. But when the ayre aſſembleth

Of the Meteors of fire.

Lib. 1. Meteor. cap. 4.

They were called Goats, by reaſon they had ſome reſemblance of little beards hanging on them.

Whether extraordinarie Meteors are fore-tokens of things to come.

aſſembleth more mildely and remaineth ſhut, there iſſue diuers impreſſions of fire farre leſſer, and theſe crinite and bearded comets haue their originall, then the fires that are leſſe thicke marke out their way, which appeareth not very much, which they extend in the heauen, in ſuch ſort as there paſſed not a night, wherein a man may not ſee ſuch impreſſions in the aire, becauſe there needeth no great agitation to create them. To ſpeake in a word, theſe impreſſions haue the ſame conſiderations, as lightnings, yet are they cauſed which leſſe force. Euen as clouds being but indifferently broken one vpon another, cauſe flaſhes, and being impelled with greater force, breed lightnings. *Ariſtotle* yeeldeth this reaſon. The globe of the earth exhaleth diuers vapours, ſome moiſt, and ſome drie, ſome cold, and ſome other hot, and fit to be enflamed: neither is it to be wondered at, that ſo many different vapours iſſue from the earth, ſince in the heauens there appeare diuers colours, but ſome more fierce, as the fierie redneſſe of the Dog-ſtarre, ſome more remiſſe, as that of *Mars*; ſome none at all, as that of *Iupiter*, but a pure and cleare ſhinning. It muſt therefore needs be, that in this ſo great abundance of exhalations, that mount from the earth into the ayre, there muſt ſome aliments of fire be raiſed to the clouds, that might fall on fire by reaſon of their entershock, but alſo by the aſſiſtance of the beams of the Sunne. For with as likewiſe we ſee that ſtrawes that are beſprinkled with brimſtone, draw vnto them fire that is diſtant from them. It is likely therefore to be true, this matter gathered together within the clouds, is as eaſily kindled, and that the fires are great or little, according as the vapours haue beene feeble or ſtrong. For this were a fooliſh things to imagine that the ſtarres fall, or that they riſe and mount againe, or that any thing is taken away or ſeparated from them: becauſe if this were ſo, by little and little there ſhould be no more ſtars, they ſhould faile. For there is no night whatſoeuer, during which a man ſeeth not diuers ſtars, that ſeeme to ſhoote forward or backward. But contrariwiſe, euery one of them is found in his accuſtomed place, and euery one conſiſte in their proportion. It followeth therefore, that theſe fires are engendred vnderneath theſe ſtars, & continue not long time, becauſe they neither haue foundation nor certaine place. Why therefore likewiſe are they not transferred, by day? What if I ſay that the ſtars are not by day, becauſe they appeare not? Euen as theſe remaine hidden, and obſcured by the light of the Sun, ſo the Meteors of fire runne in the ayre, as well by day as by night, but the brightneſſe of the day hindereth our eyes from beholding them. Notwithſtanding, ſometimes the matter whereof they are compoſed is ſo abundant and bright, that they are manifeſtly diſcouered euen in the day-time. In our age we haue oftentimes ſeene diuers fires in the day-time, the one gliding from the Eaſt to the Weſt, the other from the Weſt to the Eaſt. The Mariners thinke it to be a ſigne of a tempeſt, when as many ſtars ſhoot; but if there be a ſigne of windes, it is there where the windes are, that is, in the aire, which is in the middeſt betweene the Moone and the Earth. In a vehement tempeſt there appeare certaine fires or ſtars that ſit vpon the ſailes, and at that time thoſe that are in danger doe ſuppoſe that they are aſſiſted by the god-heads of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. And their cauſe of better hope is, becauſe alreadie the tempeſt ſeemeth to be allayed and the windes calmed. Sometimes theſe fires are caried, ſometimes they are ſetled. When as *Gilippus* trauelled towards Syracuſa, hee ſaw a Star that ſetled it ſelfe vpon his lance. In the Roman Campe, in ſome mens iudgment, there appeared certain darts, as if ſet on fire by reaſon of fire of the aire that fell on them, which oftentimes after the maner of lightnings, are wont to blaſt both men and trees.

The fires called Caſtor *and* Pollux. *Theſe were* Iupiters *ſonnes by* Leda, *who for their great valour and counning by ſea were reputed gods.*

Of falling fires.

But if they deſcend with a leſſer force, yet ſlippe they downe and ſettle themſelues without doing any hurt, or inflicting any wound. Some of theſe breake thorow the clouds, ſome other in faire weather, if the ayre be fit to enkindle. For ſometimes it thundereth in faire weather, vpon the ſame cauſe as it doth in cloſe and troubled aire, which is by reaſon of the colliſion of the aire within it ſelfe, which although it be clearer and drier, yet can meet together, and make ſome bodies that are like vnto clouds, which by incountrie ſound and make a noice: ſometimes therfore there are diuers pillars made, and ſometimes ſhields, and images of vaſt fire, when as the like, but greater cauſe falleth vpon ſuch matter.

Of thunders.

CHAP. II.

Of the circles and crowns that appeare about the Sunne and Moone. Albert. lib. Meteorolog. tract. 4. cap. 8.

LEt vs now ſee whence that light is made that enuironeth the Planets. It is reported that vpon the ſame day that *Auguſtus* returned from Apollonia and entered Rome, there was ſeene a certaine circle of diuers colours about the Sunne, after the manner of a Rain-bow. The Grecians call this *Halo*, and we may properly call it a Crowne. I will endeuour to expreſſe whence the cauſe hereof is. When as a ſtone is caſt into a Fiſh-poole, we ſee that the water maketh diuers circles, whereof the firſt is ſmall, the ſecond more great, the others conſequently greater, vntill the force of the ſtroake be vaniſhed, and that the water be ſetled as it was before. Let vs ſuppoſe that ſome ſuch matter is done in the ayre, which becomming more thicke may receiue an impreſſion, by the meanes of the brightneſſe of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or of ſome Star, the which enforcing it ſelfe againſt the Sunne, conſtraineth it to retire, and to fall in circles. For humiditie and ayre, and all that which taketh forme by reuerberation, is impelled into the habitude of that thing that impelleth the ſame. But all light is round, by meanes whereof it muſt needs be, that the aire beaten backe by this brightneſſe, muſt ſhew it ſelfe in the ſame forme. And therefore it is that theſe ſhining circles are by the Grecians called *Areæ*, becauſe that the places that are ordained to threſh corne in, are round for the moſt part. But we thinke not that theſe, either *Areæ*, or Crownes, are cauſed neere vnto the Moone, or the Sunne, or other celeſtiall bodies, for they are few of them, although they ſeeme to begirt and crowne them. This impreſſion is made not farre off from the earth, but our eyes being deceiued by their ordinarie imbecilitie, thinketh that it is placed iuſt about the ſtar. But no ſuch thing may be done neere vnto the Sun or the ſtars, becauſe the etheriall region is thin and tranſparent. It is in groſſe and thicke bodies, that ſuch impreſſions are accuſtomed to be made, neither can they take footing in ſubtile and thin bodies. We ſee I know not what ſuch like as theſe impreſſions about our lamps in the ſtoue, by reaſon of the obſcuritie. They are made for the moſt part at ſuch time as the Southerne winde bloweth, when as the skie is couered and obſcured. Sometime by little and little they are diſperſed and vaniſh, ſometimes they breake in ſome part, and from thence the Sailers expect the winde where the flame firſt appeareth. For if it faile to the Northward, a Northerly winde will follow, if to the Weſtward, a Weſterly, which is an Argument that in that part of the Heauens theſe crownes are made, where ordinarily the windes are engendred: But the higher Region of the aire hath none of theſe circles, becauſe the Windes are lodged

In what region of the aire.

In what time.

vnder

vnder it. To theſe Arguments adde this likewiſe, that a crowne is neuer gathered there, but where the aire is ſetled and ſtill. Otherwiſe it is neuer ſeene. For the aire that is ſetled may be puſhed, extended, and moulded into ſome forme, but that which is agitated cannot receiue impreſſion of the light, for it is not formed, neither reſteth, becauſe euery firſt part and portion thereof is ſcattered and hath no ſtay. And therefore neuer ſhall we ſee any Planet whatſoeuer crowned, except when the aire is thick, and calme; by meanes whereof it is capable to conſerue the line which in appearance begirteth his round brightneſſe; and not without cauſe. For call againe to thy remembrance the example I propoſed thee a little before. The ſtone that is caſt into a fiſh-poole or a lake or any ſetled water, maketh innumerable circles, and this it doth not in a Riuer. Why? Becauſe the water that flieth thus quickly, giueth not any leiſure or meanes to the ſtone to forme any figure. The ſame therefore falleth out in the aire: for that which is ſetled may receiue any impreſſion, but that which fleeteth and runneth away ſwiftly, is incapable of forme, and diſperſeth euery figure that would approch it if it ſtaied. Theſe circles being ſcattered by litle and litle, and as it were confounded in themſelues, expreſſe the ſtilneſſe, repoſe, and tranquilitie of the aire, and if they ſcatter but on one ſide the winde commeth from thence: if they be opened in diuers places ſome ſtorme will follow. How this commeth to paſſe, it may be vnderſtood by thoſe thinges which I haue declared alreadie. For if the whole face of the circle vaniſh, it appeareth that the aire is moderate, and conſequently ſtill and peaceable: if it be cut off but on one ſide, we ſee that the aire is ſhaken on that ſide that is opened, and that from the ſame the winde will blow. But when it is diſperſed in euery part, it is a ſigne that it is aſſailed diuers waies, and that the aire ſtirreth it ſelfe from one ſide to an other. By meanes whereof it appeareth that a ſtorme is at hand, and that there will be ſome combate of the windes by reaſon of this inconſtancie of the aire, that whirleth and turneth it ſelfe thus from all parts. Theſe crownes for the moſt part appeare about the Moone in the night time, and are noted about the other ſtars, but ſeldome by day: ſo that ſome of the Grecians haue denied that they are at all, whereas Hiſtories reproue and confute them. But the cauſe of this raritie is this in that the light of the Sunne is more ſtrong, and the aire it ſelfe being agitated by the ſame, and being hot is leſſe thick. But the power of the Moone is more feeble, and therefore is it more eaſily ſuſtained by the aire that inuironeth the ſame, and becauſe that the other celeſtiall fires being feeble cannot by their beames breake or ſcatter the aire, thence commeth it that theſe impreſſions are made at that time without any let, for they pierce and plant themſelues very eaſily in a ſolid matter, and that ſcattereth not as it doth by day. The aire likewiſe ought not bee ſo thick, that it exclude and driue away from him the brightneſſe that is lent him, neither ſo thin and attenuate that it giueth not any meanes to the beames that beat vpon it to ſtay with him. This temperature properly falleth out by night, when as the ſtarres reflect vpon the ſame by their brightneſſe, not violent or forcible, the aire gathereth together and formeth theſe circles, becauſe it is more thicker then in the day time.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Raine-bow; the cauſe and forme therof, and why it appeareth not by night.

CONtrariwiſe, the Raine-bow is neuer made by night, except very ſeldome, becauſe the Moone hath not ſo much force to trauerſe and colour the clouds as the ſunne hath. For thus make they the forme of the diſcoloured Raine-bow: Becauſe ſome parts in the clouds are more ſwelling, otherſome more ſubmiſſe, ſome thicker then that the ſunne beames may be able to pierce them; otherſome ſo thin that they paſſe quite thorow them. This inequalitie mixeth together this ſhadow and this brightneſſe, and maketh this wonderfull varietie in the Raine-bow. There is another reaſon giuen of this Raine-bow; We ſee that when a Pipe is broken in any place, that the water bubleth forth by a little cracke: and if the ſunne beateth obliquely vpon this water, it repreſenteth the diuers colours of the Raine-bow. The ſame ſhalt thou ſee fall out, if at any time thou wilt obſerue a fuller, when as he hath lightly filled his mouth with water, and beſprinkleth his cloth that is ſtretched on the Tenters. In this ayre beſprinkled with water there appeareth diuers colours, ſuch as we ſee in the Arke. Doubt thou not but the cauſe hereof is in the humour: for the Raine-bow is neuer ſeene except it be in rainie weather. But let vs examine how it is made: Some ſay that there are certaine drops of water, beaten backe by the ſunne and the clouds, ſo thicke as the brightneſſe cannot pierce them, in ſuch ſort that from theſe drops there proceedeth a ſhining, and from the thicke cloudes a ſhadow; by meanes whereof, and by this incountrie the Raine-bow is made; one part wherof, which receiueth the ſunne, is ſhining, the other that repulſeth the ſame, and hath made a ſhadow of it ſelfe to the neighbouring clouds, is more obſcure. Others there are that are not of this opinion. For this might ſeeme true, if the Raine-bow had but onely two colours, and it conſiſted of light and ſhadow.

Examples to expreſſe this.

How the Rain-bow is cauſed.

This opinion is examined.

But we although that colours infinite
Shine in this Arch, yet nath'leſſe there light
Is ſo conioyn'd, as it deceiues the ſight,
Becauſe their meetings are not knowne aright:
For that which toucheth is the ſame vnite,
And yet the brinkes are partie coloured quite.

Of the colours of the Arch.

We ſee in it I know not what yellowneſſe, redneſſe, greene, blew, and other colours, drawne after the manner of ſubtill lines, as the Poet ſaith, that whether they be different colours thou canſt not know, except thou conferre thoſe of the one ſide with thoſe of the other; for their coniunction and aſſemblance bleminheth and dazeleth the eyes: and therein is ſhewed the admirable worke of Nature, becauſe that that which began with things that were alike, endeth in different. To what purpoſe therefore ſerue theſe two colours of light and ſhadow, wheras a reaſon is to be yeelded of innumerable ſorts. Som think that the Rain-bow is made thus: they ſay that in that part where it raineth, euery drop of the falling raine is a ſeuerall mirror that repreſenteth the ſunne, then that this great and infinite number of images long, large, and hollow, come and ioyne and mixe themſelues together; ſo that the Raine-bow is an aſſembly of diuers mirrours or repreſentations of the ſame. To proue this, beholde what

what they alleage: If in a faire and cleere day you ſet a thouſand Baſons in the Sunne, all of them ſeuerally repreſent his countenance. Put me a drop of water vpon euery leafe of a tree, each one of theſe drops will haue in it ſelfe the reſemblance of the Sunne; but contrariwiſe a great ſtanding poole repreſenteth but one Sunne. Why? Becauſe all this limited plaineneſſe that hath his brinks, cannot be but one mirror: but if thou makeſt partitions, and diſtinguiſheſt by diuers walls a huge and mighty Fiſh-poole, ſo many images ſhalt thou haue of the Sunne as there are ſeuerall lakes. Leaue that Fiſh-poole intire and one as it was, thou ſhalt obſerue but one ſunne. It is no great matter whether the drop of water be ſmall, or the Fiſh-poole narrow; if it hath brimmes it is a mirror of the ſunne. So then theſe infinite drops of water, carried by the raine that falleth, are as many mirrors, and haue as many faces of the ſunne. Theſe appeare confuſed to him that looketh againſt them, and ſeeth not their diſtances, becauſe the ſpace ſuffereth him not to diſtinguiſh the ſame. Furthermore, in ſtead of ſo many faces there appeareth but one confuſed and compoſed of all. *Ariſtotle* is of the ſame opinion: From all that (ſaith he) that is light and thin, the ſight repealeth vnto it ſelfe his beames, but there is nothing lighter then ayre or water; and therefore the radiations of our eyes returne from the thick ayre backe againe vnto vs. But if the ſight be feeble and infirme, it faileth vpon the leaſt ſhocke that the ayre yeeldeth it. Some are troubled with this infirmitie, that they themſelues ſeeme to meet themſelues, and euery where they behold their owne image. Why? Becauſe the weakeneſſe of their ſight cannot penetrate the ayre that is neereſt them, but ſtayeth ſhort; ſo that whatſoeuer the fogges effect in others, euery ayre worketh in theſe. Euery ayre how thin ſoeuer it be, hath power enough to repulſe a weake ſight; yet more eaſily may a thicke ayre reflect backe again vnto vs our ſight, becauſe it cannot be pierced, but ſtayeth the beames of our eyes, and repelleth them back againe from whence they came. So then, ſince there are diuers drops of water, they are as many mirrors; but by reaſon of their ſmaleneſſe they repreſent onely the colour, and not the forme of the ſunne. Moreouer, when as one and the ſame colour is impreſſed in the infinitie of drops, that fall without intermiſſion, it beginneth to be a face, not of many different images, but of one that is long and continued. How commeth it to paſſe (ſaith ſome one) that thou telleſt me that there is ſo many thouſand of images here, where I ſee not one? And ſince the ſunne is all of one colour, why are theſe images thus diuers coloured? To anſwer thee hereunto, and to other ſuch obiections, I muſt tell thee that there is nothing more incertaine then our ſight, not onely in thoſe things which ſhe is hindered from ſeeing exactly, by reaſon of this diuerſitie of colours, but alſo in thoſe things which ſhe diſcouereth hard at hand. A Water-mans Oare being plunged into a little cleere water, ſeemeth either broken or crooked, although it be ſtraight. Apples ſeeme greater to thoſe that looke vpon them thorow a glaſſe. The pillars in long Galleries ſeeme to be ioyned together, although there be a diſtance betwixt euery one of them. Returne againe to the ſunne it ſelfe, he whom reaſon approueth to be greater then the whole world, our eye hath ſo contracted, that ſome wiſe men contend that it hath but a foote of Diameter. We knowe that he runneth with a ſwiftneſſe ſurpaſſing all ſwiftneſſe, yet none of vs perceiueth any motion; neyther would we beleeue that he had kept on his courſe except it were apparant that he moueth. There is none of vs that can obſerue the courſe of the heauens, turning with a headlong and incredible ſwiftneſſe, in ſuch ſort, that in the twinkling of an eye heo cauſeth in diuers clymats of the world,

The opinion of Ariſtotle *as touching the colours in the Ark.*

Of the diuers colours in the Arke.

world both day and night; why then wondrest thou that our eyes cannot discerne the droppes of water, or that the difference of these small images vanish from thy sight that is so farre distant? No man can doubt but that the Rainebow is an image of the Sunne, conceiued in a moist and hollow cloud. The reason is, because the Rainebow is alwayes opposite against the Sunne, eyther higher or lower, according as the Sunne setteth or riseth, but by a contrary motion. For when the Sunne setteth, the Rainebow is more high; and if hee riseth aboue the Horizon, the Rainebow is more low. Oftentimes such a cloud appeareth on the side of the Sunne, which maketh not a Rainebow, because it draweth not an image by a right reflexion. But this variety is made for no other cause, but for that a part of the colour is in the Sunne, and an other part in the cloud it selfe: but this humidity formeth and draweth now blew lines, somtimes greene, other whiles purple, and sometimes dimme and fiery; in briefe, two sorts of colours, (the one liuely, the other pale, are these that cause all this diuersity, for so purple issueth not in the same sort from the shell, but it importeth much how long time it hath remained extinct, what sucke it hath drawne eyther subtile or thicke, or if it hath receiued tincture one time onely, it is not therefore to bee wondred at, considering that the Sunne and the cloud are two things, that is to say, the body and the mirror, if a man see so many different colours which may arise or fall in diuers sorts: for of one kind is the heat that proceedeth from a fierce light, an other that proceedeth from a brightnesse not so shining and sparkling. To search out other causes, it were extrauagant, considering that wee haue not any ground that may sustaine our discourse, except wee should build vpon coniectures, which haue no end. Here then it appeareth that there are two causes of the Rainbow, the Sunne and the Cloud, for the Rainebow is neuer made in faire weather, neither then when it is so close weather, that the Sunne appeareth not, so then it is made of both, without either of which it cannot be.

Why the Rainebow appeareth opposite against the Sunne.

Why there are diuers colours in it.

A comparison from purple.

Two causes of the Rainebow.

CHAP. IIII.

A confirmation of that which hath been taken from the Arke, as formed by opposition against the Sunne, by the comparison of Artemidorus.

IEvs adde to that which is aboue saide, another proofe no lesse euident. The image and representation which is made by reason of the mirror, neuer appeareth except the mirror bee opposed in such sort, that a man may see the same in one place, and the thing that is represented in an other that is opposite. There are certaine reasons alleadged by the Geometricians which perswade not, but inforce; neyther hath any man cause to doubt, but that the Arke is an image of the Sunne, which is badly expressed by reason of the defect and figure of the mirror. But let vs stay in the meane time to produce other proofes. Amongst other arguments why the Arke is caused thus; I put this, that it is so dainely made, and vaulted also so dainely. But there is nothing more readily represented then an image in a glasse, for the mirror doth nothing but onely represent the obiect. *Artemidorus* addeth, what kinde of roundle it should bee which representeth such an image of the Sunne, if thou makest saith hee a hollow mirror, that is as it were the halfe of a Bowle, if thou standest vpright behind this halfe, all these that are neere vnto thee shall appeare vnto thine eyes more neere vnto thee then the mirror. The same saith hee falleth out when wee behold a round and hollow cloud on one side of vs, that the image of the Sunne which is

ſeuered from the Sunne, is more turned towardes vs; the yellow colour therefore commeth from the Sunne, the blew proceedeth from the cloud, the other colours grow by a mixture of them both.

CHAP. V.

AGainſt theſe things, theſe ſucceeding Arguments are aimed. There are two opinions of mirrors; for ſome are of opinion that there ſemblances are ſeene in theſe, that is the figures of our bodies, ſent forth and ſeparated from our bodies: ſome ſay that the images are not in the mirror, but that the bodies themſelues are beheld; the ſight of the eye being retorted and reflected, and returned againe into it ſelfe. Now it appertaineth nothing to the matter, how wee ſee, whatſoeuer wee behold, but how the like image ſhould bee repreſented by the looking glaſſe. What is ſo vnlike as the Sunne and the Rainebow, wherein neither the Center, nor the figure, neither the greatneſſe appeareth? for the Rainebow is longer and more ample, and in the brighter part thereof more red then the Sunne, but in the other colours diuers. Againe, when thou wilt compare a mirror with the aire, thou muſt giue mee the ſame leuity of body, and the ſame equality, and the ſame brightneſſe. But there are no cloudes that haue the ſimilitude of a looking glaſſe, wee oftentimes paſſe through them, and yet ſee not our ſelues in them. They that clime vp to the toppes of hils, behold the cloudes, and yet ſee not their image in the ſame. Euery droppe is a ſeuerall mirror. I grant it, but this I deny, that a cloud conſiſteth of droppes. For ſhee hath ſome things whereof ſhee may create ſuch droppes, not herſelfe, neither hath a cloud any water in it, but the matter of future water. I will likewiſe grant thee that there are innumerable droppes in cloudes, that yeelde ſome reſemblance, yet all of them yeelde not one and the ſame, but euery one hath his apart. Againe, vnite thou mirrors together, they will repreſent more then one face; for euery one will retaine in himſelfe the ſimilitude of that hee repreſenteth. There are many mirrors that are compoſed of diuers ſmall peeces, to which if thou preſenteſt but one man, yet there appeareth a multitude, euery part expreſſing and repreſenting his owne face. Theſe though conioyned and placed together, doe notwithſtanding reſerue vnto themſelues their images apart, and of one, they make a multitude, yet confound they not that multitude, but diſtinguiſh it into ſeuerall faces. But the Rainebow is made all at once, and hath but one onely face. What then? Is not the water that iſſueth from a broken pype, or is ſquirted or ſpit out of the mouth, wont to haue ſome ſuch like colours as wee ſee in the Rainebow. Tis true: but not for the ſame cauſe, as thou thinkeſt, becauſe that euery droppe of water receiueth the image of the Sunne: for theſe droppes fall too ſoone to be able to receiue any forme. They muſt needly ſtay to repreſent the ſame which they imitate. What is then done? They contract the colour and not the image of the Sunne. Otherwiſe as *Nero Cæſar* ſaid moſt learnedly;

An obiection againſt the compariſon precedent.

Faire Venus *Doue, bending her necke aſide,*
In party coloured plumes, doth ſhew her pride.

And as often as the Peacocke turneth his head neuer ſo little, her party colou-

red

red plumes ſhine and ſparkle: ſhall wee therefore ſay, that theſe feathers are Mirrors, who vpon euery inclination of the head, preſent new colours; as much correſpondence haue the cloudes with mirrors as thoſe birdes I tolde you, and the Camelions and other kind of Creatures, who of themſelues change their colours, as often as either wrath or deſire of generation maketh them ſpread a humour which giueth a new tincture to the skin, or that they receiue this colour by reuerberation of the light according as it beateth vpon them directly, or obliquely. What reſemblance is there betwixt mirrors and cloudes? mirrors are not tranſparent, but thicke and of one peece and matter: contrariwiſe brightneſſe trauerſeth the clouds, which are thin, compoſed of confuſed matter, by meanes whereof they cannot remaine long times tied together, but the one of them deſtroyeth the other. Beſides, wee ſee a part of the heauen that is red, when the Sunne riſeth, and ſometimes wee ſee cloudes that are colourd like fire. What letteth then but as they receiue this colour by the arriuall and encountry with the Sunne, ſo alſo they ſhould draw diuers colours, although they haue not the ſame efficacy as a mirror hath? Thou ſaidſt not long ſince, (will ſome man ſay) that the Rainebow is alwayes made by the oppoſition of the Sunne, becauſe a mirror could not repreſent a face, if it were not ſet oppoſite againſt the Sunne. Herein, ſaith he, wee are aggrieed. For euen as wee ought to ſet before the mirror the thing whoſe Image wee would haue the glaſſe to repreſent: ſo is it needefull that the Sunne beames ſhould beate directly vpon the cloods, and that they ſhould bee neare him to contract colour. This is their allegation, who would pretend that a cloud is coloured. *Poſidonius* and they that thinke that a cloud is as a mirror, anſwer thus. If there were any colour in the Rainebow it would continue, and it ſhould be ſeene the more manifeſtly, the more neater wee were vnto it: But now the image of the Arch appeareth beſt when it is furtheſt of, the more it neereth vs, the ſooner it dieth. I cannot giue way to this contradiction, when as I approue the ſentence. Why? I will tell you; becauſe the cloud is coloured, but ſo that the colour thereof appeareth not euery wayes; for the cloud it ſelfe appeareth not euery where; for no man ſeeth the cloud wherein he is. What wonder then is it, that the colour thereof is not ſeene vnto him, by whom ſhee her ſelfe is not ſeene? yet although ſhee bee not ſeene, ſhee is; and conſequently ſhe hath colour. So it is not an argument of a falſe colour, becauſe that in drawing neere vnto the ſame, ſhee ceaſeth to appeare the ſame as ſhee was before, for the like falleth out in the cloudes themſelues, which are not therefore falſe, becauſe they are not ſeene. Furthermore, when it is tolde thee, that the cloud is ſtraked with the Sunne, it is not intended that this colour was mixed as in a hard, firme, and permanent body, but as in a fluid and flitting maſſe, which receiueth neyther forme nor colour but for a very little while. The better and deeper tincture the Tyrian ſcarlet is, the higher muſt you holde the ſame, to the end that the luſtre thereof may ſhew the better, yet looſeth not in beeing neere vs his perfect colour, but that tincture it hath, howſoeuer it be diſcouered, ſheweth it ſelfe. Of that opinion am I that *Poſidonius* was, that the Arch is made when as the cloud is formed after the manner of a mirror, hollow and round, like the halfe of a bowle. This cannot be approued by the aſſiſtance of the Geometricians, who by inuincible reaſons proue that the cloud is an image of the Sun, and yet reſembleth him not; as likewiſe mirrors are not anſwerable wholy vnto the truth of things. There are ſome thou wouldeſt be afraid to looke vpon, ſo deformed maketh it their face to appeare that beholde the ſame, by repreſenting

Seneca's opinion touching the faſhion of the Arch.

senting their similitude quite contrary. Others of them are such, that in beholding them, will make thee thinke thy selfe some worthy man, because that both thine armes, and the other members of thy body will seeme to be more greater and mighty then they are. Some of them represent a true similitude of the face; others halfe the face; some there are that lessen and turne it vpwards. What is it therefore to wonder at, if the sunne bee imperfectly represented in a cloud, as well as in these artificiall mirrors?

CHAP. VI.

AMongst other reasons, this shall be one, that the Arch neuer sheweth more greater then the halfe of a Circle, and that the lesse it is, the higher the Sunne is.

The Prognostiques touching the Rainebow.

The mighty Arch doth drinke.

As our *Virgil* saith, at such time as the raine is ready to fall, but the Prognostiques of the Arch are diuers, according to his situations. If it appeareth in the south, it bringeth with it much raine, because that by their abundance they could not be surmounted by the sunne. Contrariwise, if it appeareth in the west, there will follow but a dew and some little raine; and if it be in the east, it is a signe of faire weather. But if the Arch bee the image of the sunne, whence commeth it that the Arch appeareth to be more great then the sunne? because the nature of some mirror is such, that it sheweth things to bee more greater then they were presented vnto it, and will make the body appeare of more prodigious biggenesse: contrariwise, there are some that make thinges seeme farre lesser then they bee. Tell mee why the face sheweth round in a square mirror? happily thou mayest say, that it is thence whence this diuers colour proceedeth; but I cannot tell thee whence this forme commeth, except in thy hand thou hast some patterne whereupon it is formed: But hee hath no other then that of the sunne, from whence thou must needely confesse that the Arch borroweth his colour, and consequently his forme. Finally, wee are agreede, that these colours which wee see in the Heauens proceede from the sunne: but our difference is, because thou maintainest that it is a colour, and I say that it seemeth to bee a colour, whether it bee the one or the other, thou canst not tell mee why this colour vanisheth sodainely, whereas all other lightes are extinguished by little and little. This apparition and disparrition of the Raine-bow maketh for mee: for it is the nature and property of a mirror not to show thinges in partes, but wholly and at once. Euery Image is made and vnmade equally. To represent the same or not represent the same, there needeth no more to shew it, or to take it away. There is no proper substance or body in the cloude; it is but a fiction and resemblance without the thing. Wilt thou know that it is thus? the Raine-bow will vanish if thou hide the Sunne. I tell thee if thou oppose (I say) another Cloud vnto the Sunne, the varietie of the Raine-bow will vanish; yet is the Sunne somewhat greater then the Arch. I haue already answered, that there are some mirrors which multiplie the whole body which is presented vnto them: whereunto I adde that all

Why it appeareth greater then the Sunne.

Of the colour.

A proofe that the comparison betweene the Raine-bow and the mirror is proper.

things ſeeme more great, if they be beheld thorow the water. Letters, although they be but ſmall and obſcure, appeare more greater and clearer, when they are read thorow a violl filled with water. Apples ſeeme more fairer then they be, if they ſwimme in a glaſſe. Behold the Starres thorow a cloud, and thou wilt iudge them more great, becauſe our eye ſlippeth in the humiditie, and cannot faithfully apprehend that which it would. This appeareth clearely, if thou filleſt a glaſſe with water, and caſteſt into it ſome ring, for although the ring remaineth in the bottome, yet the reſemblance thereof appeareth in the top of the water. All that which a man ſeeth thorow the water, is farre greater then the thing it ſelfe. What wonder is it then, if in a moiſt cloud the image of the ſunne appeareth more greater then naturall. There are two reaſons hereof: becauſe in the cloud there is ſomewhat that is like vnto glaſſe, which can ſhine: the other that hath ſomewhat of water, which although not formed, yet the nature thereof appeareth, and finally, of a cloud wee ſee that there commeth raine.

Examples ſhewing how the Rain-bow ſeemeth more greater then the Sunne.

CHAP. VII.

BEcauſe (ſayeſt thou) thou haſt made mention of a glaſſe, euen from the ſame will I produce an argument againſt thy ſelfe. Men are accuſtomed to make certain rods of glaſſe very narrow, wherin there are diuers angles, and knots or points. If theſe be ſhewed athwart the Sunne, they repreſent the ſame colours of the Rainbow, ſo that thou ſeeſt that in it there is not the image of the Sunne, but an imitation of his colour by reuerberation. In this thine argument there are many things that make for me. Firſt, this glaſſe ought to be thin, and as it were a mirror to reflect the Sunne. Afterwards it appeareth, that in ſtead of a right colour, it maketh a repreſentation of a falſe colonr, ſuch as the necke of pigeons in turning themſelues doth, and changeth diuers colours. The ſame is in a mirror wherein no man perceiueth any colour, but an appearance of ſtrange colours. This onely remaineth to be reſolued, why a man ſeeth not the Image and repreſentation of the Sun in theſe rods? They are not capable to expreſſe the ſame well, the matter is poliſhed and diſpoſed thereunto, by means wherof they inforce themſelues to repreſent the Sunne; but it is impoſſible, becauſe both their forme and faſhion repugneth the ſame. If they were made and faſhioned with conuenient proportion, they would repreſent as many ſunnes, as many inſectures as they had: but becauſe their diuiſions are confuſed, they haue not ſo great brightneſſe as a mirror, they only begin to make repreſentations of the ſunne, and finiſh them not, and for that they are neere, they confound all theſe repreſentations and images together, whence the appearance of colour proceedeth.

Of the triangles of glaſſe that repreſent the colours in the Rain bow, and the difference betwixt them and it.

CHAP. VIII.

BVt why doth not the Rain-bow, in ſtead of this great and halfe circle it maketh, become wholly round? Some thinke thus, that the ſunne being far more higher then the clouds, beateth not, but vpon the vpper part, whence it followeth that the inferiour is not attainted with light. Entertaining the ſunne therefore but in one part, they likewiſe repreſent but a part of the ſunne, and this part is neuer more great then the halfe. This reaſon hath no great waight. Why? becauſe that although the ſunne inclineth towards the higher part, yet beateth he vpon the whole cloud. He hath coloured it then: why not? ſince it is his cuſtome to dart his beames, and to penetrate thorow euery thickneſſe. Moreouer, they contradict their owne intent; for if the ſunne be aboue, and for this cauſe reflecteth only on the higher part of the clouds, neuer will the Arke deſcend vnto the earth; but we ſee that it extendeth it ſelfe euen vnto the ground. Furthermore, the Arch is alwayes oppoſite againſt the ſun, neither appertaineth it any thing to the matter, whether it be aboue or beneath the ſame, becauſe that euery place that is oppoſite againſt the ſunne, cannot but be beaten with the beames thereof. Againe, ſometimes a Weſterly ſunne cauſeth a Rain-bow, when as he reflecteth vpon the clouds beneath; and is neareſt to the earth, which at that time hath but his halfe circle, although the clouds receiue the ſunne, when he tendeth to his declination. The Stoickes that would haue the light appeare in the cloud, as a fire doth in the mirror, ſay, that the cloud is hollow, and as it were a halfe bowle, which cannot make an entire globe, becauſe it is onely a part thereof. I approue their intention, but not their argument. For if in the cauitie of a mirror, all the face of the oppoſite orbe is expreſſed, then in an halfe orbe there is no cauſe why the whole globe may not be beheld, and if we haue ſaid heretofore that a man ſeeth entire circles of the ſame colours as the Rain-bow, enuironing the Sun and the Moone: whence commeth it in the meane ſpace, that theſe circles are entirely whole, and the Rain-bow is neuer but halfe a circle? Againe, why do hollow clouds, and ſuch as are not flat and round, receiue and entertaine the ſunne? *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That after the Æquinoctiall in Autumne the Rain-bow is made euery houre of the day, but that in Summer it is neuer ſeene, but vpon ſun-riſe, or ſun-ſet. The cauſe is euident. Firſt, becauſe about nooneſted the ſun is ſo ſtrong that he diſperſeth the clouds, by meanes whereof he cannot impreſſe his image in them. But in the morning and euening he hath leaſt force, and therefore the clouds may ſuſtaine and repulſe him. Moreouer, whereas he is not accuſtomed to forme the Arch, except at ſuch time as he is oppoſite to thoſe clouds where he cauſeth the ſame; when the dayes are ſhorter, then is he alwayes oblique. Therefore in euery part of the day, yea euen at mid-day there are certaine clouds, that he may oppoſitely beate vpon. But in Summer time he is caried aboue our heads, by meanes whereof, at noone-day he beholdeth the earth ſo directly, that there is not any cloud that can be oppoſed againſt him, for at that time they are all vnder him.

Why the Arch is but halfe a circle.

CHAP. IX.

Of rods that are imperfect Arkes.

NOw must I speake of rods or windgales, which are no lesse coloured and diuers then the Rain-bow, which notwithstanding cease not to foretell raine, we need not stand long vpon this matter, for such rods or windgales are no other things, but vnperfect Rain-bowes. For these haue a discoloured face, yet haue they nothing crooked in them. For they appeare for the most part neere vnto the sunne in a moyst cloud, that beginneth but to spread, so that they haue the same colour that the Rain-bow hath, but not the forme, because the forme of the clouds, when they extend themselues, is different also.

CHAP. X.

THe like varietie is in Crownes, but in this they differ, because Crownes are made euery where wheresoeuer the sunne is, the Rain-bow is not made, but in opposition against the sun, the rods but neere vnto the sunne. I can likewise this way deliuer a difference of all; if thou diuidest a crowne, it is a Rain-bow, if thou straighten it, it is a rod? In all of them there is a multiplicitie of colours, of blew, red, and yellow. Onely the rods are neerest to the sunne, the Rain-bowes all of them are either solare, or lunare, crownes are made about all the planets.

CHAP. XI.

Of Parelies.

THere appeareth likewise another sort of rods, when as small, scattered, and long beames addresse themselues together, and streme from out some straits of the clouds. These are fore-tokens of vehement raines. But what shall I say heere? What name shall I giue vnto these rods? Are they the Images of the sunne? The Historians call them Sunnes, and write that two of them appeared, and sometimes three: the Grecians call them Parelia, because they are ordinarily seene neere vnto the sunne, or because they resemble the sunne somewhat, for they imitate not the whole, but his image and figure. Otherwise they haue no heat or vigor whatsoeuer, they are dull and imperfect. What name then shall wee giue them? Shall I doe as *Virgil* did, who in the beginning doubted of the name, and afterwards gaue that whereof he doubted.

What shall I call thee Rhetica diuine,
Contend not therefore with Falernian wine.

There is nothing that can hinder vs from calling them by the name of Parelia. These are images of the sun in a thicke and neighboring cloud, in the forme of a mirror. Some say that they are round clouds, shining, and like vnto the sunne. For they follow him, remaining alwaies with him, as long as they dure in equall distance from him: no man is afraid to behold the image of the sunne in any fountaine or still water, but the face hereof may appeare as well aboue as beneath, prouided that he finde proper matter to represent the same face.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the eclipſes of the Sunne, and how they are diſcouered.

AS often times as we would diſcouer whether there were an eclipſe of the ſunne or no: We fill certaine baſons with oyle or pitch, becauſe a thicke humour is not troubled ſo eaſily, and therefore retaineth the images that are offered vnto it. But the images and repreſentations cannot appeare, except it be in that which is liquid and ſtill. At that time are wee wont to marke, how the Moone oppoſed her ſelfe againſt the Sunne, how ſhe hideth him, being greater then her ſelfe, by the oppoſition of her bodie, now in part, if it happen that their encountrie be but oblique, ſometimes ſhe obſcureth him, being right vnder him. This is called an entire defection and eclipſe, during which we ſee the Stars, and the brightneſs of the day is loſt, that is to ſay, at ſuch time as the Sunne hath the Moone right vnder him. Euen as therefore vpon the earth we may behold the image of them both; ſo may a man ſee them in the aire, when as it is ſo ſtill and faire, as the face of the Sunne is imprinted therein, which other clouds receiue likewiſe, but let ſlip, if either they are too moueable, or too rare, or too ſullen. For the moueable ſcatter him, the rare and cleere let him ſlip, the thicke and darkſome feele him not, no more then on the earth ſpotted mirrors repreſent a perfect forme vnto vs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of double Parelies.

AFter the ſame manner likewiſe two Parelie are wont to be made. For what letteth it, but that there may be as many as there are clouds that are fit to repreſent the image of the Sunne? Some are of that opinion, that as often as they ſee two ſuch repreſentations, that they iudge the one to be of the Sunne, the other of the image if ſelfe. For amongſt vs likewiſe, when as diuers mirrors are diſpoſed ſo, that the one is in the ſight of the other, all of them are filled, but yet there is but one image of the thing; the other are the reſemblances of that image. For it is no matter what the thing is, which is ſhewed in a mirror, becauſe it repreſenteth all that which is ſet before it. So there likewiſe in the aire, if any caſualtie diſpoſe the clouds, ſo as they behold one another: the one cloud will repreſent the Sunne it ſelfe, and the other repreſent the image of the Sunne. But ſuch clouds as theſe ought to be thicke, light, ſhining, and entirely of the nature of the Sunne; and therefore all theſe repreſentations are white, and reſemble the Creſcent of the Moone, becauſe their brightneſſe proceedeth from an oblique reuerberation of the ſunne. For if the cloud be beneath the ſunne, and neerer vnto him, ſhe is diſſipated by him, and being ſet farre off, of him, ſhe cannot ſufficiently entertaine his beames, to make ſhow of an impreſſion, as mirrors repreſent not our faces which are farre off from them, becauſe the ſight of our eye hath not recourſe vnto vs backe againe. Furthermore, the Parelie or Sunnes betoken raine (for I will vſe the Hiſtoriographers name) eſpecially if they ſhow towards the Southward, where the clouds are eſpecially gathered: when ſuch impreſſions as theſe begirt the ſunne on euery ſide, if wee beleeue *Aratus*, it foretokeneth a Tempeſt.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of other diuers sorts of fiery Meteors.

IT is time now to consider those other fires, which haue diuers appearances, sometimes there shineth a starre, sometimes the heauen is as it were inflamed, somtimes there are fixed and inherent fires, sometimes they stay not in one place. There are many kinds of these seene; somtimes there are fires that outwardly are begirt with a crown, and inwardly flame. Somtimes the heauens gather together, in such sort as if they seemed to be some round trench. There are some that are called *Pithyæ*, when as the greatnesse of a grosse and round fire, like vnto a towne runneth in the heauens, or else burneth it selfe to nothing in one place. Furthermore there are **Chasmata*, when as sometimes a space of the heauens openeth it selfe, and gaping wide seemeth as it were in the secret thereof to shew a burning flame: and all these Meteors are of different colors, some of intended rednesse, some of a slighter and fainter flame, some of a cleerer and whiter light, some sparkling, and some equally yellow, without irruptions or radiations: we see therefore

**Casma is when much vapour is inflamed in a watry cloud, or one that is very thin.*

The longest tract of starres growe white behinde.

These shoote and flie like starres, and seeme to shoote out long traines of fire, by reason of their immeasurable swiftnesse, when as our eye cannot discerne their passing by, but whersoeuer they ranne, beleeued that all that parte was on fire. For such is the swiftnesse of their motion, that we cannot apprehend their distances, but onely see their ends. We see better the place where the bodie of a fiery starre presenteth it selfe, then the way that it holdeth. He therefore designeth all his course, as it were with a continuall fire, because the slownesse of our sight followeth not the moments of his race, but seeth at once both from what place it issued, and whether it attaineth; which falleth out in lightning; for the fire thereof seemeth long vnto vs, because he ouerslippeth his space in the twinkling of an eye, and all that circuit encountreth with our eyes, whereby it is discharged; yet is it not an extended bodie, that it may occupie all the space of the way whereby it commeth: for things so long and extenuated haue no force to giue a violent assault. How therefore do these fires issue? When the fire is enkindled by the collision of the ayre, it is violently pushed downward by the winde; and yet is it not alwayes caused by winde or by collision. Sometimes it is bred by reason of some opportunitie of the ayre; because that in this higher region there are diuers things that are drie, hote, and terrestriall amongst which it is bred, and the matter that feedeth it faileth very suddenly, and therefore is it violently carried and vanished away. But why is it that his coulor is diuers? what importeth it, what that is which is enkindled, and how vehement it is, whereby it is set on fire? But this fall of this fire signifieth winde, from that part from whence it breaketh forth.

Whence this lightning and darting of them proceedeth.

Their signification.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

THou askeſt me likewiſe how thoſe lightnings are engendred which the Græcians call *Sela*, in diuers ſortes as it is reported. It may be that the force of the winde breedeth them, or the heat of the higheſt heauen may produce them: for when as the elementary fire is ſpread euery where, ſometimes it embraceth inferiour things if they be diſpoſed to take fire. The motion of the ſtarres may by his courſe enkindle this fire, and tranſmit it to inferiour bodies. What then? Can it not be that the ayre repulſeth that vertue which it hath from fire, as far as the æthereall region, whence afterward there followeth a lightning or enkindling of a ſtar, or ſome ſuch like darting fire? Of theſe lightnings, ſome fall directly downewards, reſembling ſhooting ſtars, ſome remaine in a certaine place, and ſhoot forth ſo much light as may diſperſe darkeneſſe, and repreſent the day, vntil ſuch time as hauing conſumed their nutriture, they firſt of all become obſcure, and afterwards after the manner of a flame that is extinguiſhed in it ſelfe by continuall diminution they are reduced to nothing. Of theſe ſome appeare in the clouds, ſome aboue the clouds, when as the thicke ayre hath drawne that fire as high as the ſtars, which it had long time nouriſhed and entertained neere vnto the earth. Some of theſe ſuffer no delay, but runne here and there, and are extinguiſhed in that place where they firſt appeared. Theſe are truely called lightnings, becauſe their appearance is ſhort and of ſmall continuance. Neyther fall they without ſome miſchiefe; for oftentimes they doe as much miſchiefe as tempeſtuous fire-breaks. By theſe haue we ſeene the tops of houſes ſtrooken, which the Græcians call *Aſtropoplecta*. But theſe continued lightnings which haue their fire more ſtrong, and which follow the motion of the heauen, or that haue a particular tract, are called Comets, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, whereof I am to intreate. There are diuers ſorts of theſe; ſome bearded, ſome like Torches or Lamps, ſome are called *Cypariſſiæ*, and others whoſe fire is ſcattered and long in their breaking forth. Some doubt whether they ought to put in the ranke of theſe Comets thoſe beames and tombs of fire that are ſeldome ſeene. For they haue need of much matter, and conglobation of fire, conſidering that ſometimes their body is ſo great that it ſurpaſſeth the thickneſſe and roundneſſe of the riſing ſunne. Amongſt them thou mayeſt place theſe fires which are oftentimes mentioned in hiſtories and wherof ſomtimes the brightnes is ſo heigh that ſuch fierie boddies ſeeme to be placed amongſt the ſtars, otherwhiles it is ſo lowe that it ſeemeth to be the burning of ſome howſes, that are far from the place where we are. In the time of the Emperor *Tiberius* the horſe-men galloped to ſuccour the inhabitants of *Oſtia*, ſuppoſing that their City was ſet on fire; but it was a heate of the heauens, and a brightneſſe of fire thick & foggy, which had ſhined for a great part of the night. Of theſe no man doubteth but that they haue a flame which they ſhew, and their ſubſtance is certaine. The queſtion is of the former, I meane of the Raine-bow & crowne, whether they deceiue the ſight and are but counterfeit, or whether they haue truly that in them which appeareth. Our opinion is, that neither the Rain-bow or Crowns haue any certain body. For in eſteeme that there is not any thing but fallacious in mirrors, which doe but repreſent a body ſubſiſting without them; otherwiſe it would remaine therin, and could not be hidden or defaced by any other Image, neither ſhould a man in one inſtant ſee ſo many infi-

How lightnings are made.

Continued lightnings or Comets, and their diuers ſorts

Whether the Raine-bow and Crownes be but appearances.

infinite formes both appeare and vaniſh in one and the ſame mirrour. What is it then? They are Images and vaine repreſentations of true bodies, nay which is more, there are ſome artificiall mirrors found, which may make ſome things appeare farre contrary to that they are; for, as I ſaid; there are ſome mirrours that make their faces ſeeme crooked that look into the ſame, and ſome there are that make their ſhew infinitely more huge, and exceeding humane habite, and the meaſure of our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

A monſter of intemperancy: a ſhame of Rome the villeinous Hoſtius.

IN this place I will tell thee a ſtorie, to the end thou mayeſt vnderſtand that luſt forgetteth not any inſtrument to prouoke his deſire, but is diligent and ingenuous to excite his owne furie. There was a man called *Hoſtius* ſo vncleanely and villeinous, that he was not aſhamed to make ſhew of his ſecurrilitie and filthineſſe in the publique Theater. This rich and couetous wretch was owner of two millions and fiue hundreth thouſand crownes; yet *Diuus Cæſar* after that his ſlaues had murthered him, iudged that hee was vnworthy that any man ſhould reuenge his death, & yet notwithſtanding would he not declare that he was iuſtly ſlain. He was not only impure in reſpect of one ſex, but he ſurfetted in his luſt both towards men and women, & made certain mirrors of that faſhion, wherof I late made mention, that ſhewed the images of men far greater then they were, wherein one finger exceeded the arme in meaſure, length, and thickneſſe. Theſe did he diſpoſe in ſuch ſort that when he endured the company of men, he ſawe in the mirrour all the execrable motions of him he had admitted, enioying by this meanes a falſe greatneſſe of their members, as if it had beene true. In all bathes he made his choyſe, and choſe him men by the open meaſure of their length, yet notwithſtanding delighted he his inſatiable luſts with fained appearances alſo. Goe now and ſay that Looking-glaſſes were inuented for vncleanneſſe ſake. It is ſhamefull to be ſpoken what this monſter (worthy to be torne with his owne teeth) both ſpake and did; when as on euery ſide mirrors were oppoſed againſt him, to the end he might be a beholder of his owne hainous villeinies. And thoſe things which a ſecret conſcience would ſuppreſſe, and ſuch as any one being accuſed thereof, would be aſhamed to confeſſe: theſe thruſt he not onely into his mouth, but into his eyes. But vndoubtedly haynous ſinnes are afraid to behold themſelues. The moſt deſperateſt villaines, and they that are diſpoſed to all diſhonour, feele that the tenderneſſe of ſhame eaſily ſeizeth their eyes. But this man, as it were a trifle to ſuffer things vnheard of, and vnknowne in his owne perſon, hath made them come before his ſight, and was not onely contented to ſee the greatneſſe of his ſinne, but thought good to plant about himſelfe his mirrors, whereby he diuided, and diſpoſed his villeinies. And becauſe he could not ſo diligently obſerue and ſee, at ſuch time as he was ſeized vpon, and his head hidden, and his body tyed to the ſhamefull part of ſome villeinous buggerer, he repreſented his monſtrous action to himſelfe by reſemblances: he ſaw in his mirrors the ſurquedry of his mouth, he beheld the men whom he receiued vpon all the parts of his bodie. Somtimes diuiding himſelfe betwixt a man and a woman, and abandoning his perſon to ſuffer both wayes, he beheld thoſe villeinies which a man durſt not either imagine or name. What hath this impure catife left himſelfe to doe in the darkeneſſe? Hee feared not the

Modeſt cies bluſh & chaſtitie can abhorre theſe relations: ſhameleſſe, readers with ſhame, for ſuch like actions, O can there be facts ſufficient confuſion for euer.

the day, and durſt ſhew him ſelfe thoſe monſterous embracements, and approue them vnto himſelfe. What? doeſt thou thinke that he would not be painted in that habit? There is ſome modeſtie in thoſe that are proſtitute and harlots, and they couer in ſome ſort thoſe bodies of theirs, which are the obiects of publike diſgrace, whereby their vnhappie patience may lie hidden, ſo that in ſome ſort the very brothel-houſe hath modeſtie in it. But that Monſter made a publique ſpectacle of his vncleanneſſe, and ſhewed thoſe thinges to himſelfe, to couer and hide which no night were darke enough. I, ſaith hee, endure both a man and a woman at once, and notwithſtanding in that part alſo which is left me to ſome diſgrace, I exerciſe the part of a man. All my members are exerciſed in paſſiardice; it is therefore requiſite that mine eyes ſhould haue their part, and that they ſhould be witneſſes and controllers. Euen thoſe things which by ſituation are hidden from the ſight of our bodies, are viſited by art, leaſt any man ſhould thinke that I know not what I doe: nature did nothing when ſhee gaue a man ſo feeble inſtruments to execute his luſts, and when ſhee hath learned bruit beaſts a more perfect contentment in their encountries. I will finde a meanes how I may deceiue and ſatisfie my infirmitie; whereto ſhould my iniquitie ſerue me; if I ſhould not ſinne more then nature hath taught me? I will ſet theſe kinde of mirrors about me, that may preſent an incredible greatneſſe of formes. If I might haue libertie I would make them truly as great, and becauſe I may not, I will feede my ſelfe with the ſimilitude; my villanie ſhall ſee more then it can conceiue, and ſhall admire at his owne patience. O deteſtable wickednеſſe. This man perchance was killed quickly, and before he ſaw theſe things. He deſerued to be maſſacred before his mirror.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the vſe of mirrors vpon the occaſion of the former compariſon.

LEt thoſe Philoſophers therefore be now derided who diſpute thus of the nature of mirrors, enquiring whence it commeth that our face ſheweth thus, and turneth towards vs what pretended the nature of things, that after ſhee had giuen vs true bodies, ſhee would likewiſe that a man ſhould ſee theſe images? To what end was it to prepare this matter that was fit to entertaine formes? It was not to the end we ſhould pluck our beards by a looking glaſſe, or to poliſh a mans face, nature hath not allowed diſſolution any thing to exerciſe her folly in: but firſt of all, Becauſe our eyes are to feeble to behold the ſunne at hand, to the end that they might comprehend the forme of the ſame, ſhee diſcoueret h it in a more duſſer light. For although we may behold him both at his riſing & his ſetting, yet ſhould we not know his true forme in his reſplendent brightneſſe, if his face were not ſhewed vs more eaſily to be obſerued in ſome pure & poliſhed thing. Secondly, we ſhould not ſee the eclipſes, neither might we know what it is if we did not more eaſily vpon the earth perceiue the images both of Sun and Moon. Thirdly, mirrors haue beene inuented to the end that a man might know himſelfe. Of this inuention haue followed diuers benefits, firſt the knowledge of our ſelues, afterwards the reſolution of ſome occurrents. The faire ought to learne herein how to auoide infamie: the foule, to redeeme by their vertuous behauiour, the imperfection of their countenance: The yong, to remember themſelues that being in their flowring yeares, that it is time for them to learne, and attempts actions of value: The old, to ſhake off all miſſe-beſeeming actions that

that are vnfitting for their white haires, and to meditate on death. For this cauſe nature miniſtred vs the meanes to ſee our ſelues. A cleare fountaine, and euery bright ſtone reflecteth our mindes.

Late did I ſee my ſelfe from of the ſhore,
When ſeas were calm'd and tempeſt ſtir'd no more.

What were theſe fellowes, thinkeſt thou, that combed themſelues by this glaſſe? That age was more ſimple, the men contented themſelues with that which next came to hand, as yet the benefits of Nature were not wreſted vnto vice, neither was her inuention imployed and rauiſhed to ſatisfie diſſolution and exceſſe. At the firſt, as caſualtie offered the oportunitie, ſo men diſcouered their faces: but afterwards, when as ſelf-loue had inſinuated it ſelfe amongſt mortall men, and made euery man beleeue that he was faire and well pleaſing, they oftentimes deſpiſed thoſe things, wherein at the firſt they ſaw and beheld themſelues. But when the world became euill, and began to puzzle themſelues in the earth, the vſe of Iron was firſt found out, which had not brought with it any incommoditie, had men contented themſelues therewith. But other miſchiefes began to burgen out of the earth, which by their luſtre began to appeare, and pleaſe thoſe which otherwiſe thought not thereupon, ſo that the one conceiued a delight in beholding a goblet, another an inſtrument made of braſſe, and fit for ſeruice, and not to be beheld. Anon after ſome part of the earth was ordained to this ſeruice, although in other reſpects: ſiluer ſhined not as yet, but ſome other matter more brittle and of leſſe value. At that time alſo when as theſe old fathers liued temperately, yet cleanly enough, if they had waſhed away the ſweate and duſt, which they had gathered by their daily trauell in the fleeting ſtreame; it was enough for them to ſtroake downe their haire, and to combe their long beards, and in this time euery one ſerued himſelfe, and aſſiſted others. That haire which in times paſt was vſually wont to be ſcattered by mens hands, was dreſſed and handled by women, but they that had a faire haire, contented themſelues with the naturall growth thereof, as we ſee Horſes and Lions doe. But afterwards, when as diſſolution had gotten the better hand of the world, men made mirrors of gold and ſiluer as great as the bodie, and afterwards garniſhed them with precious ſtones, in ſo much as one of them coſt a woman more ſiluer, then in times paſt would haue ſufficed to endow the daughters of great Captains, that were married vpon the common purſe. Thinkeſt thou that thoſe daughters had a mirror enchaſed with gold, whereas they were enforced to borrow ſiluer to marrie them? O happie pouertie, the cauſe of ſo worthie a renowne. Had they been rich, the Senat had not allotted them their dowrie. But whoſoeuer he was that had the Senate for his father in law, vnderſtood that he had receiued a dower, which it was not lawfull to reſtore. At this day the ſumme of money that was furniſhed by the Senate for the daughters of *Scipio*, was not ſufficient to buy a glaſſe for the daughters of enfranchiſed ſlaues. For diſſolution inuited by little and little by her riches, is animated to much immodeſtie: and vices are growne to their full maturitie. In briefe, by ſuch deuices all things haue beene ſo confuſed, that that which we call a womans cabinet, is an equipage of men, nay I will ſay leſſe, euen ſouldiers baggage. But now the mirror which was onely admitted for ornament ſake, is made a neceſſarie inſtrument to whatſoeuer vice.

Whence diſſolution grew.

The end of the firſt Booke of Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILIVS.

The ſecond Booke.

CHAP. I.

ALl that which a man may draw in queſtion in reſpect of the Vniuerſe, is diuided into celeſtiall, aeriall, or earthly things. The firſt part examineth the nature of the ſtars, and the greatnes and forme of thoſe fires, wherein the world is included: whether the heauen be ſolid and of a firme and concreate matter, or compact of a ſubtill and thin ſubſtance: whether it driueth or is driuen: whether the ſtars are vnder it, or fixed in the contexture thereof: how the Sunne obſerueth the annuall changes; or whether he obſerueth an oblique courſe, and other ſuch like queſtions. The ſecond part intreateth of the impreſſions of the ayre, and ſuch as conuerſe betwixt heauen and earth. Of this ſort are miſts, raynes, ſnowes, and thunders that aſtoniſh mens mindes. In briefe, whatſoeuer the ayre doth or ſuffereth, theſe call we ſublime, becauſe they are higher then the loweſt. The third part ſufficiently debateth vpon fields, lands, trees, and plants, and (to vſe the Lawyers phraſe) all that which the earth containeth. Whence commeth it to paſſe (ſayeſt thou) that thou haſt put the queſtion of the motion of the earth in that place, wherein thou art to diſcourſe vpon thunder and lightning? Becauſe that the trembling of the earth is cauſed by the violence of the wind, which is but agitated ayre, which although it plung it ſelfe vnder the earth, yet ought we not to conſider it there, but in that place where nature hath lodged it. I will tell thee a thing that ſhall be more wonderfull, I muſt intreat of the earth amongſt celeſtiall things. Why, ſayeſt thou? Becauſe that when we diſcuſſe in this place the properties of the earth, whether ſhe be broad and vnequall, or immeaſurably extended in length, whether it be compact wholly in the forme of a bowle, or aſſembleth her parts into an Orbe, whether ſhe encloſe the waters, or the waters haue encloſed and couered her, whether ſhe be a ſluggiſh or a ſenſeleſſe creature, or a body full of ſpirit, but comming from another place, and ſuch other like things that properly haue a relation or dependance on the earth, and, if a man may ſo ſpeake it, are placed in

A diuiſion of Philoſophy into three parts, according to Seneca.

Why he intermixeth the queſtions of the Meteors.

in the ranke of those things that are most base. But in questioning what the situation of the earth is, in what part of the world it hath beene setled, how it is opposed against the heauen and the starres, this question exceedeth the precedent, and is more high.

CHAP. II.

Of the Elements or simple body, whereof one is the aire.

BEcause I haue made mention of those parts, into which all the matter of things created are deuided, I must speake some thing in generall, and first of all presuppose, that amongst the bodies that are simple, whence proceede those that are composed, some reckon the ayre. Thou shalt vnderstand what this is, and why I must speake thereof, if I ayme my discourse more higher, and if I say, that there is something continued, and wholy one, and some thing contrariwise, consisting of diuers parts. Continuation is a continuall coniunction of partes amongst themselues. Vnitie is a continuation without intermission, and a touch of two bodies vnited in themselues. Is it to bee doubted that amongst these bodies which both wee see and handle, which are eyther felt or feele, but that there are some compound? These are such by connexion or acertuation, as for example, a rope, corne, or a shippe. Againe, some not compounded, as a tree or a stone. Therefore thou must needly grant, that amongst those things likewise which are separated from sense, but are apprehended by reason; there is in some of them a vnity of bodies. See how I spare thine eares, I could acquite my selfe, if I would vse the Philosophers termes, and say, vnite bodies, but since I forgiue thee this, see likewise that thou giue me thankes. Why so? If at any time I shall say one, remember thy selfe that I referre this not vnto number, but vnto the nature of the body not composed by externall helpe, but by his owne vnity: by this note, ayre is one of the simple bodies.

CHAP. III.

Of the parts, and of the matter of the world.

THe world comprehendeth all these things which can fall within our knowledge, of these some are parts, some are left in stead of matter: all nature wanteth matter, euen as euery art that is Manuel. What this is, I will make it more plaine. The hands, the bones, the nerues, the eyes are a part of vs, the sucke of that meat which wee retaine, and such as must bee distributed into partes, the matter: Againe, bloud is as it were a part of vs, which notwithstanding is a matter also: for it prepareth other thinges likewise, and notwithstanding it is of the number of these, by whose meanes the whole bodie is made.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

AYre so is a part of the world, yea and a necessary part, for this is it that vniteth both heauen and earth, that so separateth the lowest from the highest, that notwithstanding they are ioyned by it. He separateth them because hee is in the middest of them, and vniteth them, because both of them by his meanes are agreede together. All that which is sent him from the earth, he communicateth with the heauens. Againe, hee imparteth to terrestriall things, the efficacy of celestiall bodies, which so call I a part of the world, as I doe beasts and plants, for both these kinds of beastes and plants are a part of the world, because they haue beene created as things necessary to perfect the whole, and because the whole cannot consist without them, but one liuing creature and one plant is as it were a part, for although it should die, yet that which is cut off, is of the whole: but ayre as I haue said cleaueth both to heauen and earth, it is borne both and with the one and the other, but that hath vnity, whatsoeuer is a natiue part of any thing, for nothing is borne without vnity.

The aire is a necessary part of the world.

CHAP. V.

THe earth is both a part of the world and the matter. I thinke thou wilt not aske mee why it is a part, for as well mayest thou aske mee why the heauen is a part, for no more can the vniuers bee without this, then without that; but it is composed of these parts, by meanes whereof hee maintaineth all their stars in their being and vigor, all liuing creatures and all plants. It is the heauen and earth that furnisheth all creatures and the world (that requireth so many things) with all their vigor, that maintaine so many celestiall bodies in their being, turning so swiftly continually, and so greedily both in their motion, and in their nourishment. In briefe, by the meanes of heauen and earth, all the nature of things receyueth that which is needfull for it for his nourishment and conseruation. From them likewise hath the world drawne all that which shee needeth, as long as hee shall endure. I will propose vnto thee a little example to make thee comprehend so great a thing: Egges containe as much humour as is necessarie for the being of that creature which is to be hatched.

The earth is a part also, and the master of the world.

CHAP. VI.

THe ayre is so continuate with the earth, and so vnited with it, that as soone as shee departeth from her place, hee supplieth it; It is a part of the whole world, and yet the same, and receiueth whatsoeuer nutriment the world sendeth him, in which respect wee must take it for matter and not for a part. Hence is all inconstancy and tumult, this doe some men compose of distant small bodies, as of dust, and depart very much from the truth; for neuer is there an accord of a body that is framed of parts, but by vnity when as the parts ought to consent to the intention, and to adde strength thereto. But the ayre if it bee diuided into A-

Whereof the ayre is composed.

A refutation of the error of the Epicure, who composeth the aire of Atoms.

toms, that is to say into small parts, is scattered. And such things as are scattered, may not bee maintained. These things that are swolne and yeeld not to the stroke, will shew thee the intention and force of the ayre. Thou shalt perceiue it in waighty things, which are carried away by the wind for a great space. Thou shalt perceiue it by voyces, which are eyther more feeble or stronger, according as the ayre is moued: for what is a voyce, but an intention of the ayre, to the ende it may bee heard, formed by the repercussion of the tongue? What is euery course and motion, are they not the workes of agitated ayre? this is it that giueth force to the nerues, and swiftnesse to those that runne: This it is that when it is vehemently moued and troubled in it selfe, renteth vp trees and forrests, and bearing vp whole houses on hie, at last breaketh them in peeces. This it is that encreaseth the sea when it is calme & still. Let vs come to lesser matters; for what song is there without the intention of the spirite? Cornets and Trumpets, and those that by some pressure yeelde a greater sound then may bee deliuered by the voyce, doe they not enlarge their sounds by the intention of the ayre? Let vs consider the great efficacy of seedes so small, as scarsly a man may discerne them, if these fall into the clefts of stones, yet doe they push forth and waxe great in such sort, that they riue and cleaue hugh stones in sunder, and dissolue them in a moment, and smal and tender rootes in their beginning in succession of time skorne and breake both stones and rockes: what else is this but an intention of spirite, without which there is nothing strong, and against which nothing may resist? And by this, if by nothing else wee may conceiue that there is an vnity in the ayre, because our bodies are vnited in themselus; for what elseis it that containeth them but spirit? by what other thing is it that our mind is agitated? What is his motion but an intention? What is intention, but out of vnity? what vnity except it were in the ayre? and what other thing produceth fruites and weake seedes, and rayseth flourishing trees, and extendeth their branches, and stretcheth them out on high, then the intention and vnity of the spirit.

The force of the ayre expressed by effects.

Diuers comparisons to confirme this refutation.

CHAP. VII.

That the ayre is a full body, and not voide, neyther in whole nor in part.

Some teare and rent the ayre into small peeces, so as they intermixe *voyde* with it, and they thinke it to bee an Argument that the ayre is not a full body, but that it containeth much vacuity in it, because birdes haue so easie a motion therein, because both small and great may haue their passage thorow it: but they are deceiued; for the like facility likewise is in the waters, and yet may no man doubt of their vnity, which so entertaine bodies, that they alwayes ioyne themselues to them. This doe the Latines call *Circumstance*, and the Græcians *Perisusis*, which is as well within the ayre, as in the water: For it enuironeth euery body by which it is impelled. There is no need therfore of any *voide* to intermixe therewith. But of this in an other place.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the agitation and power of the ayre.

BVt now it is to be gathered that there is a certaine vehemency in Nature, and that of great force: for nothing is vehement but by intention, and yet vndoubtedly nothing can be intended by any other thing, except it be intended by it selfe; for we say after the same maner, that nothing can be moued by another, except somthing were moueable of it selfe. But what is it that may be thought to haue more intention of it selfe then spirit? And who is he that will denie that this is intended, when he seeth the earth, the mountains, houses, and many wals, great Cities with the people, and all the Sea-shoares shaken? The swiftnesse & great extent of the ayre sheweth his intention. The eye presently intendeth his sight through many miles, one voyce at one time resoundeth through many Cities, the light creepeth not on by little and little, but in an instant spreadeth it selfe ouer all things.

CHAP. IX.

The efficacy of this agitation, and how the aire is mixed amidst the earth and waters.

HOw can the water be intended except it be by the ayre? Doubtest thou but that that ouerflow of water that riseth and increaseth, from the foundation of the lowest sands and channell, & mounteth to the very top of the Amphitheater, is without the intention of water? Truely there is no Crane or any other engine that may more mount or driue the water then the spirit. She applyeth her selfe vnto it, she is raised, and indeuoureth many things contrary to her nature, and being created to fleet, ascendeth vpward when the ayre possesseth or impelleth her. Those Barks that are ouer-laden, shew they not that it is not the water but the winde that keepeth them from sinking? For the water would giue place, neyther could it sustaine any burthens, except she her selfe were sustained. A Trencher being cast out from a higher place into a Fish-poole descendeth not, but leapeth backe; how, I pray you, except it were by the benefite of spirit? How doth the voyce penetrate thick walls, but for this cause, because there is ayre in solid & massiue things, which both receiueth and sendeth back the sound that came from without, not onely intending by the spirit those things that are open, but those things likewise which are hidden, and included? which he may easily doe, because he is no wayes diuided, but by those very meanes whereby he seemeth separated, he gathereth vp himselfe into himselfe. Plant betwixt him and vs thicke walls, and mightie and high mountaines, this hindereth him from comming to vs, but not vnto himselfe, for that is onely intercluded whereby we may follow him. He himselfe passeth thorow that which is diuided, and not onely spreadeth himselfe not onely thorow the middest, but begirteth it on euery side.

CHAP. X.

Of the situation and diuers quarters of the ayre.

THe ayre passeth and spreadeth it selfe from the ætheriall & cleere region, as farre as the earth, more swift, more subtile, and higher then the earth and waters, yet more thicke and waighty then that region, being of himselfe colde and obscure; his light and heate are borrowed from another place, yet in euery place he is not like himselfe, for he is changed by his neighbours. The higher part thereof is driest, hottest, and for this cause also the most thinnest, by reason of the vicinitie of eternall fires, and those so many motions of starres, and the continuall reuolution of the heauens. That lower part, which is neerest vnto the earth is thicke and obscure, by reason that it intertayneth the exhalations of the earth. The middle part is more temperate if thou compare it with the higher, and the lower, as much as concerneth dryenesse and tenuity, but colder then eyther part; for the higher parts thereof feele the heate of the neighbouring starres: the inferiour likewise are warmed, first by the exhalations of the earth, which bring with them very much heate; againe by reuerberation of the beames of the Sunne, which redoubling their heate, as farre as they may reflect, doe warme him gently: againe, by the warme vapour of liuing creatures, hearbes and plants; for none of all these can liue without heate. Adde hereunto now, not only those fires that are made by hand, and are certain, but such as are couered by the earth, wherof som haue broken forth innumerable, are alwayes burning in obscure and secret places. We may also well say, that being the cause of fertilitie in so many places they haue some heate, for colde is barren, and heate is fit for generation. So then the middle Region of the ayre being far distant from the higher & lower, remaines cold, because the natute of the ayre is such.

CHAP. XI.

Why the ayre is moueable and inconstant.

BEcause whereas it is thus deuided, in the lower part therof it is for the most part variable, inconstant, and mutable. About the earth it doth very much, it suffereth very much, it agitateth and is agitated, yet all of it is not affected in the same sort, but diuersly in diuers places, and in his parts as both vnquiet and troubled. But the causes of this his inconstancy and change, are in some sort ministred by the earth (whose positions being diuersly changed, are of great moment in respect of the temperature of the ayre) in some sort by the course of the Planets; amongst which thou mayest impute the most to the Sunne. The yeare followeth him, according to his motions, the Winters and Summers are changed. The Moone hath the next power. The rest of the starres likewise no lesse affect the earth then that aire which hath inconstancy vpon the earth, & by their contrary and crooked risings and settings now moue colde, now showers, and are the causes of other iniuries of the earth. Hauing to speake of thunder, lightning, and fulgurations, it concerned me to make this Preface; for since such impressions are caused in the ayre, it was necessary for me to discouer the nature thereof, to the end it might more easily appeare, what it might eyther doe or suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

THere are three things therefore that happen, flashing, lightning, and thunder, which are made together, and are not so soone heard the one as the other. Flashing show the fire that lightning sendeth: the one is, if I may so speak it, as it were a threatning and a thunder without noise. The other is the effect and stroake of the threat. There are some of these wherein all men consent, some wherein mens opinions are different. They accord in this, that all these are made either in the clouds or of the clouds. They likewise confesse that they are of fire, or of a hot and drie exhalation. Let vs now descend to those things that are in controuersie. Some thinke that fire is in the clouds, some hold that it is made for a time, and that it beginneth not to be, except then when it appeareth. Those that are of this opinion, are not agreed as touching this, from whence this fire proceedeth. For some gather it from the light: other some say that the beames of the Sunne, by force of their reuerberation and frequent reflection, enkindle the fire. *Anaxagoras* maintaineth that it distilleth from the etheriall region, and that from this so great heate of the heauens many doe fall, which were long time kept and enclosed in the clouds. *Aristotle* thinketh that this fire is not gathered long time before, but that it shooteth out at that very instant that it is formed: whose opinion is thus, Two parts of the world, earth and water, lie below, and euery one of these contributeth to himselfe something. The earthly vapour is drie and resembleth smoake, whence arise the windes, the thunders, and lightnings. That of the waters is moyst, and converteth it selfe into raines and snowes. But when this drie exhalation of the earth that produceth the windes, being thicke, commeth to ioyne it selfe, that are vehemently closed and locked one within another, it breaketh it selfe. And in this conflict the stroake yeeldeth a noise, such as we heare in our ouens, when the flame cracketh, if the fire be made of greene wood. And as the winde hauing some moysture intermixed with him, when as it is assembled and shut in one, bursteth out into a flame. In the same manner, that spirit which, as I said a little before, was expressed by the collision of clouds, and being impacted with others, neither can be broken nor presse forth in silence. And different the cracke is, by reason of the different dashing together of the clouds, whereof some yeeld a greater sound, some a lesser. But that force of the expressed spirit is fire, vvhich hath the name of flashing or fulguration enkindled easily, without any force and various; yet see we the fulguration before we heare the sound. Because the sense of the eye is more swifter and exceedeth the eare by farre.

Of three ordinarie meteors in the aire, that is, fulgurations, lightnings and thunder.

Diuers opinions as touching the nature of them.

The summe of Aristotles opinion. Lib. de cœlo. cap. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

BVt that their opinion is false: that containe the fire in clouds, may be gathered by diuers reasons. If it falleth from the heauens, why falleth it not daily, whereas so much thereof burneth continually there? Againe, they haue yeelded no reason why the fire which naturally mounteth vpward, should flow downwards. For the condition of our fire is otherwise, whose sparkles which haue

Whether there be fire reserued in the clouds, or whether it falleth from on high.

ſome waight doe fall. So then the fire deſcendeth not, but is precipitated and drawne downwards. No ſuch matter befalleth the elementarie fire, which is moſt pure, and wherein there is nothing that may be depreſſed, or if any part thereof ſhould fall, the whole is in danger, becauſe that that which is comprehenſible may wholly periſh. Moreouer, if that whoſe leuitie daily hindereth him from falling, hould any thing that is waightie ſecretly hidden in himſelfe, how can he ſubliſt in a place, whence of neceſſitie he ought to fall? What then? Are not ſome fires wont to be carried into the inferiour parts, as theſe verie lightnings the which are now in queſtion? For they goe not, but they are caried by Fate. There is ſome power that depreſſeth them, which is not in the etherial region. For nothing in this region is compelled by force, nothing is broken, nothing falleth out extraordinarily. All is gouerned, there is a repured fire that enuironeth the world, lodged in the higheſt extremities of this round machine, the which doth all that fittingly, which is requiſite for the entertainment of himſelfe: it cannot moue from thence, neither be abaſed by any other forren accident, becauſe in the etheriall region there is no place for any incertaine bodie. For thoſe things that are certaine and gouerned ſtriue not.

CHAP. XIIII.

If the aire draw fire from the etheriall region, or if it be enflamed.

YOu ſay (I tell you) when as you yeeld a reaſon why certaine ſtars flee from one place vnto another, that ſome parts of the aire may draw vnto themſelues the fire that falleth from the etheriall region, and that by it they are enflamed aboue. But there is a great difference in this, whether we ſay that fire falleth from the etheriall region (which Nature permitteth not) or that by reaſon of the fierie force it enkindleth thoſe things that are beneath, or that it is enkindled heere. For the fire falleth not from thence (for that cannot be) but is bred heere. We ſee amongſt our ſelues, that when as fire ſcattereth it ſelf abroad, that ſome Iſlands that haue beene long times hot, conceiue flame, and take fire of themſelues. It is therefore likely to be true, that in the higher region of the aire, the which hath this propertie to draw fire vnto it ſelfe: that fire is enkindled ſometimes by the heate of the etheriall region, which couereth and embraceth it on euery ſide. For it muſt needs be, that both the lower part of the etheriall region hath ſomewhat in it that reſembleth the aire, and that the higheſt aire be not vnlike to the lower part of the etheriall region, becauſe that one thing cannot readily paſſe or ioyne it ſelfe with that which is directly contrarie thereunto. For theſe by their neighbourhood by little and little intermixe their force in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt doubt whether of them both it is.

CHAP. XV.

The opinions of the Stoicks, as touching the inflammations of the aire, and the agitatio of it ſelf

SOme of our Stoicks thinke that the aire (when as it is eaſily changed into fire and water) draweth not from other parts new cauſes of inflammations, but that in agitating himſelf, he enkindleth himſelfe, and that then when he ſcattereth the thick and compact concauitie of the clouds, that neceſſarily in the enterſhocke of thoſe

thoſe ſo vaſt bodies, there ſhould be formed a great noiſe. But this conflict of clouds (which hardly giue place the one vnto the other) is of no ſmall force to enkindle a flame, euen as in ſome ſort the hand aſſiſteth the Iron to cut, although that cutting be a thing proper vnto Iron.

CHAP. XVI.

WHat difference then is there betweene fulguration and lightning? I will tell thee: Fulguration is a fire that is ſpread at large: Lightning is a fire that is gathered and darted with violence, wee are wont in ioyning both our hands together to take vp water, and afterwards in ſhutting to force it out, as it were, out of a pipe. Suppoſe ſuch like things to be done there. The ſtraightneſſe of thoſe clouds that are compreſſed and ſhut together yeeld forth the winde that is ſhut in them, and by this meanes are they inflamed, and then vomit out fire as it were the ſtroke of ſome engine of warre. For wee ſee Arbeleſtres and Scorpions puſh forth their arrowes with ſome noiſe.

The difference betweene fulguration and lightning.

CHAP. XVII.

SOme thinke that the ſpirit paſſing through cold and moiſt maketh a noiſe. For neither is hot iron extinguiſhed without ſome ſound. But euen as if a burning red hot peece thereof be put into water, it is not extinguiſhed without much hiſſing: So as *Anaximenes* ſaith, when as the winde encountreth with the clouds he cauſeth thunders; and whilſt it ſtriueth and wandreth through the reſiſting and open clouds, in his very flight he enkindleth fire.

How thunders are cauſed after Anaximenes *opinion.*

CHAP. XVIII.

ANAXIMANDER referred all things to winde. Thunders, ſaith he, are the noiſe of a cloud that is ſtrooken: Why are they vnequall? Becauſe the ſhock it ſelfe is vnequall. Whence commeth it that it thundereth in faire weather? Becauſe at that time alſo the winde breaketh through the thick and drie aire. But why ſometimes doth it not lighten and thunder? becauſe the winde that was ouer-feeble to make fire, was ſtrong enough to make a noiſe: What then is fulguration? It is an agitation of the aire, that ſeparating it ſelfe and falling out of the clouds diſcouereth a fire that is feeble and retayned. What is lightning? It is the courſe and out-breaking of a winde more violent and thick.

The opinion of Anaximander *hereupon.*

And as tuching, thundring and lightning.

CHAP. XIX.

THe opinion of *Anaximander* is, that theſe impreſſions are made by ſome influence of the Ætherial Region into theſe of the aire. So fire impacted in cold clouds maketh a noiſe. But when it deuideth them, fulguration followeth, and the leſſer force of fires, cauſeth fulguration, the greater, lightning.

Anaximanders *opinion.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The examination of Diogenes Apolloniates *his opinion.*

DIogenes Apolloniates ſaith, that ſom thunders proceede from fire, ſome are cauſed by winde. The fire produceth thoſe which he foregoeth and foretelleth: the winde thoſe that yeeld a clap without lightning. I confeſſe that the one is cauſed and is without the other ſometimes: notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that their power is not ſeparated, but that the one may bee produced by the other. For who would denie that the violent winde in ſtirring vp a vehement noiſe, could not likewiſe make a fire? And who likewiſe will not confeſſe this, that the fire may ſometimes breake the cloudes, and yet not enforce his paſſage, if after hee hath trauerſed ſome, hee is ſtayed and extinct by a more greater aſſembly of other cloudes. It followeth then that the fire conuerteth it ſelfe into winde, and that it looſeth his light and clearneſſe when it burneth and enflameth that vpon the earth which ſhee hath followed: adde hereunto now, that it muſt needes bee, that the violence of lightning puſheth forth the winde, and ſendeth it before him, and draweth it likewiſe after him when hee cleaueth the ayre by ſo waighty a ſtroke. And therefore it is that all things before they feele the ſtroke of the thunder, tremble being ſhaken by the aſſault of the wind which the fire drieth before him.

CHAP. XXI.

Senecaes opinion, as touching lightning and thunder,

DIſmiſſing our Maſters, for the preſent, let vs beginne to ſpeake of our ſelues, & from thoſe things that are confeſſed, let vs paſſe ouer to thoſe thinges that are doubtfull: but what is that which is confeſſed? That lightning is a fire, and fulguration likewiſe, which is nought elſe but a flame, and ſhould bee lightning if it had more force. That it is fire, the heate thereof teſtifieth, and the effect maketh proofe enough: for lightning oftimes is the cauſe of mighty fires: woods & parts of Cities are burned vp by it; yea thoſe that are not ſtrucken, yet are they ſeene to be blaſted, and ſome are coloured as it were with ſoote. Furthermore, all things that are ſtrucken with lightning, ſmell of ſulphure. It followeth therefore that lightning and fulguration is fire, and that the one is intermixed with the other, in ſuch ſort, as fulguration that is not carried as farre as the earth, and againe, lightning is a fulguration that is carried as farre as the earth. It is not a deſire I haue to ſpeake much that lengthneth this diſcourſe; but to the end I may proue that theſe things are of the ſame ſemblance, marke and nature. Lightning is ſomewhat more then fulguration; Let vs turne this, Fulguration, is almoſt as much as lightning.

CHAP. XXII.

A compariſon taken from materiall fire, and that which is terreſtriall, that ſerueth to expreſſe how lightnings and tempeſts grow.

IT being manifeſt that both of them are fires, let vs examine how fire is made amongſt vs: for it is made in the ſame ſort, as it is aboue vs, and that in two ſorts; the one is when it is enforced out of a flint ſtone; the other is, if it be found out by attrition, as when as two woods are long times rubbed the one againſt the other: euery

uery matter will not yeelde thee fire, but onely that which is proper to produce it, as the leaues of Lawrell, Iuie, and which the shepheards (perfectly exercised therein) well know. It may therfore be that in the same sort the clouds are strucken, or beaten one against an other, and thereby yeelde fire. Let vs consider with what force stormes rush in vpon vs, with what violence whirlewindes are turned, whatsoeuer this storme meeteth withall, is scattered, spred and rauished, and cast farre from the place where it was: what wonder is it therefore if so great a force driue forth the fire, eyther from an other thing or from himselfe? for thou seest what heate those bodies may feele that are blasted, burned and slaine by their passing: by them yet ought wee not to esteeme that these impressions haue as much heat as there is in the starres, whose power is both maruailous and confessed.

CHAP. XXIII.

If lightning and thunder arise by meanes of the intersticke of cloudes.

BVt happily those cloudes also that are enforced and driuen against other cloudes by an agitation of a murmuring wind, and that is not ouerstrong, will engender a fire that will shine without faling; for there needeth a lesse fire in fulguration then in lightning. By those things that are aboue said, wee haue gathered to what heate they attaine which are rubbed one against an other. Since then the ayre which of his nature is easily changed into fire, by the violence of his forces being conuerted into fire is broken. It is both credible and likely that the fire which is fraile, and will sodainely perish, issueth from a matter that is not solide, wherein it may continue long time. It passeth therefore and staieth no longer then his way endureth, for it is pushed forth without any matter to maintaine and feed it selfe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Why the lightning falleth downewards when as it is the property of it to mount vpwards.

HOw commeth it then to passe (saist thou) that where thou sayest, that this is the nature of fire to mount vpwardes, yet that the lightning falleth downewardes; what is that false which thou hast spoken of fire? for he as wel mounteth vpwards as he falleth downwards: both of these may be true; for fire by narure mounteth like a Pyramis, and if nothing hindreth it, it ascendeth as water by nature is carried downwards; but if some force bee added thereunto to impell it to the contrary, yet returneth shee to the place from whence shee fell by meanes of the shower; but the lightning falleth by the same necessity whereby it is driuen out. In these fires that falleth, which doth amongst trees, whose toppes if they bee tender, may bee so drawne down that they may touch the earth, but when thou shalt let them goe, they will returne vnto their owne place. Thou art not therefore to respect the habite of euery thing as it is enforced. If thou wilt permit fire to goe whether it will, it will mount to heauen, that is, to the place where euery light thing should bee: but when hee meeteth with any thing that may repulse him, or alter his ascent, this is not naturall vnto him, but seruitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How fire may iſſue from water, that is to ſay, from the clouds.

YOu mainetaine (ſayeſt thou) that cloudes encountring vehemently one with an other engender fire, but if they bee moiſt and wet, how then can they engender fire, which in all likelyhoods is vnfitte to haue his beginning from a cloude, as from water.

CHAP. XXVI.

An anſwere to this queſtion.

THat fire that is bred, is not water at the firſt in the cloudes, but thicke aire, prepared to turne into water, and yet not changed into the ſame, but now ready and enclined to bee changed. Thou art not to thinke that it is gathered then, but onely powred out. It is made and falleth at once: beſides, if I ſhould grant, that a cloud is moiſt, and full of entertained waters, yet is there nothing that hindereth, but that fire may be drawne out of moyſture, nay, which thou wilt more wonder at out of humor it ſelfe. Some haue denied that any thing may bee changed into fire, before it were turned into water. A cloud therefore notwithſtanding, the water that it containeth, in ſome part may render fire, as oftentimes one part of the wood burneth, the other ſweateth. Neither doe I ſay that theſe are not contrarie amongſt themſelues, and that the one deſtroyeth not the other, but where the fire is more forcible then the water is, the water he obtaineth the maſtery. Againe, whereas the abundance of humor exceedeth, then is fire without any effect. And therefore greene wood burneth not. It importeth therefore how much water there is. For a little reſiſteth not, neither hindereth the fire. Why not? In the memorie of our anceſtors, as *Poſsidonius* teſtifieth, when as in the Ægean ſea there appeared an Iſland the ſea fomed by day, and from the depth thereof there aroſe a ſmoake. Afterwards there iſſued a fire not continuall, but ſhining and ſparkling at certaine times, after the manner of lightnings, as often as the heate that was beneath ouercame the waight that was aboue. After this, ſtones turned out of their places, and rockes partly whole which the winde had driuen forth before they were wholly burned, partly eaten and turned into the lightneſſe of a Pumnice ſtone. At laſt there appeared the top of a mountaine, blacke and almoſt burned: afterwards there was ſomewhat added to the height thereof, and that rocke grew to the bignes of an Iſland. The ſame happened againe in our memorie, when *Valerius Aſiaticus* was Conſul. Why haue I related theſe things? to the end it might appeare, that neither the fire is extinguiſhed when the ſea ouerfloweth it, nor the force thereof is prohibited to iſſue by the waight of mightie waues. *Aſclepiodotus*, the ſchollar of *Poſsidonius*, reported that the Iſland was of two hundred miles, where thorow the fire appeared where the waters were broken. And if the immeaſurable force of waters aſcending from the depth, could not reſtraine the force of the flames: how much leſſe can it extinguiſh fire in the aire, where the humor is thinne, and but like a dew? So that this reaſon hath no difficultie in it, that may hinder the cauſes of theſe fires, which we ſee neuer ſparkle, except at ſuch time as there is an inclination to raine, for in faire weather commonly we ſee no lightnings. A faire and cleare day feareth none of theſe, neither the night alſo, except it be obſcured by darke clouds. What then? Doth it not

A notable example.

lighten

lighten ſometimes when as the ſtarres are cleere, and the night is calme? Yet art thou to know that clouds are there whence the brightneſſe appeareth, although the mountaines hide them from our ſight. Adde hereunto (which may be) that the moyſt and low clouds yeelde fire, by beating one againſt another, which mounting into the higher parts, are ſeene in the cleereſt and pureſt part of heauen, although they are bred in a blacke and obſcure cloud.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the diuerſitie of thunders.

SOme haue ſo diſtinguiſhed Thunders, that they haue ſaid that there is one kinde of them that make a grieuous murmure, ſuch as is wont to forerun an earth-quake, when as the windes that are encloſed vnder the earth doe roare and make a noyſe. I will tell you how theſe men ſuppoſe that this may be done. When as the cloudes haue locked the winde within themſelues, the ayre that is toſſed in the hollow parts therof, yeeldeth a ſound like vnto roaring, hoarſe, vnequall, and continuate; and therefore alſo where the Region of the ayre is moyſt, it ſhutteth vp the Thunder from iſſuing forth; and therfore theſe kinde of thunders are the fore-tokeners of a ſhower that is at hand. There is another ſort that a man may rather call crackes then Thunder, ſuch as which wee are wont to heare when as a bladder is broken ouer a mans head. Such thunders breake forth when as a cloude that is gathered together is diſſolued, and ſendeth forth that winde wherewith it is diſtended. This ſudden and vehement noyſe is properly called a cracke, which where it burſteth forth, cauſeth men to fall and ſound, and ſome liuing to waxe ſtupid and aſtoniſhed, and wholly beſide themſelues, whom we call ſtrooken or *Apoplectique*, whoſe mindes that celeſtiall ſound hath driuen out of their place. This cracke likewiſe may be cauſed by this meanes, that is, when as the ayre that is incloſed in a hollow cloud, and being extenuated by his motion is ſcattered abroad, and afterwards ſtriuing to haue a more larger place, and retained by the cloude that incloſeth him, he maketh a noyſe. What therefore? May it not be likewiſe, that as in ſtriking one hand vpon another we make a loud ſound, ſo the clouds that are thick by beating one againſt another, ſhould make a great noyſe, becauſe they are great things that concurre?

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why the cloudes thicken aboue the mountaine tops, and yet no thunder followeth.

WEe ſee (ſaith he) cloudes that hemme in the mountaine tops, and yet no ſound is made; firſt of all they thunder not at euery time they encounter, but then when they are fitly compoſed to yeelde a ſound: when the backe of our hands be beaten together they yeeld no clap, but one palme being ſtrooken againſt another, there followeth a ſound; yea, and it appertaineth much to the matter whether the hands that are clapped one againſt another hollow, or flat and extended. Furthermore, the clouds muſt not onely goe, but be driuen forward by a great and tempeſtuous force. The mountaine likewiſe doth not cut the cloud, but directeth it, and ſcattereth that which firſt commeth to meete with it. Neyther doth a bladder likewiſe, howſoeuer it let out the winde, alwayes cracke: if it be cut

cut in two, it issueth forth without any sense of the eare: if you will haue it sound it must be broken and not cut. The same say I of the cloudes, except they shocke together with great violence they cannot make a noise. Adde hereunto now that the clouds which are gathered together vpon a mountain break not, but are spread abroad into some parts of the mountain, as on the boughs of trees, on bushes, sharp stones, & eminent rocks. Behold how they are dissolued, and if they haue any breath in them they let it out in diuers sorts, which except it breake forth all at once, maketh no noyse, whereupon note that the winde that whistleth aboue a tree thundreth not, but singeth. To make thunder there needeth a great clap that may at one time disperse the whole globe of winde.

CHAP. XXIX.

How effectuall the ayre is in Thunders, and how.

MOreouer, the ayre is apt of it selfe to entertaine voyces: why not, when as a voyce is nought else but a repercussion of the aire? The cloudes therefore ought to be seuered hollow, and extended. For thou seest that emptie vessels send more then those that are full, and those strings that are wound vp more then they that are let slip; so Drummes and Cymballs yeeld a sound, because such instruments repell the ayre that resisteth them outwardly, and could not sound in the ayre, except they were hollow.

CHAP. XXX.

Asclepiodotus *opinion confirmed by two rare examples.*

THere are som of the opinion, amongst whom *Asclepiodotus* is one, that lightning and thundring may breake forth, by reason of the encountrie of some bodies. Ætna in times past abounded with much fire, poured forth a mighty multitude of burning sand. The day was couered with dust, and sudden night terrified the people. At that time it is reported that there was much thunder and lightning, which were caused by the concourse of drie bodies, and not of clouds; for it is very likely, that in so great an inflammation of the ayre there were none. *Cambyses* in times past sent an Armie to the Temple of *Ammon*, which the sand being scattered by the Southerne winde, couered them like flakes of snow, and at length ouerwhelmed them. And then also it is very likely that there were thunders and lightnings, by the attrition of sands rubbing one against another. This opinion is not repugnant to our purpose; for we haue said that the earth breatheth forth bodies of both natures, and that thorow all the Regions of the ayre there wandereth some drinesse and humiditie: if therefore any such thing happen, it maketh a cloud more solid and thicke, then if it had beene couered by a simple winde; and this cloud may be broken, and yeeld forth a sound. As touching the aboue named accidents, whether it be that the ayre hath beene filled by such streaming fires, or whether it be by the winds ouerturning the sands, it must needs be that a cloude must be first formed, whence afterward there may issue thunder. But drie things engender cloudes as well as moist, and as we haue said a cloud is but the thicknesse of grosse and assembled ayre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

IF thou wilt obſerue the ſame, thou ſhalt finde that the effects of Thunder are maruailous; neyther is it to be doubted but that there is ſome extraordinary and diuine power intermixed with it. Siluer melteth in purſes, and yet are they neyther rent nor ſpoyled. The ſword is moulten and ſcabberd vntouched. The Iron runneth down from the Iauelin top, and yet the ſteele vnſeared. The wine thickneth and remaineth three daies as if it were yce, when the Tunne is broken. This likewiſe mayeſt thou put amongſt thoſe things that are worthy note; That men and other creatures that are ſtroken with lightning, haue their heads turned towards that place from whence it parteth, and that all the tops of thoſe trees that are blaſted bend towards the lightning. Furthermore, Serpents and all other venemous beaſts looſe all their venome if they be touched with lightning. Whence, ſaith he, know you this? In envenomed bodies no worme breedeth; but thoſe bodies that are ſtrooken with lightning are filled with wormes within a few dayes.

Of the marueilous effects of lightnings.

CHAP. XXXII.

MOreouer I ſay that lightnings preſage things that are to come, not miniſtring onely a ſigne of one or two things, but oftentimes they foretell the whole order of ſucceeding Fates, yea, and that by euident decrees, and farre more manifeſt then if they were written. But this is the difference betwixt vs and the Tuſcans, who exactly vnderſtand this diuination by lightning. We holde opinion, that becauſe the clouds enterſhock and ſcatter one another, therfore the lightning burſteth forth. They thinke that the clouds are rudely driuen the one againſt the other, to this end, that lightning ſhould iſſue, and be darted on the earth. For whereas they referre all things vnto God, they are of this opinion that they ſignifie not becauſe they are made, but that they are made, to the end they ſhould ſignifie; yet are they ingendered by one and the ſame reaſon, be it that either they ought to ſignifie by a deliberate purpoſe, or by a conſequence: how then ſignifie they except they be ſent from God? How? In ſuch ſort as birds who take not their flight to meet vs, yet in flying eyther on the right or on the left hand they haue preſaged ſomewhat. And theſe, ſayeſt thou, God moueth. Thou makeſt him too idle, and a miniſter of ſmall matters, if in ſome men hee diſpoſe their dreames, in beaſts their entrailes, yet are theſe things ordered by diuine aſſiſtance. But the feathers of birds are not gouerned by God, neyther formeth he the entrailes of beaſts vnder the axe. The order of the deſtinies is expreſſed vnto vs by other more certaine meanes, who euery where publiſheth ſignes of that which ſhall come to paſſe long before they happen, whereof ſome are familiar vnto vs, the reſt are vnknowne. All whatſoeuer is done is a ſigne of ſomething that is to come. Thoſe things that are caſuall, and incertaine without reaſon, admit not diuination. The thing that hath order hath prediction alſo. Why therefore is this honour giuen vnto the Eagle, that ſhe ſhould preſage the matters of greateſt importance, or to the Crow, or to a few other birds, and that the chattering of all others hath neyther ſignification or preſage? Be-

Lightnings are foretokeners of that which is to come.

Whether euery thing that is ſeene and vnderſtood hath a ſignification.

cauſe there are many things that are not as yet reduced into Art, and other things which a man cannot reduce, becauſe they are too farre eſtranged from our acquaintance. But there is no liuing creature that foretelleth not ſomewhat, eyther by his motion or encountrie. All things are not obſerued, but ſome things are noted. Diuination ſerueth him that will obſerue the ſame. It therfore appertaineth vnto him that hath addicted his mind thereunto. Thoſe things which a man reſpecteth not, may notwithſtanding containe ſome certitude. The Chaldeans in their obſeruations reſpected nothing elſe but the influence of fiue Planets. What thinkeſt thou? Iudgeſt thou that ſo many thouſand ſtarres ſhine to no purpoſe? And what is that which deceiueth theſe Calculators of Natiuities, but they ſubiect themſelues I know not how to ſome ſmall number of ſtarres, whereas all they that ſhine ouer our heads, haue ſome influence and power ouer vs? It may be that the more neerer Planets doe dart their beames more effectually vpon vs, and that they which haue a more ſwifter motion touch vs in one ſort, and other liuing creatures in another. But the fixed ſtars, and thoſe that for their ſwift courſe haue an anſwerable motion to that of the firſt mouer, and ſeeme not to ſtirre, are yet without force and effect in our reſpects. To ſpeake of theſe things orderly, we muſt regard both the one and the other, and know that which is proper both to the one and to the other. But there is no leſſe difficultie to know that which they can, as to doubt whether they haue any power or no.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The knowledge of lightnings hath relation to three conſiderations.

LEt vs now returne vnto lightnings, the power whereof is diuided into three conſiderations, namely, into their ſignification, their interpretation, and their remedie: the firſt part reſpecteth forme, the ſecond diuination, the third expiation. For we muſt appeaſe the gods, beſeeching them to giue vs goods, to auert all euils, to maintaine their promiſes, and to remit their threatnings.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

What power the Tuſcans attribute to lightnings in reſpect of diuination.

THe Tuſcans thinke that lightnings haue a ſoueraigne power; for whatſoeuer other things doe portend, are taken away by the intercourſe of lightning. Whatſoeuer lightning preſageth is fixed; neyther is it changed by the ſignification of any other preſage. A flaſh of lightning that portendeth ſome good, aboliſheth all the ſiniſter predictions of the entrailes of beaſts, and whatſoeuer the flight of birds ſhall threaten. All that which lightning denounceth cannot be croſſed by the preſages of the entrailes of beaſts or by birds: wherin me thinks they are much deceiued. Why? Becauſe there is nothing truer then truth. If birds haue foretolde that which ought to come to paſſe, this augurie cannot be diſanulled by lightning: If it may be; the birds haue foretolde nothing that ſhall come to paſſe. I doe not now make a compariſon betwixt the bird and lightning, but of two true preſages. If both of them foretell that which is to come to paſſe, they are alike. If therefore the lightning that commeth after aboliſheth the iudgement of the entrailes, and of the augures, the entrailes were badly looked into, and

and the motion and cry of birdes worſe obſerued: for it importeth nothing to know whether of theſe two are more ſtrong and puiſſant in their nature, or whether of both hath propoſed more ſignes of truth, for the ſigne in this reſpect is equall, if thou ſay that the force of the flame is greater then that of the ſmoake, thou lieſt not; but to deuoure the fire, the flame and ſmoake are of the ſame value. Therefore if they ſay thus, that as often as the entrailes of beaſts ſhall preſage one thing, and the lightning an other, the authority of the lightning ſhall bee more great, happily I ſhall bee of their opinion: But if they mainetaine that a flaſh of lightning diſanulleth the truth which thoſe other ſignes haue foretolde, and that wee ought not to build on any thing but on this flaſh of lightning: I ſay they abuſe themſelues; and the reaſon is, becauſe it importeth not how many paſſages there be; It is but one thing that ſhall come to paſſe, which if it hath beene well compriſed in the firſt prediction and diuination, the ſecond will bee no preiudice vnto it. All comes to one: I therefore ſay, that it skilleth not, if one thing by meanes whereof wee would informe our ſelues be the ſame, or an other thing, becauſe that whereof wee enquire is one and the ſame.

CHAP. XXXV.

DEſtiny cannot bee changed by lightning; Why not? becauſe that lightning is a part of Deſtiny: Whereto then ſerue ſo many expiations and ceremonies; to what purpoſe is all this, if the Deſtinies bee immutable? Permit mee to follow the auſtere opinion of thoſe who entreat of theſe things, and mainetaine that Deſtinies are no other thing but the ſolace of a penſiue thought. The Deſtinies mainetaine their right preciſely, there is neyther prayer that moueth them, nor miſery or fauour that altereth them. They obſerue their irreuocable courſe, they paſſe onward in an aſſured and vnaltered order. Euen as the water of violent ſtreames neither turneth backe, nor ſtayeth, but euery waue is forcibly driuen one by an other that beateth at his backe: ſo the order of Deſtiny is gouerned by an eternall ſucceſſion, the decree whereof is, not to change that which hath beene ordained and deſtinated.

CHAP. XXXVI.

What Deſtiny is according to the Stoickes.

BVt what meaneſt thou by this word Deſtiny, I thinke it to be an inuincible and immutable neceſſity of all things and actions: if thou thinkeſt that this neceſſity may bee pacified by ſacrifices or by oblations of the head of a white Lambe, thou knoweſt not what diuine things are: you likewiſe ſay that the reſolution of a wiſe man cannot be changed: how much leſſe that of gods, conſidering that a wiſeman onely diſcoucreth for the preſent that which is good, but all things are preſent to the diuine Eſſence; yet notwithſtanding in this place will I plead their cauſe, who are of the opinion that a man may remedy lightnings, and affirme that expiations are auaileable ſometimes to remoue dangers, and ſometimes to leſſen them, or at leaſtwiſe to differre them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

To what intent serue these meanes, if the doctrine of destiny be receiued.

I Will prosecute hereafter that which remaineth to bee intreated vpon as concerning this matter; meane while wee all of vs are agreede in this point, that weesuppose that vowes are profitable, (the force and power of the Fates alwayes reserued:) for some things are in such sort left in suspence by the immortall gods, that they turne vnto good, if vowes and prayers bee made vnto the immortall gods, This therefore repugneth not against destiny, but is inclosed in the same. Thou wilt say vnto mee, this thing shall happen, or shall not happen; if it must come to passe, if you vow and make your request, yet shall it take effect; if it shall not come to passe, vow and pray as much as you list, it shall not fall out, the consequence of this argument is false, because you haue forgot the exception that I haue put betweene both, that is to say: This shall happen, prouided that a man make vowes and prayers. It must necessarily follow that to vow, or not to vow are comprehended within Destiny.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The meanes are inclosed in destiny, and are the meanes to attain vnto the end that Destiny ordaineth.

THou presupposest that I confesse my selfe vanquished, and that I auow that this is comprehended also in Destiny, that a man should make vowes: so thus they shall bee made; It is destinated that such a one shall bee an eloquent man, but vnder this condition, it is destinated that hee bee instructed in good letters: the same Destiny therefore that addicteth him to study, will cause that hee shall become wise. An other man shall bee rich, but so as he traffique vpon the seas: but in that order of fate which promiseth him so great a patrimony, this destiny likewise is inclosed, that hee shall set sayle to the wind, and that by reason thereof without any feare or exception, he shall embarque and sayle. The same (say I) of expiations. Hee shall escape dangers, if hee hath appeased the fore-threatned wrath of the gods by sacrifice. And this likewise is in Destiny, that he must expiate, and therefore he shall doe it. These things haue beene oftentimes opposed against vs, to approue that nothing hath been left in our will, but that all power hath beene committed to Destiny. When as this matter shall bee handled, I will tell you how there remaineth somewhat in mans will, although the Destiny continueth. But now haue I explicated, that which was in question; how if the order of Fate be certaine, the expiations and remedies of prodigies preuent the dangers, because these remedies impugne not Destinies, but are comprehended in the law of the same. What then saiest thou, doth the Southsayer profite mee? for although hee counsell me nothing, yet must I necessarily make this expiation. It sufficeth, because he is a Minister of Destiny: so when as health seemeth to proceed from Fate, yet ought wee to thanke the Physitian, because the benefite of Fate, came vnto vs by his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

CÆCINNA ſaith, that there are three ſorts of lightning, the one of counſell, the other of authority, the third of eſtate. The firſt precedeth the act, and commeth after the thought; that is, when the flaſh of lightning counſelleth or diſcouereth that which the thought deuiſeth: The ſecond, when as a lightning commeth after a thing is executed, to ſignifie that eyther good or euill fortune ſhall ſucceed, The third, when as lightning happeneth, when men are at reſt, without thinking or doing any thing. This ſort of lightning menaſſeth, or promiſeth, or admoniſheth, by reaſon whereof *Cæcinna* nameth it momentary: but I know not why it ſhould not be the ſame with that of counſell. for hee that admoniſheth giueth counſell, yet hath it ſome diſtinction, and therefore is it ſeparated from that of counſell, becauſe this firſt perſwadeth and diſſwadeth, but the third containeth but a ſimple aduice, to flie an imminent perill; as when wee feare that our neighbours will deceiue vs, or ſet fire on our houſes, or that our ſlaues conſpire againſt vs. Beſides this I ſee an other diſtinction: The firſt concerneth him that thinketh, the other, him that thinketh nothing. Euery thing hath his property, wee counſell thoſe that deliberate, wee admoniſh thoſe that bethinke not themſelues.

Diuers ſorts of lightnings in regard of their ſignifications, according to the Tuſcans and Stoiques.

CHAP. XL.

FIrſt of all the three ſorts concerne not all lightnings, but are the ſignifications thereof. For the ſorts of lightning are that the one pierceth, the other ſcattereth, and the other burneth. The lightning that piercth is ſubtle and flaming, taking his flight thorow narrow paſſages, by reaſon that his flame is ſo ſubtle and thinne, as nothing more: That which diſſipateth is gathered together as it were into a ball, hauing intermixed in it ſelfe the force of a coacted and ſtormy winde, by meanes whereof this lightning entreth and iſſueth ordinarily by one and the ſame habite: his force that is ſpred at large pierceth not, but breaketh that which it toucheth: that which burneth hath very much terreſtriall vapour in it, and is more fiery then flaming: by meanes whereof hee leaueth great marks of fire behinde him, that remaine on thoſe things it hath ſtrucken. No lightning falleth without fire, but wee properly call that a firie lightning, that leaueth manifeſt markes of fire behinde it: but this lightning that burneth or blacketh burneth in three ſorts, for either it attainteth and blaſteth ſleightly, or it burneth, or cauſeth the thing that is ſtruken to fall on fire: the fire is in all this, but there is a difference in the ſort and in the meanes: for all that which is burned was blaſted or ſcorched likewiſe; but all that which is blaſted and ſcorched is not alwayes burned. It may bee that the fire hath giuen but ſome light attaint; wee know that there are many things that are conſumed in the fire without making any flame: for nothing can burne except it be burned. I will adde this word more. One thing may bee burned, and yet not kindled, and ſomething kindled which is not burned.

Diuers names of lightnings according to their diuers effects.

CHAP. XLI.

The effects of those lightnings that blacke those things which they touch.

NOw passe I ouer to that kinde of lightning that blacketh those thinges it beateth vpon, this eyther discoloureth or coloureth. I will discouer the difference of them both. That is discoloured, whose colour is vitiated, not changed: that thing is coloured, whose appearance is otherwise then it was at the first, as blew, or blacke, or pale: The Tuscians and Stoikes accord herein, but they differ in this, that the Tuscans say, that *Iupiter* darteth his lightnings, and they giue him three different handfuls to cast. The first, say they, admonisheth and is peaceable, and is darted by the good will of *Iupiter* himselfe. The second likewise is darted from his hand, but by the aduice of counsell, whereunto hee calleth twelue other gods. This kind of lightning sometimes doth seem good, but not without harming those vpon whom it is sent. The third also is darted by the same *Iupiter*, but after hee hath consulted with the gods, whom they call superiours and infolded. This spoyleth and includeth, and ouerturneth all that which it meeteth withall in publike, and in particular; for fire consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth with.

The Tuscans opinions as touching the falling of lightnings.

CHAP. XLII.

The explication of the Tuscans opinions according to Senacas *mind.*

IF you obserue this well, you shall perceiue at the first sight that antiquity erreth herein. What a folly is it to beleiue that *Iupiter* darteth lightnings out of the cloudes, that sometimes catch hold of statues, pillars and trees, blasting sheepe, and other innocent beasts, burning vp the altars, and yet sparing sacrilegious persons, and as if hee had not sufficient counsell in himselfe, but that hee must call other Gods to assist him? Likewise that these lightnings which hee of himselfe darteth, are presages of ioy and peace; and that these lightninges which are darted by the plurality of voyces of many of the gods are dangerous: if you aske mee my opinion, I thinke that the Tuscans are besotted to beleiue that *Iupiter* hath beene in suspence, or ill addressed to execute. For I pray you when hee hath darted those fires which should fall on innocent beasts, and leaue the wicked vnpunished: shall wee say that hee would not vse his greatest iustice, or that it hath not succeeded according to his minde? what was their intention when they saide this? These Wisemen pretending to bridle in the mindes of the ignorant, made them beleiue, that there was an ineuitable feare, to the end wee should dread a diuinity, that is aboue vs. It was necessary in so great intemperance and corruption of manners, that there should bee some power, against which no man should thinke himselfe able to preuaile. To the end therefore that they who addict not themselues to doe well, but for feare of strokes should bee affrighted; they established a iust iudge ouer their heads with conuenient instruments in his hand to chastice them.

CHAP. XLIII.

BVt why is that lightning, which *Iupiter* himselfe darteth, onely peaceable, and the other pernicious? Because a prince (which is signified by the name of *Iupiter*) ought of himselfe to doe good vnto his subiects without euer harming them, except his counsell be of a contrarie opinion. They that are mounted in authoritie aboue other men, learne heere, that the lightning is not darted out of heauen vpon the earth but by counsel, let them therfore call vnto themselues diuers, let them weigh their aduice, moderate their decrees, and haue this thought when they haue occasion to smite any thing: *Iupiter* contents not himselfe with his owne priuate counsaile.

The continuation of Senecaes *opinion, whereby he laboureth to excuse the opinion of the Tuscans, as touching lightning.*

CHAP. XLIIII.

IN this place neither haue they beene so vnaduised, as to thinke that *Iupiter* changed his lightnings. These are the trickes of Poeticall libertie.

There is another lightning farre more slight,
Forg'd by the CICLOPS *hands, wherin lesse fright,*
Lesse flame or wrath is put when they are framed,
And this the gods their second lightnings named.

Such an error entered not into the heads of so great learned men, as to thinke that *Iupiter* had sometimes more slighter and trifling lightnings. But they intended this to teach Princes that haue the charge to dart their lightnings against mens sinnes, that all crimes deserue not the same punishment, but that some are to be punished with extreame rigour, others suppressed by more sufferable chastisements, others by censures and aduertisements.

CHAP. XLV.

NEither beleeued they this likewise, that *Iupiter* is such a one, as we see in the Capitoll, and in other Temples, darting lightnings out of his hand, but they imagine such a *Iupiter* as the Stoickes doe, who is the keeper and protector of the world, a spirit and minde, which is the work-master and Lord of this world, to whom all names are agreeable. Wilt thou call him Destinie? Thou shalt not erre. On him depend all things, and all the Causes of causes are of him. Wilt thou name him prouidence? Thou sayest well. For his wisdome it is that prouideth for this world, to the end it might be firme and immutable for euer; and that hee should continue his course and his effects. Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou shalt not sinne; for all things haue had their beginning by him, and we liue by his spirit. Wilt thou call him the World? Thou shalt not be deceiued, because he is all that which thou seest, wholly infused into his parts, and sustaining himselfe by his vertue. The *Hetruricus* haue beene of the same opinion, and therefore

Why the Ancients attributed to Iupiter *certaine lightnings of different effects, their opinion likewise as touching* Iupiter, *setting downe diuers names according to his different effects*

fore ſaid they that *Iupiter* darted his lightnings, by reaſon that nothing is done without him.

CHAP. XLVI.

Whether Iupiter darteth his lightnings himſelfe.

WHy doth *Iupiter* paſſe by thoſe things that are to bee ſtroken, or ſtrike thoſe which he ſhould not ſtrike? Thou draweſt me into a higher diſcourſe, to which I will aſſigne a better place, and a fitter time. In the meane while I ſay this, that *Iupiter* ſendeth not down lightning: but that all things are ſo diſpoſed, that euen thoſe things which are not done by him, yet are not done without reaſon, which is onely his: Their force is his permiſſion. For although now *Iupiter* doth them not, yet is he the cauſe that they were done. He aſſiſteth not all things one after another, but he hath giuen all things their marke, their efficacie, and their cauſe.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Tuſcans diuiſion as touching lightnings, refuted.

NEither allow I their diuiſion, for they ſay that al lightnings are perpetuall or finite, or prolonged. The perpetuall are thoſe whoſe ſignification appertaineth to the whole life, comprehending not only one thing, but a ſucceſſion of all that ſhould happen from the beginning of life vntill the end. Such are the lightnings which are made at ſuch time as a man entereth into the poſſeſſion of his patrimonie, or into ſome new condition of life; or when as a Citie changeth her gouernment. The finite haue a certaine day and terme aſſigned. The prolonged are thoſe whoſe threats may bee deferred, but not wholly preuented or extinguiſhed.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The reaſon why this diuiſion is refuted.

WHat the cauſe is (I will tell you) why I conſent not in this diuiſion. For that lightning which we call perpetuall is finite, for it hath a certaine day prefixed as well as the reſt. Neither therefore are they finite, becauſe they ſignifie a long time. And that which is prolonged is limited alſo, for by their owne confeſſion, ſuch a menace is certaine vntill ſuch time as a man hath obtained delay. For they auerre that priuate lightnings extend not aboue ten yeares, and that publike cannot be deferred aboue thirtie: and by this reckoning theſe likewiſe are finite, becauſe there is a prefixed time, beyond which they may not be proroged. The terme then of all lightnings and their effects is certaine and determinate: for a man cannot comprehend in a certaine time a thing that is vncertaine. And as touching that which wee ought to conſider moſt neerely in lightnings, they ſpeake both generally and confuſedly, and they will haue vs to diſtribute the effects in ſort, as after them the Philoſopher *Attalus* and their ſcholler hath done, which is that wee ſhould regard where, when, to whom, and in what thing the lightning hath falne, what, and how great it hath beene: if I would

diſtribute

distribute all these things by parts, what should I doe but enter into an infinite number of distinctions.

CHAP. XLIX.

I Will now set downe the names of lightnings, according as *Cæcina* hath described them, and will discouer what my opinion is in these. Some (saith he) are postulatorie, whereby those sacrifices that either are intermitted, or not rightly performed are repeated. Some monitorie, whereby wee are taught what wee are to take heed of. Some pestiferous, which portend death or banishment. Some fallacious, which vnder an appearance of good, doe vs harme. They giue an vnhappie consulate to those that shall vndertake the charge, and an heritage, the purchase whereof will breed more losse then profit. Some threatning, that offer euill but in appearance only. Some murthering, which abolish the threats of precedent lightnings. Some *Attestata*, that accord with the precedent. Some vnder earthly, which are done in secret. Some ouerwhelmed, which beat vpon those things which before time were attainted and left. Some royall, that show their effects vpon a whole assemblie of people, or vpon the principall places of a free Citie, and whose signification threaten some tyrannicall inuasions into a Common-weale. The Lower, when the earth vomitteth flames of fire. The *Hospitals*, that by sacrifices draw, or (as they speake it in a more milder terme) inuite *Iupiter* vnto vs. But if he be displeased, if then he be inuited, he commeth to the great hazard of those that haue inuited him. The Auxiliarie which are likewise called *Summoned*, but that commeth for their good, that haue caused it to come.

Diuers attributes of lightning, as ridiculous as their prophane Authors, exceeding the bonds of Naturall Philosophie.

CHAP. L.

HOw farre more simple was that diuision, which *Attalus*, a man of great note, and a Philosopher of our sort, vsed, who had intermixed the discipline of the Tuscan with Grecian subtilties. Amongst lightnings, saith he, some there are that concerne vs, other some that signifie nothing, or if they signifie any thing, we know not what it is. As touching those that signifie, some of them are ioyfull, some are aduerse, and some neither aduerse nor ioyfull. Of those that are aduerse and contrarie, these are the kinds: either they portend some vnauoidable euils, or such as may be auoided, or such as may be lessened or prolonged. The ioyfull signifie either such as are permanent, or such as haue small continuance. Those that are mixed, either haue a part of good, or euill, or conuert the euill into good, or the good into euill. Those are neither fatall nor ioyfull, which signifie vnto vs some action, whereat wee ought neither to be terrified, nor reioyced: as for example, some long voyage, wherein there is neither feare, nor any thing to be hoped for.

A more moderat distinction of the Philosopher Attalus.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Of those lightnings which haue signification, and concerne vs.

VNto those lightnings I will return which haue some signification, which notwithstanding concerneth vs nothing, as if in the same yeare the same lightning that fell before falleth once more. There are lightnings likewise that haue no signification in our respect, as those wherof we know nothing, witnesse the lightnings that fall in the spacious extent of the Ocean, or in the desarts: for they haue no signification, and if they haue, it commeth not to our knowledge.

CHAP. LII.

Of the diuers effects of lightning, according to the matter it meeteth with.

YEt there remaineth somewhat for me to declare as touching the force of lightnings, which effect not euery matter according to the same manner. She breaketh and dissipateth those things most vehemently which are hardest, and sometime passeth by those things that are yeelding without any iniurie: She conflicteth more rudely with stones and Iron, and those things that are hardest, because she is constrained to make her passage thorow them with violence. So then shee openeth the passage, sparing that which is tender and hollow, although it seem to be more proper to take fire, because that in finding a passage she sheweth her selfe lesse violent. Therefore is it, as I haue said, that a man findeth siluer melted in his purse because that fire that is the purest and thinnest passeth lightly thorow the pores of the leather: but whatsoeuer it findeth solid in building she breaketh in pieces as rebellious and resisting against her. But, as I said, it rageth not after one manner, but by the kinde of euill that happeneth you may see what it is, and by the effects you shall know what lightning is. Oft-times in the same matter one and the same flash of lightning causeth different effects, as in falling vpon a tree it burneth that which is drie in it, pierceth and breaketh that which is hardest, dissipateth the barke, cleaueth the trunke, pulleth vp the roots, smoldereth and partcheth the leaues. It congealeth wine and melteth Iron and brasse.

CHAP. LIII.

Of the particular efficacy of lightning in wine.

A Marueilous thing this is, that the wine which is congealed by lightning, and afterwards returneth into his former estate, killeth or maketh those men mad that drinke thereof. Bethinking my selfe of the cause hereof, I say that there is a mortall efficacy in this fire, wherof it is very likely that some spirit remaineth in the wine which hath beene congealed and frozen. For this liquid substance could not be congealed without some meanes. Moreouer, if lightning toucheth oyle or any fat liquor, it stinketh euer afterwards; whereby it appeareth, that in this fire, so subtile and inforced against the order of nature, there is so powerfull an efficacy, that it not onely killeth that which it toucheth rudely, but also that which it attainteth with the breath thereof. Furthermore, in what place soeuer the lightning falleth men vndoubtedly smell a sent of brimstone, which beeing waighty

waightie by nature, aſtoniſheth thoſe that ſmell it often. But hereafter we will intreate of this at leiſure, and will haue (it may be) the meanes to ſhow how all things haue beene deriued from Philoſophie, the mother of Arts, which hath firſt of all ſought out the cauſes of things, and hath obſerued the effects, conferring the ends with their beginnings, what principally we ought to obſerue in the inſpection of lightnings.

CHAP. LIIII.

From the conſideration of lightnings, he returneth to theſe of thunder.

I Will now returne to *Poſſidonius* opinion. The moiſter part of the earth and terreſtiall things being on one ſide, the drier and lighter part flieth on the other. This ſerueth for a nutriment to lightnings; that vnto raines. All hot and drie exhalations aſcending and attaining into the aire, cannot keepe themſelues incloſed in clouds, but breake their priſons; whence followeth that which we call thunder. All that likewiſe which refineth it ſelfe in the aire, is dried and warmed by the ſame meanes. And this likewiſe, if it be incloſed, ſeeketh nothing elſe, but how to eſcape and breake thorow with noiſe. Sometime it eſcapeth all at once, whence proceedeth a very great thunder, ſometimes by parts, and by little and little. This ſpirit therefore expreſſeth theſe thunders, whileſt either it breaketh the clouds, or flieth by it. But this violent tumbling which the exhalation maketh in a cloud, is a moſt powerfull force to enkindle the ſame.

CHAP. LV.

What thunder is, and how it is cauſed.

THunders are nothing elſe but a ſound of the drie aire, which cannot be done, but when it is either broken, or breaketh. And if the clouds, ſaith he, be beaten one againſt another, that noiſe is made which is now in queſtion, but not vniuerſally, becauſe there is no generall conflict, but in certaine places only. Soft things yeeld no ſound, except they be ſtrucken againſt thoſe things that are hard. As a waue of the ſea maketh no noiſe, except it meet with ſome hard thing that ſtayeth it. The fire being caſt into the water maketh a noiſe in the quenching. Be it ſo: All this maketh for me, for the fire at that time maketh not the noiſe, but the aire that flieth a thwart, that which extinguiſheth the fire: and if I ſhould grant thee that fire doth it, and is extinguiſhed in the cloud, I ſay that it groweth from the exhalation and the ſhock. What then (ſaith he) may not one of theſe flitting ſtarres fall into a cloud, and be extinguiſhed therein? Let vs preſuppoſe that it may, and that it happeneth ſometimes. For the preſent we ſeeke for a naturall and continuall cauſe, not for a rare and caſuall euent. Put caſe that I acknowledge all that to be true which thou ſpeakeſt, that ſometimes fires doe ſhine after it hath thundered, reſembling ſhooting and falling ſtarres, yet is not this the cauſe of thunder, but this hapneth, becauſe it hath thundered. What is fulguration? *Clidemus* denieth that it is a fire, maintaining this that it is but an apparance: euen as by night, after the ſtroake of the oare we ſee ſome brightneſſe. This example is not anſwerable, for this ſhining appeareth in the water, that which is made in the aire flaſheth and iſſueth forth.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

The definition of thunder, and whence it is caused.

HERACLITVS thinketh that fulguration is but an effect of fire, that beginneth to enkindle it selfe, and a first flame as yet vncertaine, that now is extinguished, and then lighted againe: these did the Ancients call *Fulgetra*, that is to say, Fulgurations, but wee call them thunders in the plurall number, but the Ancients called it thunder, or a sound. This haue I found in *Cicynna*, a man very eloquent, who had had some reputation for his eloquence, except *Ciceroes* shadow had obscured him. The Ancients haue vsed this word, making it shorter by a syllable in the midst, which now we make long. For as we say, *Splendere*, that is, to shine, we say likewise *Fulgere*, that is, to lighten: but they were accustomed to pronounce the second syllable short, and to say, *Fulgere*, to signifie the sudden breaking out of light from the clouds.

CHAP. LVII.

Senecaes opinion in this point.

ASkest thou me what mine opinion is? for vntill this present I haue done nothing but discouer other mens opinions: I will tell it thee. Fulguration is made, when as a sudden brightnesse spreadeth it selfe at large, which happeneth at such time as the aire by subtiliation of the clouds is conuerted into fire, finding no fodder to raise it more higher. I thinke thou wilt not wonder, if either motion extenuate the aire, or extenuation enkindle it. In this sort a bullet of leade violently shot out of a peece, mollifieth and melteth it selfe, and the shock of the aire serueth it in stead of fire. And therefore it is for the most part that lightnings are made during the Summer time, because the season is ordinarily hot, and fire is caused more easily by the attrition of hot things. Fulguration and lightning are caused after the same manner, the one shineth, the other is darted. But that hath a lighter force, and lesse nutriment. And to let you know mine opinion in a word, lightning is but an intended fulguration. What, as therefore a hot and smoakie vapour mounteth from the earth into the aire, and hath sometimes whirled it selfe amongst the clouds, it finally issueth forth with violence; if it be feeble, then followeth fulguration. But when as fulgurations haue more matter, and burne more violently, they are conuerted into lightnings, and fall vnto the earth.

CHAP. LVIII.

Why the lightning appeareth at once, and is not extended from high to low, in the forme of a colume of fire.

SOme there are that thinke that the lightning mounteth againe, some others say that it staieth after it hath consumed that which nourisheth it, and that the stroake is enfeebled. But why doth lightning appeare all at once, and extendeth not it selfe from high to low, in the forme of a pillar of fire? Because she is wonderfull light, and of a swift motion, so that at one time she breaketh thorow the clouds, enflameth the aire, and then when her motion ceaseth, the flame is extinguished. For the course of the exhalation is not continuall, so as the fire may extend it selfe,

ſelfe, but when as by violence he is enkindled the more, hee taketh his carier to eſcape. Being at libertie, and the combate finiſhed: for the ſame cauſe ſometimes it extendeth it ſelfe as farre as the earth: ſometimes it is diſſolued, if any the leaſt reſiſtance doe preſſe it. Why falleth this fire obliquely? By reaſon that it is compoſed of the aire, which is oblique and crooked, and becauſe that nature draweth the fire on high, and violence forceth it downward, it beginneth to be crooked. Sometimes nature and force encounter, as it were, equally, in ſo much as the fire mounteth and is drawne downwards. Why for the moſt part are the tops of mountaines ſtricken? Becauſe they are oppoſed againſt the clouds, and the fire falling from the heauens, muſt needs paſſe by them.

CHAP. LIX.

I Vnderſtand now what long ſince thou haſt deſired, and what thou demandeſt. I had rather (ſayeſt thou) not know lightnings, then feare them. Learne therefore, of whom thou wilt, how they are made. For mine owne part, I take more pleaſure to know how I may not feare them, then how I may define them. I will follow thee whither thou calleſt me. For in all things, and in all ſpeeches, we ought to intermix ſomewhat that is holeſome and profitable. When as we ſound into the ſecrets of Nature, when as we entreate of diuine things the mind muſt be freed from all paſſions, and ſetled likewiſe in ſome ſort. The moſt learned men, (and they that are continually exerciſed in this ſtudie) haue great need to doe: not onely to ſaue our heads from thoſe ſtroakes which are on euery ſide aimed againſt vs. But to the end we may ſuffer them conſtantly and patiently. Inuincible we may be; vnaſſaulted we cannot be; although that in the meane while there is ſome hope that we may be vnſhaken. How ſayeſt thou? Contemne thou death, and all thoſe things that lead vnto death, whether they be warres, or ſhipwracks, or biting of wilde beaſts, or waight of raines, tumbling downe with a ſudden fall: Can they doe any more then diuide the bodie and ſoule? no diligence can preuaile againſt theſe things, no felicitie tame them, no power auoid them, Fortune diſpoſeth diuers things diuerſly, but death adiourneth all perſons indifferently; whether the gods be either pleaſed or diſpleaſed, we muſt die. And ſince there is no hope to eſcape, let vs gather the greater courage. Thoſe creatures that are moſt cowardly, whom Nature hath framed vnto flight, endeuour with their weak bodies to worke forth a paſſage, when as none appeareth. There is no enemie more dangerous then he, who hemmed in on euery ſide, growes deſperate and reſolute: for neceſſitie maketh vs alwayes more violent then valour doth. He that deſpaireth of his life, performeth the nobleſt exploits, or at leaſt-wiſe ſuch as may equall the actions of the moſt reſolute. Think that we haue bin (for indeed ſo we are) betrayed and deliuered vnto death. This is true (my *Lucillius*) we are all of vs reſerued to death. For how long time, thinkeſt thou, ſhall all this people, that thou ſeeſt, endure? Nature will adiorne and burie this in a little time: we need not to diſpute of the thing, but of the day; onely we muſt come thither, either ſooner or later. What then? thinkeſt thou not that he is more fearefull then feare, more fooliſh then folly it ſelfe, that maketh long purſuits, and entreateth ſome delay of his death? Wouldeſt thou not iudge him a recreant (that being condemned to loſe his head amongſt diuers others, and alreadie within the executioners hands, that would

Of the true vſe of this part of naturall Philoſophie which intreateth of lightnings, conſiſting on the contempt of death, whereof he entreateth amply, and ſheweth that wee ought as little to feare lightning, as any other accidents that endanger life. Conſtancie maketh worldly caſualtie nothing.

O that this Pagans thought were our nobler Chriſtians meditation, they would not then ſo proudly ouerlooke the poore, who are one with them in the graue, and like to be greater then they in heauen.

onely entreate this fauour, that he might be beheaded the laſt? Thus doe we: we account it a great matter to die lateſt. All of vs are condemned, and moſt iuſtly condemned to a capitall puniſhment. For (which is greateſt comfort to thoſe that are to ſuffer the moſt extremities) all mens cauſe is one. If the Magiſtrate had pronounced a ſentence againſt vs, euery one ſhould ſee vs march forward and ſubmit our ſelues vnto the Hang-man. What matter is it, whether by commandement, or of our owne accord we march vnto death? O how little ſenſe haſt thou, and how ſmall conſideration of thy frailtie, if thou feareſt death when it thundereth? Doth thy life returne againe by thy feare? Shalt thou liue if the lightning touch thee not? The ſword will hit thee, the ſtone will ſtrike thee, the feuour will ſhake thee. Lightning is not the greateſt, but the faireſt of thy dangers. But truly thou ſhould be badly dealt withall, if that infinite celeritie ſhould preuent the ſence of thy death, if thy death ſhould afterwards be expiated with ſacrifice. If thou alſo at ſuch time as thou yeeldeſt vp the ghoſt, art a ſigne not of a vaine, but of ſome great thing. Truely it is a great iniurie for thee to be burned with lightning. But thou feareſt when the heauen thundreth, thou quakeſt when the clouds break, and expireſt as often as brightneſſe appeareth. What then? Thinkeſt thou it to be a matter more honeſt, to die for feare, then vpon lightning? Lift vp thy head, then I pray thee, more boldly againſt the menaces of heauen, and when the world ſhall be all on fire, thinke thou that thou haſt nothing to loſe in ſo generall and famous a death. If thou thinkeſt that this confuſion of clouds, this diſcord of tempeſts, this conflict in the aire is prepared againſt thee, and that this great collection of fires conſpireth thy ruine: comfort thy ſelfe likewiſe by this thought, that thy death is of ſome great importance. But thou ſhalt not haue time or place to bethinke thee of this, the very caſualtie it ſelfe cauſeth feare. And amongſt the reſt, this is one commoditie thereof, that it preuenteth thine expectation. For neuer did any man feare lightning, except he that hath eſcaped it.

The End of the ſecond Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The third Booke.

Which intreateth vpon the waters.

THE PREFACE.

Seneca in this his Preface yeeldeth a noble reason why in these his retired years he addicteth himselfe to the serious studies, which is his care he hath to instruct posteritie.

AS I am not ignorant, most vertuous *Lucillius*, that in my retyred yeares I lay the foundations of mighty matters, so haue I resolued with my selfe to circuit the world, and to discouer the causes and secrets of the same, and afterwards to publish them, and to instruct others in them. When shall I attaine so much? When shall I gather together things so disseuered? When shall I cleerely conceiue those things that are hidden? Olde age hangs vpon my backe, and reproacheth me with my lost time that was spent in vaine occupations; so much the more therefore let vs presse forward, and let labour recompence the losses of a life so ill imployed. Let vs ioyne night with day. Let vs cut off our occupations in worldly affaires, and let the master take no more care of them, let the minde be wholly awakened in it selfe, and at least wise in this later time settle himselfe in contemplation and knowledge of himselfe: which he shall doe if he draw himselfe to account, and measure euery day the shortnesse of time, he shall recompence by diligent vse of the remainder of life, all that which is lost of former time. It is a great contentment to the minde, when as being displeased and ashamed of the time that is past, he addicteth himselfe to the exercises of vertue. It pleaseth me to crie out, and publish this verse of the famous Poet,

We lend our haughty mindes more prouder wings,
And in small time contriue most mighty things.

Thus would I say were I a childe, and thus were I a young man: for there is no

time that is not ſcant enough for ſo mightie things. But now we haue retired our ſelues to a matter both ſerious, graue, and almoſt infinite, and we debate therein on the afternoones. Let vs therefore doe as they are wont, who ſet forward on long iournies, who recompence their late riſing with ſpeedy footing. Let vs make haſt, & without excuſing our ſelues by age, let vs manage this price of buſines, which though I know not whether I may compaſſe, yet am I aſſured that it is great; my mind increaſeth as often as he intendeth and thinks on the greatnes of my attempt, and buſieth not himſelfe about the time, but vpon his deliberation. Som men haue ſpent themſelues in diſ-jeſting & ſetting down the acts of forraine Kings, and what the people eyther ſuffered or attempted together. How much better is it to reforme our owne infirmities, then to diſcouer other mens vnto poſterity? How far better is it, to celebrate the workes of the gods, then the thefts of *Philip*, *Alexander*, & ſom others? who renowned for ouerthrowing diuers nations, were no leſſe plagues amongſt mortall men, then inundations that drown vp euery plaine, or fires which ſhould confound and burn vp the greater part of men and beaſts? They write how *Haniball* paſſed the Alpes, in what manner he brought the war into Italie, that was fortified by the victories he had obtained in Spaine; how after the ruine of Carthage (his affairs and fortunes growing deſperate) he obſtinately ſolicited Kings, offering himſelfe to make warre againſt the Romans, yea, though it were without an army: how he ceaſed not, being ſtrooken with age, to ſeeke out warre in euery angle of the world, ſo well could he be without his countrey, and ſo little could he endure to be without an enemie. How farre better is it to enquire what is to be done, then what is done, and to teach thoſe that haue ſubmitted themſelues to fortune, that ſhe giueth nothing but incertainties, and that all, whatſoeuer ſhee hath fleeteth away like the winde? For ſhe cannot ſtay in one place, ſhe taketh pleaſure to ſubſtitute ſorrow in ſtead of ioy, and to confound them together. Let no man therefore be confident in proſperity, nor diffident in aduerſitie. The affaires of the world haue their changes, why art thou proude? Thou knoweſt not where theſe things that lift thee thus aloft intend to leaue thee: they ſhall haue theirs, but not thine end; why lyeſt thou on the ground? thou art falne to the loweſt, it is now time for thee to ſtand vpright: aduerſities are changed to the beſt, deſires to the worſt. In thinking vpon the reſolution of things, it is good to caſt our eye, not onely on particular houſes (which a little winde ouerthroweth) but alſo on publique eſtates. There are Kingdoms that haue raiſed themſelues from very ſlight beginnings, aboue thoſe that were their commanders. The auncient Monarchies decayed when they were at their higheſt: innumerable haue thoſe gouernements been that haue been broken by others. At this day as much as euer, God raiſeth vp ſome eſtates, and humbleth others: neyther doth he it in a milder ſort, but in ſuch manner he diſperſeth them, that there remaineth no appearance of their re-eſtabliſhment. We beleeue theſe things to be great, becauſe we our ſelues are ſmall. Many things haue their greatneſſe, not according to their nature, but according to our humilitie: what thinke we to be the principall thing in humane life? It is not to haue couerd the back of the Ocean with our ſhips, nor to haue ſetled our confines on the ſhoares of the red ſea, neyther for want of finding out land to haue ſought the vnknown Iſles, in forraging and ſpoyling the whole world: But it is to haue beheld all theſe things in thought, to haue conquered our vices (which is the greateſt victorie of all others). Innumerable are thoſe men that haue had Cities and Nations vnder their gouernment, but few there are that haue beene Lords

For the one teacheth preuention, the other amongſt good men remorſe.

Lords of themselues: what is the principall matter? To raise a mans minde aboue the threats and promises of fortune; to thinke nothing worthy to be hoped for: for what is there that is worth the wishing for? As often times as thou shalt giue ouer the contemplation of diuine things, and haue recourse vnto humane, thou shalt see as little as they doe, who forsake the brightnesse of a cleere sunne, and enter into a thicke shadow and darkenesse. What is the chiefest matter? To be able to endure aduersities with a constant minde, to suffer whatsoeuer it be that happeneth, as if thou wert willing it should happen. For thou should doe no lesse if thou thoughtest that all things were done by Gods ordinance. To weepe, to complaine, and lament, is a kinde of reuolt. What is the chiefest? A minde that is confirmed and confident against calamities, not onely an aduersary but a mortall enemy of dissolution, a minde neyther greedie of anger, neither flying it, that knoweth how, not to expect but to make fortune, and to march forth against both of these both dreadlesse and vnconfused; a minde that is neyther shaken by her tumult, nor blasted with her brightnesse. What is the chiefest? Not to entertaine euill counsailes into our mindes, to lift cleane hands vnto heauen, to require no good that should be deriued vnto thee eyther by one mans gift, or another mans losse. To wish that which a man may do without any other mans preiudice, namely for a good conscience. And as touching those other things (which the children of this world prize so much) to respect them (although some misfortune should beare away both house and substance) as things that must issue by that place where they entered. What is the chiefest? To raise the minde farre aboue all casualties, to remember that thou art a man, that whether thou be happie, thou must know that this will not continue long, or vnhappy, thou mayest know that thou art not so, except thou thinke thy selfe so. What is the chiefest? Aboue all things to haue a free minde: it is not the lawe of the Quirites, but the libertie of nature that giueth this. But that man is free, that hath discharged himselfe from himselfe. To be subiect to a mans passions is a continuall seruitude, from which it is impossible to escape, a slauerie that presseth with an equall waight, as well by day as by night, without intermission and without relieue. To be slaue vnto a mans selfe is the seruitude of seruitudes; which is easily dismissed if thou desist from importuning thy selfe in many things, if thou ceasest to haue a wil to bribe thy selfe, if thou set before thy eyes thy weakenesse and age, and say vnto thy selfe, Why am I mad? Why puffe I? Why sweat I? Why change I places? Why haunt I the courts and places of conference? I haue neyther neede of much, nor of long time. Moreouer, it shall be good to consider the nature of things: this will first of all cause vs to retire our selues from shamefull matters, and afterwards will separate the bodie very far from the minde, which should be great and sublime. Furthermore those subtile discourses which we haue made in our selues, shall not make vs worse in open assemblies. But there is nothing more open then these wholsome counsailes, by which we may learne to bridle our vices and furies, which we daily beleeue, but giue ouer neuer.

How true this is the greatest wisemen haue testified, the wisest Philosophers, the greatest Kings haue confirmed to their disgrace.

Worthy contemplation, O had the light of grace accompanied these lights of nature.

CHAP. I.

Of the originall of waters, and their causes.

NOw let vs enter into the consideration of waters, and examine after what meanes they are made; eyther as *Ouid* sayth,

Cleare was the fountaine bubling from the sand;
Daining with siluer streames the fruitfull land.

Or as *Virgil* sayth,

Where by nine channels with a roaring noyse,
The wrathfull sea breakes through the mountain hie
And drownes the fruitfull pastures that are nie.

Or as I finde in my deerest *Iunior*.

And from Sicilian springs,
ELEVS *drawes his wings.*

How the sea furnisheth them.

If any reason can discouer their course; how so many huge floudes fleete along both day and night; why the one swell and waxe proud through winter waters, other when as the rest are at the lowest, are at their highest. In the meane space let vs separate *Nilus* from the rest, that hath a peculiar & singular nature: wee will reserue a day for him, but now wee will onely intreat of common waters both cold and hote. In which wee are to enquire whether they spring so of their owne natures, or whether they haue other causes. Of the rest likewise wee will discourse, which are eyther famous for their sauour, or for any other particular profite: for some helpe the eyes, some the nerues, some heale desperate and inueterate sicknesses that are giuen ouer by the Physitions. Some there are that heale vlcers, some being drunke, fortifie the internall parts, and remedy the infirmities of the lungs and other inward vessels. Some restrayne and stop bloud: in briefe, they are no lesse different in their vse, then in their sauour.

Their diuers effects.

CHAP. II.

What their diuersity and taste is.

ALL waters are eyther standing, or flow, or are collected, or haue diuers veines, some are sweete, some are various in taste, other some harsh or salt, or fitte for medicine: of which, wee say, some are of brimstone, some of yron, and some of allome. Their sauour sheweth what their property is. They haue besides these many other differences, first in respect of touch, being eyther colde or hote, then in regard of waight, being all either light or heauy. Againe, in respect of colour, some there are that are pure, some troubled, blew and shining. Likewise in regard of their effect and wholesomnesse, for some are healthsome and profitable, others are deadly, and some there are that conuert into stone. Some are subtill and thin, others, thicke, fatte, and oyly; some nourish, some passe by without helping him any wayes that drinketh of them, some being drunke cause fecundity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of their ſituation.

THe poſition of the place is the cauſe why eyther the water ſtandeth or floweth; it runneth when it paſſeth by ſteepe and bending places, in the plaine it is ſtill and ſtanding: ſometimes by a contrary wind it is driuen and cauſed to mount. Sometimes it is gathered together, and runneth not: It is engroſſed by the meanes of ſhowres, and is naturall in reſpect of her ſourſe, yet is there no cauſe to the contrary but that the water may ſpring and bee multiplied in one place. Which we obſerue in the lake Fucine into which all thoſe waters are deriued that fall from the neigbouring mountaines: Beſides this, great and many hidden waters it containeth, which obſerue their colour, although the winter floudes flow into them.

CHAP. IIII.

Whence iſſue ſo many waters as wee ſee.

FIrſt of all therefore let vs enquire, how the earth bee ſufficient to continue the courſe of riuers, from whence there iſſueth ſo much water: wee wonder that the ſeas receiue not any encreaſe, by reaſon of ſo many riuers that diſcharge themſelues into her. And no leſſe wonderfull is it, that the earth feeleth no alteration and damage by thoſe ſo many waters that iſſue from it. What is it that hath ſo filled it, that ſhee can diſcharge ſo much out of his ſecrets, to furniſh at all times? what reaſon ſoeuer wee haue deliuered of Riuers, the ſame will we propoſe as touching brookes and fountaines.

CHAP. V.

If the earth giueth and receiueth the waters.

DIuers thinke that the earth receiueth againe into her whatſoeuer waters ſhee hath ſent out, and that the ſeas encreaſe not hereby, becauſe they conuert not that which floweth into them to their vſe, but deliuer it out incontinently: for the ſea-water by an vnknowne way paſſeth thorow the earth, and diſcouereth it ſelfe againe, and then ſecretly returneth, and is ſtrained, and depraued in his paſſages, & being beaten by the diuers ingates, and cauities of the earth, laies aſide her ſaltneſſe, and changeth the prauity of her ſauor, by paſſage through ſo many different channels, and at laſt becommeth ſweet water.

CHAP. VI.

If raines be the efficient cauſe of waters.

SOme thinke that whatſoeuer raine waters the earth entertaineth, do afterwardes fall againe into the riuers. And to ſtrengthen their opinion, they ſay, that there are very few riuers in thoſe countries where it ſeldome rayneth. And therefore ſay they, the deſerts of *Æthiopia* are drie, and that there are few fountaines to bee found within the heart of *Africa*, becauſe the nature of the ayre is extreamely hote, and for

for the moſt part it is alwayes Summer. Theſe places then that haue neyther herbes nor trees, but are ſandy are very little, or neuer watered with raines, which if they fall they ſodainely drinke vp. But contrariwiſe it is well knowne that *Germany* and *France* and *Italie* their neighbour abound in ſprings and riuers, becauſe they haue a moiſt aire, and a ſummer, that is not without raine.

CHAP. VII.

The refutation of the former opinion.

THou ſeeſt that many thinges maybee vrged againſt this opinion: Firſt, I who am a very diligent digger of vineyeards, affirme this vnto thee, that there is no raine ſo great that wetteth the earth aboue tenne foot deepe. All the humidity conſumeth it ſelfe in the vpper cruſt thereof, and deſcendeth not to the lower parts: how then can the raine furniſh the riuers with water when as it doth but wette the vpper part of the earth. The greater part hereof is carried into the ſea by the channels of riuers. The earth drinketh vp a very little, and keepeth it not, for eyther ſhee is drie and conſumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refuſing that which the heauen too lauiſhly powreth vpon her. And therefore riuers increaſe not vpon the firſt raines, by reaſon that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreouer, are there not riuers that iſſue out of rockes and mountaines? What increaſe ſhould the raynes giue them that ſtreame along the rockes, and find not any earth to ſtay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in thoſe pits which are digged two or three hundreth foot deepe, there are found ſources of liuing waters in a depth, whether the water cannot penetrate; ſo that you may know that there is no celeſtiall or reſerued humour there but onely pure and ſpringing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of thoſe that alleadge that ſome fountaines are ſeene to caſt out water on the toppes of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, conſidering that all raine-water falleth downewards.

CHAP. VIII.

That the waters flow from ſome hidden places vnder the earth.

DIuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vaſt mariſhes extend themſelues, beſides great and nauigable lakes; and as the ſeas are ſtretched out thorow the huge ſpaces of earth, and are infuſed into the vallies, ſo the interior parts of the earth abound in ſweet waters, and that they flow no leſſe then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather ſo much the larger, the more the earth ſtretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the riuers proceede and are deriued, which why wondreſt thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no ſenſe of them when they are added to them.

CHAP. IX.

SOme like of this cauſe: They ſay that the earth hath ſome ſecret cauities in her, and much ſpirits which neceſſarily waxe cold, being oppreſſed with a waightie obſcuritie, at length becomming ſlow and without motion, and finally changeth it ſelfe into water. Euen as the change of aire is the cauſe of ſhadow amongſt vs, ſo in the earth the aire produceth the water. It cannot long time continue aboue vs, becauſe it is waightie and ſtill. Sometimes it is attenuated by the Sunne, ſometimes it is diſſipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we ſee, that there are great ſpaces betweene raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwaies the ſame, perpetuall obſcuritie, continuall cold, vnexerciſed thickneſſe, alwayes therefore will theſe yeeld cauſes to fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable, yet all that ſhee ſhall thruſt forth is thickned, becauſe it is not conceiued by a pure and free aire, and conſequently is ſodainly conuerted into water.

If aire being conuerted to water vnder earth be the efficient cauſe of waters.

CHAP. X.

YOu ſee now the firſt cauſes, how waters are bred vnder the earth: Adde hereunto alſo if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore ſhould not earth bee made of water, and water of earth? which if it bee changeable into any thing, may bee changed into water, nay moſt of all into it. Both of them reſemble one an other, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why ſhould not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers: But when thou ſeeſt how great they are, conſider againe from how great a thing they come. Againe, thou wondreſt that although ſome float inceſſantly, and others flie with a maruailous ſwiftneſſe, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou ſay, that whereas the windes impell the aire, yet notwithſtanding it faileth in no part being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turning by a ſodaine and ſpacious motion through this vaſt extent of the heauens? Art thou not amaſed to ſee that there is not one drop of water left, after ſo many billowes that haue beaten againſt the rocks, and ſhores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it ſelfe. The elements doe nothing elſe but turne and returne. That which the one looſeth, the other getteth: And nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare leaſt if there were too little on the one ſide, and too much on the other, the world ſhould fall into ruine. All things are in all things, not only the aire paſſeth into the element of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will grow thick, and hard: The aire is changed into water, yet in ſuch ſort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is ſhee neuer leſſe without water then without aire. And therefore the paſſage through both the one and the other is more eaſie, becauſe ſhee is alreadie intermixed with thoſe elements through which ſhee muſt paſſe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this ſhee expreſſeth. Shee hath the aire likewiſe, which is thickned by the ſhadow of winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: Shee is changeable into humour, and vſeth her owne nature.

Whether water proceede from the earth.

Of the tranſmutation of one element into an other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Why Riuers and fountaines are dried vp sometimes.

WHat, therefore saiest thou, if the causes be perpetuall whereby Riuers and fountaines rise, why are they somtimes dried and sometimes issue from those places where they were not? Oftimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut of these issues, and by restrayning the waters enforce them to seeke new passages, yea and to enforce their way or else to breake forth their way in an other place by reason of some earthquake. It falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Riuers that haue lost their bed first spread themselues, and afterwards hauing lost their way do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called Corycus, in which, after an earthquake there brake forth diuers fountaines that were not discouered before. But some thinke that by diuers other intervenient accidents the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to bee found in the mountayne Hemus, but when as the French men being besieged by *Cassander* had retyred themselues into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to bee consumed in nourishing them beganne to spread it selfe. The like, saith he, hapned also about Magnesia. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed are fullest of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dryed vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neare: but the force of Riuers springeth from beneath and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped deserue more humour, not only to maintayne their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith that about Arcadia, which was a Citie in Creete, the Fountaines and Lakes dryed vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceased to be manured: but after it beganne to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this dryenesse they thinke that the earth is hardned, and that remayning vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence commeth it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Desarts and those places that are no wayes put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in diuers Countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue beene found in them; and that other some haue not begunne to make shew of sources, because they haue not beene husbanded. For by this shalt thou vnderstand that it is not raine-water that presently deriueth from a fountayne those vast flouds, that are fit to beare great ships of burthen, because that both in winter and sommer these flouds haue their equall course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a Riuer, that streameth and floteth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and bancks. The raines make not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP. XII.

What is the true cause of Riuers.

LEt vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more nearly, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning if thou consider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abundance of perpetuall water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the cause of a Riuer. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you also to answere me how aire or earth is made? if there be foure elements a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wondrest thou that so great a portion of Nature may alwaies spread somthing out of it selfe; Euen as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the winde be a flowing aire, euery Riuer is a flowing water. I haue giuen him sufficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

CHAP. XIII.

The opinion of Thales *as touching water.*

WAter, as *Thales* saith, is the strongest of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the first, because that all things haue beene created of water. For we likewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into himselfe; which vanishing and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Doest thou wonder that Riuers may alwaies issue from this Element, which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and so placed, that it might suffer both to produce flouds, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for hee saith that the globe of the earth is sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctuateth in his mobilitie, and such time as he is said to tremble, it is not therfore to be wondred at: that there is sufficient water to make Riuers, considering that all the world is in water. But hisse away and contemne this old opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine creuises into this world, and worketh out a pompe.

CHAP. XIIII.

The opinion of the Egyptians as touching the number of the elements.

THe Egyptians made foure elements, and then of euery one of them two male and female. They suppose the aire to bee the male because it is winde, female because it is obscure and still. They call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flame; feminine, because it shineth without hurting by touching. The stronger earth they call male, as for example, stones, and rocks: they assigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

How and from whence the waters proceed.

WHence is the Sea? From the beginning it was ſo made, hee hath vaines whereby he is impelled, and floweth. As the way of the ſea is vaſt and hidden, ſo is that of the milder waters, which no courſe of any riuer whatſoeuer may drie vp. The reaſon of the forces of the ſame is hidden. There iſſueth no more from it then there is ſuperfluitie; we approue ſome of theſe opinions, but conſider beſides theſe, that which enſueth. I conſent that the earth is gouerned by Nature, and that it hath ſome reſemblance with our bodies, wherein there are vaines and arteries, the one to containe the bloud, the other the ſpirit. In the earth likewiſe there are ſuch waies, whereby the water runneth, and others, whereby the winde whirleth, which Nature hath ſo formed according to the reſemblance of our bodies, that our Anceſtors haue called them vaines, which are the ſources of waters. But as in vs, beſides the vaines, there are diuers ſorts of humors, either neceſſarie, or ſuperfluous and ſtincking. The braines for the head, the marrow for the bones, the muskles, the excrements of the eyes, the nerues in the ioynts to procure a more eaſie motion: ſo are there diuers ſorts of humiditie found in the earth. Some being ripened, are hardened as mettals, amongſt which auarice hath digged vp gold and ſiluer. There are others likewiſe which are changed into ſtone. In ſome places the earth and water melt themſelues, as we ſee in *Bitumen*, a clammie, limie, and pitchie ſubſtance, and in others. This is the cauſe of waters that are bred according to the ordinance of Nature. But as in our bodies, ſo oftentimes in the earth the humours are corrupted, either a ſtroake, or ſome ſhaking, or the age of the place, or cold, or heate offence Nature: ſo a ſulphurous earth will draw a certaine humour, which ſometimes will continue long, ſometimes little. Euen as therefore in our bodies when a vaine is opened, the bloud floweth ſo long, vntill there be no more, or vntill the orifice of the pricke be ſhut, and hath a cicatriſe; or in any other ſort the bloud be ſtopped: in ſuch ſort in the earth, when the vaines of the ſame are open, the brooks or riuers ſpread themſelues. That only is to be conſidered how great the orifice is, and how the water is conſumed: ſometimes it is dried vp by ſome impediment, ſometimes it vniteth it ſelfe, as it were, in a cicatriſe, and followeth that way which ſhe hath made: ſometimes this maſſe of earth, which, as wee ſaid, is immutable, ceaſeth to conuert the humiditie into nutriment: ſometimes the conduits that are dried are filled againe, either in aſſembling their owne forces, or gathering it from others. For oft-times thoſe things that are void, being ſet neere vnto thoſe things that are full, draw the humor from them, which paſſeth eaſily into another thing. Oftentimes the earth drieth it ſelfe, and afterwards becommeth moiſt. The ſame falleth out vnder earth, which happeneth in the clouds, that the earth thickeneth her ſelfe, and engendereth an humidity ſo waightie, that ſhe can no longer containe it. Oftentimes ſhe gathereth a thin and diſperſed liquor like vnto dew, which is gathered from diuers places into one. Thoſe Maſters that make fountaines, call it the ſweat of the earth, becauſe that certaine droppes are expreſſed thorow the ſtraitneſſe of the place, or are drawne by cunning. In this place there needeth much humiditie for a little ſource. But as touching the greater riuers, they proceed from very great cauſes and conceptions, ſometimes they flow mildely, if the water hath onely carried her ſelfe by her owne waight: ſometimes with vehemencie and great noiſe, if the aire be intermixed and puſh it forth.

Diuers humidities in the earth, as in our bodies.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the flux and reflux of some fountaines, and the encrease and decrease of some riuers in certain seasons.

BVt why are some fountaines for sixe houres space full, and sixe houres drie. It were but labour lost to name all those riuers which swell for diuers monthes, and are small for certaine other. It is not now needfull to seeke out a reason for euery one in particular, since I may yeeld the same reason for all riuers in generall. Euen as the quartan ague commeth at an houre, the gout hath a certaine terme, and purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth his critique day, and female produceth her fruit in a prefixed time: so the waters haue their pauses both to ebbe and flow. But some spaces are lesse, and therefore more notable, some greater and no lesse certaine. Why should a man wonder hereat, when as thou seest the order of things disposed by degrees, according to assignations. The Winter hath alwaies kept his course. The Summer is warmed in due time. The changes of Autumne and Spring obserue their vsuall customes: both the Solstice and Æquinoctium haue reference to their dayes. Vnder earth the Lawes of Nature are lesse knowne vnto vs, yet are they not lesse certaine. Below, thou seest as much vnder earth as aboue. For there are there, most spacious dens, infinite and great retreates, and large spaces betweene the mountaines that are hanged heere and there. There are a number of hollowes and bottomlesse pits that haue swallowed vp whole Cities, and haue hidden strange ruines in their depthes. These caues are full of aire, (for there is nothing void in the vniuers) and in spacious and obscure pooles, likewise, there breed certaine creatures (although confused and deformed) as if engendred in a blind and fat aire, and in waters ouergrowne with mud, diuers of which are blinde as Moales, and Rats, that are bred vnder ground, who want light, because they haue no need thereof. From thence likewise, as *Theophrastus* thinketh, fishes are drawne forth in some places.

CHAP. XVII.

After some digression he taunteth the vnbridled vanitie of dissolute men of his time, in respect of their fish.

THere are many things in this place which come vnto thy minde, which a man may terme after a merrie sort, both incredulous and fabulous, that a man should goe and fish with his pick-axe, and not with nets and hookes. I expect that some one should goe a fishing in the sea. But why may not fishes as well haunt vpon the earth, as we trauerse the seas? In the end wee will change our abode. Doest thou wonder at that which I haue spoken? How farre more incredible are the workes of excesse and dissolution, as often as she list to falsifie and surmount Nature? Fishes swimme in the chamber, and vnder the very table the fish is taken, that is dressed and serued in presently to the table. A Barbel newly taken is not delicate enough, if it dieth not in their hands that are inuited to dinne. They are shut vp, serued in, and shewed in pots of glasse, at which time men take pleasure in their colour, when they are readie to die, which is changed diuersly, when as the fish beginneth to waxe weake, and beateth her selfe to death by little and little. Some they kill in *Garum*, or pickle, and dresse them liuing. Whence are those then that thinke it impossible that a fish should liue vnder the earth, and be digged out, and not taken? How incredible would this seeme

vnto them, that a fish swimmes in pickle, and that it was not killed for supper, but in the middest of supper, and made much sport, and fed the eyes before it satisfied the belly.

CHAP. XVIII.

He continueth his reproofe against mens excesse.

LEt vs giue ouer this dispute, and suffer me to censure this excesse. There is nothing more faire, sayest thou, then to see a Barbel die. At such time as she strugleth for life, first there appeareth a rednesse, and afterwards she is couered all with palenesse, which are equally varied, and the face of the colour is vncertaine betwixt life and death. O long idlenesse of sleepie and sluggish dissolution: too late hath she beene awakened, too late hath she knowne, that she was depriued and defrauded of so great a good. Yet fisher-men enioyed this so great and goodly spectacle, hauing the meanes to see such a fish dead and sodden for their table. We wondered to see them so daintie, that they would not touch the fish, except it were taken the same day, which as they said, should taste of the sea it selfe. Therefore were they carried in poste, and in euery streete whole companies made way for rippiers, that puffing and crying out as they ranne, to make way. But to what height is excesse growne vnto? That fish that is caught and killed to day is reputed rotten. I will not trust thee with a matter of so great importance, I will haue it brought me aliue, and I will see it die. The stomackes of the belly-gods are seazed with this loathing, that they cannot taste a fish, except they haue seene it swimming, and dying at their banquets. The more that excesse and furious desires of superfluities made them ingenious, the more also did their furie contemning all vsuall matters, inuent daily some new subtiltie and magnificence. We haue heard it spoken, that in times past, that the Barbel that was taken amongst rockes, and in stony places, was a daintie dish. But now we heare them say that there is nothing more pleasing, then to see a Barbel die. Giue mee the glasse-bodie into my hands, that I may see it leape and quiuer. When it hath been much and long time praised, it is suddenly taken out of that cleere fish-poole, then euery one as he is cunninger shewes his opinion. See how this rednes appeareth more tinctured then Vermelion. Behold what vains he discouereth on his sides, you would say his belly were of bloud? What cleare and blew colour hath he discouered at one time. Now he stretched out himselfe, and becommeth pale and of one colour. But amongst all these deuisers, you shall finde none of them that will sit by his friend that lies a dying, no man will haue the heart to see his father yeeld vp the ghost, although he hath wished his death heartily. Who is he amongst all these gourmands, that followeth a dead man of his family to the fire. He will abandon his parents and friends at the last houre, yet notwitstanding they assemble themselues together to see a dying fish? For in their opinion there is nothing more faire. I cannot chuse, but gird at them sometimes, and vse some tart and rude termes in respect of these men, who when there is any question of kitchin-worke, are not content with their teeth, throats, and bellies to feed their excesse, except they surfet with their eyes.

CHAP. XIX.

BVt to returne vnto my purpose, take this for a certaine argument, that in the hollow places of the earth, there is a great abundance of hidden waters that breed much corrupt and muddy fish, which if at any time they breake forth, bring with them an immeasurable troope of fishes horrible to sight, and filthy and vnwholesome in taste; truely at such time as a great quantity of this water is sued out of the earth in the country of *Caria*, neere to the City of *Lorina*: all they died whosoeuer did eate of those fishes that were drawne out of that Riuer which before time was vnknown. Neither is this to bee wondred at; for such fishes as these, because they had beene long time shut vp, were become great, fat and long, but slimy and fetured in the darkenesse, and had neuer seen the light, whence commeth the wholesomenes of all victuals. That fishes may breede in the hollow of the earth, it appeareth because that Eeles are taken in hidden places, in troubled waters and pits which yeeld a meate of hard digestion, by reason of their sluggishnesse, especially when they are taken in those places where there is so much mudde, as they may wholy bury themselues therein: so then the earth hath not onely vaines of water, which by their current may make riuers, but also floudes of great extent, whereof some runne alwayes vnderneath the earth, vntill such time as they discharge themselues in some gulfe, some appeare vnder some lake. And who knoweth not that there are certaine pooles which appeare without bottome? whereto tendeth this? to show that the great riuers haue a continuall matter to maintain them, whose extremities are not to be touched as they may be in springs & fountains.

The difference of waters vnder the earth.

Pestilent fishes and why.

CHAP. XX.

AND why haue waters diuers tastes? for foure causes. The first is of the earth thorow which the waters are carried. The second, by reason of the agreement and conueniency of the same. The third of ayre which is transformed into water. The fourth of corruption which hapneth vpon diuers occasions. These causes giue diuers sauors and properties vnto waters. These giue the vertue to heale infirmities, these yeelde a stinking dampe and a pestilent vapour, the lightnes or heauinesse, or too much heate or colde. It importeth also to know whether they passe by the vaines of sulphure, nitre or bitume. If they bee corrupted by some dangerous minerals, a man cannot drinke of them without the hazard of his life. Therefore it is that *Ouid* sayth:

The Cicones haue such a flood that being drunke doth change,
Their bowle that do drinke to stone, all else to marble strange.

The causes of the diuers sauours of waters.

Examples of marualous waters.

This is a medicine, and hath a mud of that nature, that it both agglutinateth and hardneth that whereupon it is applied. Euen as the dust of the territory of *Pruzzel* if it toucheth this water is turned into stone; so contrariwise this water if it toucheth any thing that is solide, it cleaueth, and is affixed thereunto. Thence is it that such things as are cast into this lake, are forthwith drawn

out as hard as ſtone. The like whereof falleth out in ſome places of *Italy*, whether you caſt a reed or the leaues of trees into the ſame, thou ſhalt draw them out in few dayes in the forme of ſtone: for the winde incloſeth the body on euery ſide, and by little and little taketh hold and hardneth it. This will ſeeme leſſe wonderfull and ſtrange vnto thee, if thou obſerue how theſe white and ſulphurous waters are hardned and congealed about their channels and pipes. Some ſuch cauſe haue theſe lakes whereof whoſoeuer drinketh as the Poet ſaith;

Growes furious, or elſe fals to Lethargie.

It hath the like force that wine hath, but more vehement: for euen as drunkenneſſe vntill it bee dried is madneſſe, and by the weight thereof driueth him that is drunke into ſleepe: ſo the ſulphurous vertue of this water hath ſome more powerfull venome in it by meanes of the corrupted ayre, whence followeth eyther fury or lethargie, the like euill hath the riuer *Lynceſtius*.

Which whoſo drinkes although his draught be ſmall,
Stumbles as if pure wine had made him fall.

CHAP. XXI.

Whence proceedeth thoſe diuers effects in waters.

THey that haue lookt downe into ſome deepe gulfes, doe die, ſo ſodaine is the venome which killeth thoſe birdes that doe but flie ouer it, ſuch is the ayre, and ſuch the place from whence this deadly water diſtilleth. But if the venome of that ayre and place be leſſe vehement, the euill alſo is in ſome ſort lenified, it onely debilitateth the nerues, and ſtupifieth them, as it were with drunkenneſſe. Neither doe I wonder, that the place and ayre doe infect the waters, and maketh them like vnto thoſe regions, by which, and from which they come: The ſauor of the paſture appeareth in the milke, and the force of the wine is extant in the vineger; there is nothing that hath not ſome taſte of that from whence it was taken and bred.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Ocean created in the beginning of the world.

AN other kind there is of water alſo, that as we thinke had his beginning with the world, which if it be eternall, ſo is this likewiſe, and if it hath any beginning, it likewiſe hath a beginning with him. Aske you me what this is? It is the Ocean with all thoſe other ſeas that eyther flow from it, or waſh the borders of it. Some are of opinion that certaine riuers, (whoſe nature cannot bee expreſſed) haue had their beginnings with the world, as *Iſter* and *Nilus*, and other ſpacious floudes, and ſuch as a man cannot reckon in the ranke of others, nor driue them from the ſame ſource.

CHAP. XXIII.

THis is therefore the diuiſion of waters, according to ſome mens opinions. After theſe there are celeſtiall waters, which the clouds powre downe from aboue. Amongſt the terreſtriall waters, there are ſome (if I may ſo ſpeake it) that ſwim and flow aboue the earth, other ſome there bee that are hidden, whereof wee haue yeelded a reaſon.

Diuerſity of terreſtriall waters.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SOme there are that yeeld diuers reaſons why certaine waters are hote, and others ſo boyling, that they can bee of no vſe, except they be cooled by the ayre, or tempered by the mixture of colde water. *Empedocles* thinketh that the water is hote by thoſe fires which the earth couereth and concealeth in diuers places, eſpecially if they runne vnder that ſoyle by which they take their paſſage. Wee are wont to make certaine Dragons and Serpentines, and diuers other faſhions of veſſels, in which we faſten diuers little pypes of thin braſſe bending downwards, to the end that the water diſtilling and turning oftentimes before the fire, may get iſſue in ſuch ſpace of time wherein it may take heate. It therefore entreth colde, and floweth out hote. *Empedocles* is of this opinion, that the ſame is done vnder the earth, to whoſe opinion they condiſcend whoſe bathes are warmed without fire. A warme ayre is infuſed thereunto, which ſerueth in ſteade of fire. This running through the pypes warmeth the walles and veſſels of the bath, as if fire had beene ſet neere vnto it. In briefe, the colde water is by this meanes changed into hote, neither doth the euaporation draw any ſauour, becauſe it paſſeth thorow cloſed and couered places. Some thinke that theſe waters that eyther paſſe by or enter theſe places that are full of ſulphure, draw their heate by the benefite of the matter thorow which they paſſe, which appeareth by their ſmell and taſte; for they yeeld the quality of the matter which hath warmed them; and leaſt thou ſhouldeſt wonder at this accident, powre mee but water vpon quicklime, and it will burne.

Why theſe are hote waters.

CHAP. XXV.

DIuers waters are deadly which neither offend in odour nor in taſte. About *Nonacris* in *Arcadia* there is a riuer which the inhabitants of the place call *Styx* which deceiueth ſtrangers, becauſe both in ſight, and in ſmell, it reſembleth others, ſuch as are the poyſons of moſt cunning poyſoners, which cannot bee diſcouered but by death: but this water whereof I haue ſpoken a little before corrupteth with incredible ſwiftneſſe, neither is there any remedy for it, becauſe that as ſoone as it is drunken, it thickneth and hardneth as plaſter doth in the water, and cloſeth vp the bowels. There is likewiſe a certaine venemous water in *Theſſaly* about *Tempe*, which both wilde beaſtes and all kind of cattell doe flie from, which pierceth both yron and braſſe, ſuch force it hath to mollifie

Of venemous & deadly waters.

Notable examples.

those things that are heard. There are no trees that grow about it, nor any hearbes but it killeth them. In some Riuers there is a wonderfull propertie. For some of these there are, which being drunke doe tincture and die the flocks of sheepe, and within a very short space those that were blacke carrie white wooll; and those that came with white fleeces returne with blacke. The like effects likewise haue two Riuers in Beotia, whereof the one is called Melus, that is to say, blacke by reason of his operation, yet both of these issue from the same lake, though they haue different effects. In Macedonia likewise, as *Theophrastus* saith, there is a floud, whitherto they that desire to haue white sheepe driue their flockes, which the longer they haue drunke, the more deeply are they dyed and turned into white: but if they haue neede of a browne colour, they haue a ready and free Dier, for they driue the same flocke to the floud Cerona. I haue moderne authors that write that there is a Riuer in Galatia, that blacketh all that which is steeped in it, that in Capadocia there is another that changeth the colour of horses onely (and not other beasts) causing their haires to be spotted with white. It is well knowne that there some lakes that beare them vp, who cannot swim. There was in Sicily, and at this day there is in Siria a pond, on the top whereof whole bricks doe swim, and although heauie things be cast into the same, yet can they not sinke vnto the bottome. And the cause hereof is very manifest. Weigh me a thing whatsoeuer it be, and counterpoise it with water, if the water be more waightie it will beare vp the thing that is lighter then it selfe, and will raise the same aboue her the more lighter it is, and that which is more waightie will discend. But if the waight of the water, and the thing thou counterpoisest with it be equall, she shall not draw it to the bottom, neyther shall it wholly swim aboue the water, but it shall be carried on euen with the water, but shall swim as it were halfe drowned, and eminent in no part. Thence commeth it that some pieces of tymber sometimes float wholly aboue the water, othersome are halfe within the water, and others sinke to the bottom. For when as the waight of the wood and water are equall, and that the one thing yeeldeth in no sort to the other that which is more waighty discendeth, and that which is lighter is carried on the top of the water. But we esteeme the heauie and light, not according to our owne estimate, but in comparison of the thing that should carrie and beare vp the same. When as therefore the water is heauier then the body of a man or a stone, she suffereth not that which is more lighter to sinke vnto the bottom. Whence it commeth to passe that the stones themselues float vpon the water, yea, euen those that are hardest & most solid. For there are many Pummice stones & such as are light, wherof certain Islands in Lydia are composed, the which for this cause swimme in the Sea, if a man will beleeue *Theophrastus*. For mine owne part I my selfe haue seene an Island in the lake of Cutilias that floated, another in the lake of Vadimona, another in the lake of Station, swimming vpon the water. The Island of Cutilias hath trees and hearbes growing on it, although the water beareth it vp, and is driuen hither and thither, not onely by a strong winde, but by euery gentle gale whatsoeuer. Neyther remaineth it eyther by day or night in one place, so moueable is it vpon euery breath of winde. There are two causes hereof: the waight of the medicinable water, & consequently more heauie; and the matter of the Isle which is apt to be carried, which hath no solid bodie, although it nourish trees. For happily the fat humor taketh hold of, and bindeth together the lighter trunkes, and those leaues that are scattered in the lake. Therefore although there be some stones in the same, yet shalt thou finde

Pliny *calleth it Ceron in his second booke.*

The cause of such effects.

Of stones and other such things that float aboue the water.

The reason of the marueilous Isle of Cutilias.

finde them ſpongie and hollow, ſuch as thoſe are which a thicke water collecteth and breedeth about the brinks of ſome medicinable fountaines, which are engendered of the ſome that is made by the excrements of the water, that gather themſelues together. That thing of neceſſitie muſt be light, which is made of another thing that is windie and voyde. There are ſome ſecrets whereof a man can yeeld no reaſon; as why the water of Nilus maketh women fruitfull, in ſuch ſort that it hath opened and diſpoſed to conception the matrice of ſome women, that hath been cloſed by long ſterrilitie; why likewiſe ſome waters in Lycia retaine the ſeede conceiued by women, who had their matrice euer open. For mine own part, I number theſe things amongſt thoſe that are vndiſcreetly and raſhly publiſhed. Some beleeue that there are certaine waters that breede the ſcab in mens bodies, or that poured on the skin or drunken, the leproſie, and other white and deformed ſpots, which vice they aſcribe to that water that is gathered of dew. Who would not thinke that thoſe waters that are turned into cryſtall are moſt waightie? yet is it farre otherwiſe; for this falleth out in the lighteſt waters, which the colde very eaſily congealeth, by reaſon that they are no wayes thicke. But whence this ſtone is made, it appeareth very plainly by the name which the Græcians giue the ſame, for they call it κρύσταλλον, as well the tranſparant ſtone as the Ice, whereof it is ſuppoſed that the cryſtall is made. For the celeſtiall water, hauing very little earthly ſubſtance in it, when it is growen hard by the continencie and vehemency of the longer cold is thickened more and more, vntill ſuch time as (all aire being excluded) it ſhutteth in it ſelfe, and that humour which was is made a ſtone.

There are infinite ſecrets in nature, whereof a man cannot giue a reaſon.

How cryſtall is made.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN ſummer ſome flouds are increaſed, as Nilus (whereof we will render another reaſon, in a more conuenient place) *Theophraſtus* writeth, that in Pontus there are certaine riuers that increaſe in the ſummer time, whereof he iudgeth that there are three cauſes; firſt, becauſe at that time moſt of all the earth is apt to be changed into winter; next, becauſe there are ſome huge ſhowers that fall in a more remote place, whoſe waters ſtreaming along by ſecret paſſages, are ſilently diſcharged into the ſame; thirdly, if the entrie be beaten with continuall windes, and the floud be beaten, and the water mounteth backe againe, which ſeemeth to increaſe becauſe it is not poured out into the Sea; the fourth reaſon is from the Planets, for theſe in ſome moneths vrge more then in other ſome, and dry vp the flouds; in other places being farther off, they draw and conſume leſſe, in ſuch ſort, that that which is leſſened in one ſeaſon is increaſed in another. There are ſome flouds that manifeſtly fall into ſome bottomleſſe pit, and ſo are ſwallowed vp from our ſight: ſome are conſumed by little and little, and after ſome intermiſſion return again and reaſſume both their name and courſe: the cauſe is manifeſt, there is ſome vacuitie vnder the earth. But all water by nature diſcendeth downeward, and is carried into a voyde place. The Riuers therefore that are receiued thither make their ſecret courſe, but as ſoone as any thing that is ſolid meeteth with them, and ſtayeth them, by working a paſſage that reſiſteth them, leſt they renue and purſue their former courſe.

Why ſome Riuers increaſe in Summer.

Other diuers accidents in Riuers and Fountaines.

So

So when as Licus is drunke vp and drayned
By yawning earth, at last he mounts againe
Far from the place where first it was contayned,
And springs and floats with in another maine,
And now drunke vp, straight with a silent course
Sliding along, he spends his flouds vntamed
Amidst the Greekish Ocean, and his source
Is in that place proude Erasinus named.

The floud Tygris doth the like in the East; it is swallowed vp, and after hauing made a long iourney vnderneath the earth, at last in a farre remote place it riseth againe vndoubtedly the same. Some fountaines at a certaine time cast out their excrement, as Arethusa in Sicilia doth from fiue to fiue yeares, in Summer during the Olympian games: from thence springs that common report, that the riuer Alphæus passeth from Achaia thither, and running vnder the sea, without discouering her selfe, or breaking forth vntill such time as she hath attained the Sicilian shore. Therfore in those dayes when the Olympique games are solemnized, the excrements of those beasts that are sacrificed, being cast downe the streame, found their issue and appeare there. This, my deerest *Lucillius*, hast thou expressed in thy Poeme: the like hath *Virgil* done, speaking to the fountaine Arethusa;

So grant the gods, that whilst thy milder waue
The swift Sicanian streame doth vndermine,
That bitter tasted Doris neuer haue
The meanes to intermix his waue with thine.

There is a fountaine in Cheronese of Rhodes, that after a great space of time poureth out from her bottome certaine ordures, vntill such time as it is wholly and intirely purified. The like to this doe diuers other fountaines in other places, which vomit out not onely their mud and the leaues of trees, but also all other things that are cast thereinto. The like doth the Sea in euery place, whose nature is this; to discharge whatsoeuer carkasses or vncleanenesse it hath in it vpon the shores. Some parts of the Sea doe the like in some seasons of the yeare, as about Messina and Milas, at which time she casteth vp vpon the sands, I know not what excrement, like vnto doung, and boyleth and ripleth, exhaling a stinking odor; whence the fable riseth, That the horses of the Sun are stabled there. But there are some things whereof it is a hard matter to yeeld a reason: and as touching this, which is now in question, although some haue diligently obserued when this purgation is made, yet is there no certainty thereof; so that the neerest cause can hardly be found out but onely the generall, which is, that all still and inclosed waters purge themselues ordinarily, for excrements cannot stay in those which haue a current, that carrieth and rauisheth all things with it. Those that push not to their shores that which is falne into them, haue a streame that is lesse or more violent. But the Sea draweth from her bottome, and casteth vpon her shores the bodies of the dead, the wrecks of ships, and those small things that she receiueth, purging her selfe as well in faire weather as in stormie.

The causes of the purgation of these Riuers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The deſcription of a deluge that ruinateth the whole world.

BVt this place moueth me to demand when the deſtinated day for the deluge ſhall come, how the greater part of the earth ſhall be couered with waters? whether it ſhall be done by the vertue of the Ocean? whether the water that appeareth ſhall raiſe her ſelfe againſt vs? whether the violent raines ſhall fall without intermiſſion, or if the winter hauing driuen away the former ſhall breake the clouds, and power downe abundant waters; or if the earth ſhall more largely extend all her waters, and ſhall diſcouer new fountaines, or whether there ſhall be diuers concurrent cauſes to one ſo great a deſolation, ſo as the raines ſhall fall in great abundance, the Riuers ſhall exceede their bounds, the Seas forſaking their ordinary limits ſhall couer the earth, and all waters gathered together, ſhall run in one company, with a deliberation to extinguiſh mankinde. Thus it is; nothing is difficult vnto nature, eſpecially when ſhe haſteth to her end: in the creation and beginning of things ſhe vſeth her forces ſparingly, and diſpenſeth her ſelfe by fallacious increaſes; but when ſhe entendeth ruine, ſhe ſuddenly employeth all her forces. How long time is there required from the day of the conception of a childe, vntill the time he forſaketh his mothers wombe? with how great labours is he brought vp from his cradle? and what care muſt there be had in breeding and bringing vp this little bodie? But how ſuddenly and without labour is he brought to nothing? An age buildeth Cities, but an hower deſtroyeth them. The wood that hath flouriſhed long is made aſhes in a moment. All things ſtand and flouriſh vnder a prouident care, and are diſſolued quickly and ſuddenly. All that which nature would alter in the eſtate of things that are created, ſufficeth to ruinate mankinde. When as therefore this neceſſitie of time ſhall come, the deſtinies moue many cauſes at once, and without a great concuſſion of the world ſo great a change cannot be made, as ſome think, amongſt whom is *Fabianus*. Firſt of all the immeaſurable raines fall, and the heauen is wholly couered, without any appearance of the Sunne: a thicke, moyſt, darke and continuall fogge inuironeth the earth, and ceaſeth not to diſtill, neyther Vines or corne attaine vnto their maturitie: all ſeeds are loſt in the earth, the fields are couered with ſuch hearbes as grow in Mariſhes and Plaſhes, expecting as yet ſome greater deſolation; for the roots are looſened, the trees fall, the Vine and euery other plant hath no more holde of the earth that is ſoft and fluid. It ſuſtaineth no more by the meanes of the waters, eyther hearbe or graſſe: famine preſſeth all men, and they enforced to ſeeke their ſuſtenance after the manner of the auncients beate downe and ſhake downe the Burgens and Acornes of the Holme and Oake, and all ſuch that in ſuch neceſſities a tree may furniſh, being ſhaken or beaten with ſtones. The rotten houſes fall vnto the ground, the foundations ſinke being mouldred and looſened by moyſture, the whole earth is glutted with water, and in vaine doe men labour to vnderprop that which falleth to ruine. For euery foundation is in a ſlippery place, and in a muddie ground there is nothing ſtable. After that the ſhowers increaſe more and more, and thoſe ſnowes that were gathered in ages begin to melt. A headlong torrent, falling from the higheſt mountaines carrieth and hurleth away whole woods that haue no ſetled roote, and tumbleth theſe ſtones that are waſhed away from the earth with the reſt. It drowneth villages, carrieth away troopes of beaſts, and thoſe little cabbans that it meeteth withall, and then aſ-

ſaulteth

ſaulteth the greater houſes. Afterwards it ouerturneth Cities and draweth away with it the inhabitants, incloſed in their owne walls, who know whether they ſhall ſinke vnder their houſes, or periſh in the water; ſo ſudden is the accident that eyther ſhould oppreſſe or drowne them. Afterwards, being increaſed by ſome other torrents that ioyne themſelues with her, they ouerflow all the Champaine. Finally, being ſwolne and ouercharged by the ruine of diuers nations, it layeth holde on all things. As touching the Riuers that are ſpacious in themſelues, and are rauiſhed by the torrents, they forſake their channels, what think you wil become of Danubius, the Rhine, and Rhoſne, who in their channels haue a torrent that runneth marueilous ſwiftly? What can they doe, when after they haue ouerflowed their bounds they are made new Riuers, and hauing broken the earth haue got themſelues a new paſſage? With what violence floweth the Riuer of Rhine when it falleth into the Champaine countries, and finding an extent ſufficient to weaken his waues, filleth himſelfe euery way with water, as if he were incloſed in ſome ſtraight channell? And Danubius likewiſe at ſuch time as he not onely beateth the foote, but alſo the midſt of the mountaines, yea, approacheth the very tops of the ſame, bearing with it not onely the moiſtened ſides of the mountaines, but the rockes that are hurried downe, and the Promontories of great Regions, which by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of their foundation are ſeparated from the continent. At length, finding no paſſage becauſe it hath included it ſelfe it ſwelleth on euery ſide, and ſwalloweth vp at once a whole extent of countries and Cities. Meane while the raines continue, the heauen thickneth more and more; and thus by courſe of time the euill is augmented. The precedent obſcuritie becommeth blacke, fearefull and terrible, night inceſſantly beaten with dreadfull lightnings, which the heauen darteth one after another: the Sea ſeemeth to be enraged being increaſed by the acceſſe of ſo many flouds, and too much reſtrained at ſuch time as ſhe was within her bounds. The ſhores ſtand no longer, they exceed their limits, the torrents permit them not to enlarge themſelues, and puſh backe the flouds, wherof the moſt part as it were arreſted by a barre that is not ſufficiently large, get paſſage from the one ſide vnto the other, and make a new Sea, and make the Champains reſemble a ſtanding poole. At that time as farre as the eie may aime there is nothing that can be diſcouered but water. All the noiſe commeth from the bottom, and the waters are the higheſt aboue all things, onely in the tops of mountaines there are certaine ſhallow places, where men ſaw themſelues, with their wiues and children, driuing their cattell before them: all traffique and entercourſe betweene Nations ceaſeth becauſe the water hath filled all the vallies. In ſome the higheſt place, the remainder of mankind maintained themſelues, who being reduced to this extremitie had this ſollace, that their feare was tranſlated into ſtupiditie, being ſo aſtoniſhed that feare could not hurt them In briefe, they were touched with no ſenſe of griefe which looſeth his force in him that is miſerable aboue the ſenſe of euill. So then the mountaines reſemble Iſles, and increaſe the number of the Ciclades, as the moſt ingenious Poet moſt wittily ſpecifieth, ſaying as the greatneſſe of the thing required him,

All things were Sea, nor had the Sea a ſhore.

Except he had reduced ſo much vigour of wit and plentie of matter to triuiall toyes, ſaying,

The Wolfe his head amongſt the ſheepe did reare,
And waltering waues did furious Lions beare.

This is to exceed meaſure to jeſt and wanton it, in the ruine of the world. He ſpake mightie things, and began to ſet downe the image of ſo great a confuſion, when he ſaid,

Th' vnbridled flouds run through the Champaine plaines,
And mightie Towers lie buried vnder flouds.

It was magnificently ſpoken if he had taken no care what ſheepe and wolues did. But can any one ſwim in ſuch a deluge and ouerflow? And were not the beaſts drowned as ſoone as the waters had layde holde of them and carried them away? Thou haſt conceiued the image and deſcription of this diſorder, as great as it ſhould be: if the heauen it ſelfe fall, endure it. Thou ſhalt know that, which becommeth thee, if thou ſet before thine eyes the whole world floating in water. Let vs now returne vnto our purpoſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THere are ſome that thinke that the earth may well be beaten with exceſſiue raines, but not drowned. Thoſe things that are the greateſt muſt be violently ſtrooken: the raine will ſpoyle the corne, the haile will beate downe the fruit, the Riuers will ouerflow their bounds, and yet will not forſake their channels. Some there are that attribute this ruine to the ouerflow of the Sea. It cannot be that a deluge ſhould proceede from the violence of torrents, or raines, or riuers. When the end of the earth is neere, and that it pleaſeth nature that all mankind ſhould periſh, I grant that continuall and immeaſurable raines fall from the heauens: that the Northerly winds are ſuppreſſed, that the Southerly blow: that the clouds, the tempeſts, and riuers increaſe:

If the earth may be drowned with waters.

Whence proceedeth a deluge, according to Senecaes and the Stoicks opinion.

Yet harmes doe more increaſe,
The corne is waſht away vpon the plaine,
The Plowman ſpends his vowes, and toyles in vaine;
All what the yeare could yeelde for paine or coſt,
Is drownd in water, and the labour loſt.

It was not neceſſary that the earth ſhould be offended, but only hidden. After theſe beginnings the Seas increaſe, but beyond meaſure, they ſpread their waues more largely then euer the greateſt tempeſt did. The windes themſelues that raiſe them at their backes, entangle themſelues with the waues of the Sea, which breake themſelues vpon the ſhores that are farre eſtranged from ſight. Afterwards when they had enlarged themſelues, made a new Sea, from the depth of the greateſt Sea there ariſeth a new floud, which bringeth with it a miſchiefe farre greater then the former; for euen as the matter of the ayre and the ætheriall Region is very ample, ſo is that of the water, which aboundeth marueilouſly in her ſecret places, ſhee being ſufficiently moued (for the flouds are the miniſters of deſtinie) makes the waues ſwell won-

wonderouſly, and animateth her ſelfe violently. Then riſeth ſhe to an incredible highneſſe, and mounteth aboue the higheſt and moſt aſſured retreates of men. It is no difficult matter for the element of water to raiſe it ſelfe aboue the higheſt toppes and Promontories of the earth. For if a man meaſure by the eye the creſt of the higheſt mountaines, hee ſhall finde that the ſea equalleth them in heighth; for the globe of the earth is equally round. Theſe caueties and plaines are ſuch, that on euery part they make an orbe, wherein are comprehended the ſeas which make a part thereof, and fulfill the round. But euen as hee that caſteth his eyes a long way, deceiueth himſelfe and cannot deprehend the places, which by litle and litle bow downward, ſo can we not comprehend the bowings of the ſea, and all that which we ſee ſeemeth to be a plain, yet is it round and like vnto the land. Therefore alſo is it that the ſea ſwelleth not much, but incontinently ſlideth away, becauſe it is enough for her to riſe a litle, eyther to equall or ſurmount the reſt, neyther ſlippeth ſhee away from the bankes where ſhee is loweſt, but from the middeſt, where the great aſſembly of Waters is. But euen as the flux and reflux of the ſea is accuſtomed to bee the greateſt, during the Equinoctiall in the time of the coniunction of the Sunne and Moone; ſo the deluge that is ſent to couer all the earth, and which ſhalbe the greateſt and moſt violent that men are accuſtomed to ſee, draweth a more infinite abundance of water with it, and neuer abateth vntill it hath ſurpaſſed and couered the toppes of the higheſt mountaines. The fluxe and refluxe of the ſea increaſeth and decreaſeth in ſome place more then a hundreth miles, and neuer fayleth but keepeth alwayes the ſame order; for it increaſeth and decreaſeth by meaſure. But in the time of deluge, it neyther keepeth meaſure nor rule. How commeth this to paſſe ſayeſt thou? in ſuch ſort as the end of the world ſhall bee by an vniuerſall fire. Both the one and the other ſhall come to paſſe at ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe God to giue a beginning to better things, and giue an end to the olde. Fire and water haue the dominion ouer terreſtriall things. From them proceede the beginning and end of all things, as oft then, as it pleaſeth the heauens that things ſhall be renued, the ſea ſhall ouerflow vs, in ſuch ſort as the fire from aboue ſhall lay hold on all things, when by an other end he would bring all things to nothing.

In what ſeaſon the flux and reflux of the ſea is greateſt.

God ſpeaketh oftentimes by Pagans mouthes that which is aſſured in chriſtian beliefe.

CHAP. XXIX.

He continueth to ſpeake of the cauſes of deluge in his ſenſe, and according to others mens opinions, but by the light of nature the tranſcendent knowledge lying in the boſome of true Chriſtians.

SOme thinke that the earth is ſhaken alſo, and that the ground being broken open, there appeare new heads of riuers, which caſt forth more abundance of waters, as from a place that is as yet full. *Beroſus* that hath interpreted *Belus* ſaith, that this is cauſed by the motion of the ſtarres, and maintaineth it ſo aſſuredly, that hee ſticketh not to ſet downe the time of the end of the world, as well by fire as by water, affirming that the earth ſhall be burned at ſuch time as all the ſtars which now holde diuers courſes ſhall meete in the ſigne of *Cancer*, ſo ſetled and placed in the ſame point, that a man may draw a direct line thorow all their centres and circles, that the deluge ſhall couer the earth, when as the ſame ſtars ſhall aſſemble and meete together in *Capricorne*. In order, the one is the longeſt day in Summer, and the ſhorteſt day of the winter vnder the other. The ſignes are of great efficacy and power, which vpon the changes of the yeare cauſe ſuch moments: for mine owne part I reiect not any of the cauſes (for one alone cannot

cannot cauſe ſo much miſchiefe) annexing vnto them that which the Stoikes thinke. Whether it be that the world be a ſpirit or body, by the diſpoſition of of nature, it containeth in it trees, plants, and all that which it ought to doe and ſuffer, from the beginning of the world vnto the end thereof, no otherwiſe then in the ſeed are incloſed all the parts of the body of a man which ſhould be formed. The Infant that is borne in his mothers wombe, hath the rootes of the beard and haire hee ſhall weare one day. In this little Maſſe likewiſe are all the lineaments of the body, and all that which auſterity ſhall diſcouer in him. So the originall of the world hath no leſſe contayned the Sunne, the Moone, the reuolutions of the Starres, the birth of liuing creatures, as the cauſes of the change of terreſtriall things. In them hath beene the deluge which commeth by the order of heauen, euen as Winter and Summer doe. It ſhall not therefore bee done by raine, neyther by inundation of the ſea, neither by quaking of the earth, but with all theſe accidents which ſhall aſſiſt Nature, to the end that her determinations ſhould be accompliſhed and executed: yet as touching the principall cauſe, it ſhall proceede from the earth it ſelfe, which as we haue ſaid is changeable, and muſt reſolue her ſelfe into water. Whereas therefore the end of all things ſhall bee come: at ſuch time as the parts of the world muſt periſh and bee diſanulled, in ſuch ſort as they may bee moulded a new, and made better then before, there ſhall more water bee made then ener there was: for now the aliments are diſtributed to euery one according as it is behouefull. There muſt ſomething at that time ioyne it ſelfe with an other, to the end that ſuch things that ſubſiſt in counterwaight ſhould be troubled and confuſed by the inequality that ſhould happen. The moſt ſhall bee found in the water, that hath nothing more for the preſent, then that which is neceſſarie to enuiron the earth, and not to drowne it: if you will adde any thing thereunto, it muſt needly diſcharge the ſame in an other place. How ſhall it then be, that the earth as being leaſt powerfull, ſhall ſinke vnder that which is more ſtrong? Shee ſhall beginne at that time to rot her ſelfe, and afterwardes being moiſtned to melt it ſelfe into humour, and to fall to mudde. At that time the riuers ſhall mount aboue the mountaines, and ſhall ſhake them with a mighty force, and afterwards ſhall ſwallow them without noyſe. All the earth ſhall vomit out waters, the toppes of the mountaines ſhall breake forth in fountaines. Euen as the wholeſomeſt parts of the body become ſicke, and theſe that are neereſt to an vlcer wax vlcerated: ſo the mightieſt regions of the earth conuerted into water ſhall melt themſelues likewiſe, and ſhall diſtill from all parts. The rockes ſhall cleaue in ſunder to giue paſſage to the waters that ſhall aſſemble themſelues to make a ſea. The Straights of Venetian and Sicilian ſeas ſhall bee no more *Charibdis* and *Scilla* ſhall not bee ſpoken of. The new Sea ſhall ſwallow vp all theſe fictions, and the Ocean that at this day beguirteth the remoteſt partes of the earth, ſhall then bee in the midſt of the waters. What ſhall then bee? The Winter ſhall dominere ouer all other ſeaſons, the Summer ſhall bee no more, and euery ſtarre that before time dried vp the earth ſhall haue no more heate or effect. All the names of particuler ſeas, as that of *Caſpium*, *Erithrea* the red, The Mediteranean, the greater ſeas, and others ſhall periſh, being all of them intermixed together, and all that which nature had diſpoſed in parts, confuſed in one: neyther Rampiers nor high Towers ſhall warrant any man. The temples ſhall no wayes profite the ſuppliants, nor the high places of Cities, becauſe the water ſhall ouertake thoſe that flie, and beare them away out of their ſtrongeſt Towers. It ſhall from Eaſt to Weſt, and one day ſhall bury all mankind, ouer-

The Paradoxe of the Stoikes as touching the vniuerſall deluge, and the end of the world, refuted by the celeſtiall veritie contained in Moſes, where a promiſe was made to the Patriarch Noe, that there ſhould be no more any vniuerſall deluge.

This prediction is wholy falſe.

turning all that which fortunes fauour hath cherished so long time, all that which is so much rayſed aboue the common, the great pallaces, riches, magnificence, and mighty Monarchies.

CHAP. XXX.

Another error that the earth is made to bee drowned because in an vniuerſall deluge, where as God by Moſes ſpeaketh expreſly to the contrary.

ALL things as I haue ſaid are eaſie vnto nature eſpecially, thoſe things which ſhee hath reſolued to doe from the beginning, whereunto ſhe commeth not ſodainely but determinately. But from the firſt day of the world, as from his informed vnity, ſhee came to take this habitude which wee ſee ſhee hath, ſhee prefixed the day wherein the earth ſhould bee drowned, and to the end it might not bee an enterpriſe of difficult execution as if it were a new worke: the ſeas long ſince haue exerciſed and faſhioned themſelues thereunto. Seeſt thou not how the floudes of the Ocean runne towardes their bankes, as if they ſought liberty: Haſt thou not obſerued how the floud hath aduanced it ſelfe, and put the ſea in poſſeſſion of the earth? Doeſt thou not perceiue how the ſea doth nothing but ſome, and tempeſts againſt the bounds which reſtraine her? What danger is there in that part where thou heareſt ſuch a tumult, and from whence iſſue ſo many riuers with ſo great noyſe, where Nature hath lodged ſo much water to aſſaile vs on euery ſide, when ſhee thinketh fitte? Is it not true, that in digging the earth wee finde water, and when as eyther vndermined by auarice, or puſhed forward by an other cauſe, wee haue digged and ſearched a little deeper, ſometimes a bloudy death enſueth. Furthermore, there are certaine Lakes vnder the earth that are maruailous great, and much hidden ſea; beſides a great number of riuers that ſtreames thorow certaine paſſages vnder earth. There ſhall bee therefore on euerie ſide certaine courſes of this deluge, ſome part of the waters floating thorow the earth, others about the ſame; theſe being long times brideled and reſtrained ſhall finally gette the vpper hand, and ſhall ioyne their floudes with the riuers, and the pooles with the mariſhes. The ſeas ſhall fill the brims and mouthes of all fountaines, and ſhall enlarge them. Euen as the belly in emptying it ſelfe waſteth our bodies as the forces are diſſipated by ſwet; in like ſort, the earth ſhall melt it ſelfe, and other cauſes ceaſing ſhall finde a meanes to plunge and drown it ſelfe in it ſelfe, ſo thinke I that ſo many great things ſhall confound themſelues together, neyther ſhall there bee any long delay in the ruine. When as once the world ſhall remitte any thing of his courſe and diligence, and the accord which is betwixt the partes thereof ſhall bee ſhaken, incontinently the cloudes ſhall breake forth, the waters beneath ſhall iſſue from their bottomleſſe caues to couer the earth. There is nothing more violent, more hard to bee ſtayed, more rebellious, or more pernicious to thoſe that would reſtraine the ſame then a violent water. Shee ſhall vſe the liberty which was granted her, and by the commandement of nature ſhee ſhall fill all that which ſhee trauerſeth and enuironeth. Euen as the fire iſſuing from diuers places ſodainely ſetteth all on fire, the flames conſpiring and aſſembling together to make one body; ſo in a moment the ſeas that are vented and powred forth, ſhall come and ioyne in one; but the waues ſhall not rage alwayes thus: but after that, mankind ſhall bee ruined, and beaſts likewiſe be brought to confuſion, whoſe natures men had taken vpon them; the earth

Vnderſtanding this of time to come, it is a meer fable, it was once in Noahs time, and ſhall bee no more.

earth ſhall ſucke vp the waters, and conſtraine the ſea to returne within his bounds, and to tempeſt in her channell. The ocean being driuen farre from our limits, ſhall be chaſed into her caues, and the ancient order ſhall bee reeſtabliſhed. Euery liuing Creature ſhall bee engendred anew, and the earth ſhall bee inhabited with innocent men, and borne to better hap. But mankind ſhall not perſeuer long in this integrity; it ſhall onely bee for as long time, as men ſhall bee, new wickedneſſe ſhall incontinently flie into the middeſt of them. Vertue is hard to bee found, ſhee requireth a guide and gouernour: but as touching vices, men learne them without a Maſter.

The End of the third Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The fourth Booke.

THE PREFACE.

What contentment a vertuous man receiueth by himselfe.

THOu art much delighted (my *Lucillius*, the best of me) in Sicily and in the gouernment of the same: because as thou writest vnto me, it is full of repose and without trouble. But it will please thee farre more, if thou wilt containe thy selfe within thy limits, and makest not that an Empire, which is but a Procuration and Gouernment. I doubt not but thou wilt carrie thy selfe in this sort, I know how farre thou art estranged from ambition, and how familiarly thou art addicted and delighted in honest retirement and the studie of good letters. They that cannot support and containe themselues, haue need of the conuersation of men, and multiplicitie of affaires. But thou accordest very well with thy selfe: neither wonder I that few men are partakers of this so great good: wee are all of vs too imperious and troublesome to our selues. Sometimes we cherish our selues too much, otherwhiles too little. To day our hearts are puffed vp with pride, to morrow couetousnesse tormenteth vs: now are we prostituted by vaine pleasures, anone after burned with cares and trauaile, and that which is worst of all, we are neuer alone and retired to our selues. We must needs therefore be in continuall debate, being accompanied by so many enormous vices. Doe therefore, my *Lucillius*, that which thou wert accustomed to doe: seperate thy selfe as much as thou canst from the communitie, neither permit thy selfe to be accosted by flatterers, for these are their craftsmasters in bewitching the greater and richer sort. Thou shalt hardly escape them, although thou take heed of them. Beleeue me, they will entrap thee, if thou betray thy selfe to their treasons. Flatteries haue naturally this force, that they are pleasing, although they be reiected; and being oftentimes excluded, at last they are entertained. Re-

The poyson of flattery a taste for great men.

pulse

pulſe maketh them encreaſe, neither is there any diſgrace or outrage that can tame them. That which I ſhall ſpeake is incredible, and yet very true. A man is hit moſt of all in that place where he is moſt open, and happily he is therefore hit becauſe he lieth open. Diſpoſe thy ſelfe therefore in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt be aſſured that thou canſt not be touched, that thou mayeſt be impenitrable: when thou haſt caried the charieſt eye, he will ſtrike thee thorow thoſe armes that thou reputeſt the moſt aſſured. Some one will vſe his flatterie ſecretly and ſparingly, another openly counterfeiting the foole in all mens ſight, as if that his ſimplicitie were not cunning. *Plancus*, who had beene one of the cunningeſt Sicophants before *Vellius* time, ſaid that we ought not to flatter ſecretly, nor with diſſimulation. In vaine, ſaith he, is flattery, if it be obſcured. The flatterer getteth very much when he is diſcouered, and more likewiſe if he bluſh after he hath beene taunted. Thinke that thou ſhalt meete with a great number of ſuch as *Plancus* was, and that it is not a ſufficient remedie againſt flatterie, to refuſe to be praiſed. *Criſpus Paſſienus*, whoſe equall I neuer knew in ſubtill diſcouerie of all things; eſpecially in diſtinguiſhing and curing vices, oftentimes ſaid that wee onely put too the dore againſt flatteries, but ſhut them not out, in ſuch ſort as we are wont to put it too againſt our ſhe-friend, which if ſhe thruſt it backe it contenteth vs, and more gratefull is it, if ſhe breake it open. I remember that I haue heard the great Philoſopher *Demetrius* ſay to a certaine ſlaue that was enfranchiſed, and was become very rich, that the ſhorteſt way for him to heape vp great wealth, was that day wherein he had repented himſelfe that he had a good conſcience. I will neuer, ſaith he, enuie your practiſes, but will teach them, that haue need, the meanes how to eſcape ſhipwrack, how to flie from thoſe contentions that happen betweene buyers and ſellers, not to truſt to the incertaintie of a countrie life, to retire themſelues from the exerciſe of leſſe certaine pleading; leſſe, in what manner likewiſe they may not only eaſily, but ioyfully enrich themſelues, and impoueriſh thoſe that are at their eaſe and quiet. I will ſweare (ſaith he) that thou art higher then *Fidus Annæus*, and *Apollonius Picta*, although thou haſt but a meane and crooked ſtature, as *Fracas* had. If I ſay that thou art the moſt liberall man amongſt all others, I ſhall not lie: when as it may ſeeme that thou haſt giuen all men that which thou haſt left. So is it, my *Iunior*, the more that flatterie diſcouereth it ſelfe, the more wicked, impudent, and outragious it is, the ſooner deceiueth it. For we are now growne vnto that madneſſe, that he that flattereth vs little, ſeemeth to be a man of no honeſtie. I was wont to tell thee that my brother *Gallio* (whom no man loued but heartily, neither loued he any man but entirely) knew not other vices, and likewiſe hated this. Thou haſt tied him euery wayes. Thou haſt begun to admire his great and excellent ſpirit aboue all others, which rather wiſhed to bee curſed, then to doe any thing worthy ſhame. But he ſuddenly retired his foot. Thou beganſt to praiſe his frugalitie, he cut thee off in the beginning. Thou beganſt to admire his humanitie, and vnaffected affabilitie which rauiſheth thoſe that heare them in paſſing by, and greatly oblige thoſe to whom they are addreſſed. For there is no man liuing more agreeable vnto another man, then this man vnto all men, whileſt in the meane ſpace the power of a naturall goodneſſe is ſuch, that it ſauoureth no wayes of art or ſimulation. There is no man but will ſuffer that a publike good ſhould be imputed to him. And in this place likewiſe he reſiſted thy flatteries, in ſuch ſort as thou exclaimedſt that thou hadſt found a man that was armed againſt all attempts, whom euery man would entertaine into his boſome. Thou didſt confeſſe that thou didſt ſo much the more admire

A goodly touch againſt a fooliſh rich man, and a comedie againſt auarice.

The praiſe of Gallio, Senecaes brother.

his prudence and pertinacie in auoiding ineuitable euils, becauſe thou wert in hope that thy words ſhould be entertained with an open eare, although thou flatteredſt, becauſe thou ſpakeſt the truth. But ſo much the rather learned he to reſiſt them the more. For the truth is alwayes aſſailed by thoſe things that haue a reſemblance of truth. Yet will I not haue thee diſpleaſed with thy ſelfe, as if thou haddeſt done amiſſe, or as if my brother preſumed that thou pretendedſt to ieſt with him, or to circumuent him. He diſcouered thee not, but repulſed thee. Conforme thy ſelfe to this example: when as any flatterer commeth vnto thee; ſay vnto him, Go I pray thee, and carie theſe flattering ſpeeches (which are accuſtomed to leape from one Magiſtrate to another, that haue theſe Apes and Sargeants marching before them) to ſome one that will pay thee with the like, and taketh pleaſure to heare all that which thou wouldeſt ſpeake vnto him. I will deceiue no man, neither can I be deceiued. I would be praiſed by you, if you were not accuſtomed to praiſe the wicked. But what needeſt thou to bring thy ſelfe into that ſtrait, that flatterers ſhould touch thee ſo neerly? Let them be farre eſtranged from thee, when thou deſireſt to be praiſed well. Why ſhouldeſt thou be indebted to any for it? Prayſe thy ſelfe, and ſay: I haue addicted my ſelfe to the ſtudie of the Liberall Sciences, although pouertie perſwaded me to the contrarie, and withdrew my thoughts thither, where my ſtudie might returne me preſent gaine. I aimed my thoughts at little profit breeding poeſie, and addicted my ſelfe to the holeſome ſtudie of Philoſophy. I haue ſhewed that euery man is capable of vertue, and ſtrugling thorow the obſcuritie of my birth, and meaſuring my ſelfe not by my condition, but my minde; I haue equalled my ſelfe with the greateſt. The enmitie of barbarous *Caius* could not driue me from my ſincere intention, *Meſſalus* and *Narciſſus* vnhappie conſpirators againſt euery man, enemies a long time of the publike weale, before they were foes to their priuate fortune, could not croſſe my reſolution. I haue hazarded my necke to maintaine mine honor, I haue not ſpoken that word, that was againſt my conſcience. The care I alwayes had, was for my friends and not for my ſelfe, and the feare, that I was not ſo true a friend as I ſhould be. I neuer wept womaniſh teares, neither after the manner of a ſuppliant haue I lifted vp my hands to any man. I haue done nothing that either was vnworthy a man, or a good man. Being greater then mine owne perils, and ready to encounter with thoſe that threatned me, I gaue thanks vnto Fortune that would ſound me, how highly I priſed faith. So great a thing ſhould not coſt me ſo little. She kept me not long in ſuſpence, for the things that were in ballance were not equall, that is, whether it were better that faith ſhould periſh for me, or I ſhould periſh for it. I haue not violently thruſt my ſelfe into a deſperate reſolution of death, whereby I might diſcharge my ſelfe from the furie of mightie men, I ſaw with *Caius* torments, I ſaw fires. I knew in times paſt, vnder him, that humane affaires were brought to that eſtate, that it was recounted amongſt the workes of mercie to be ſimply ſlaine. Yet thruſt I not my ſelfe thorow with my ſword, neither caſt I my ſelfe head-long into the ſea, to the end that the world might ſee that I would not die, except it were to remaine faithfull. Conſider moreouer my courage, that could not be corrupted with bribes, and that in this rude conflict of auarice, I haue neuer ſoyled my hands with foule lucre: Moreouer, my ſobrietie, my modeſtie in words, my affabilitie towards my inferiours, the reuerence I haue borne my ſuperiours. Hauing ſaid all this, aske counſell of thy ſelfe if thou haſt ſpoken truth, or told a lie: if truth, Then art thou praiſed before a great witneſſe: if a lie, without witneſſe thou haſt expoſed thy

How we ought to entertaine a flatterer.

How a man ought to priſe himſelfe.

The meanes to reproue hypocriſie, and to fortifie vertue.

thy ſelfe to laughter. But ſome one might thinke, that either I would ſurpriſe thee or proue thee: beleeue which thou wilt, and beginne by me to feare all others. Caſt by that verſe in *Virgil.*

Faith is ſecur'd in no place.——

And that which *Ouid* ſaith.

Throughout the world ERYNNIS *changeth round,*
As if addreſt and ſworne with felon rage,
To leaue no ſinne vnſought for in this age.

Or that of *Menanders* (for who hath not whetted the greatneſſe of his wit againſt this, deteſting the concent of mankind that tendeth vnto vice?) All, ſaith he, liue otherwiſe then they ſhould, and the Poet hath leaped into the Sceane as if he were a Clowne: he excepteth neither old nor yong, nor woman, nor man, and addeth that euery one without exception doth euill, and that wickednes is growne to the full. We ought therefore to flie, and to returne into our ſelues, nay more, we are to depart from our ſelues. Although the ſea ſeparateth vs, I will aſſay to make thee partner of this good, that is, in lending thee my hand at ſuch time as thou knoweſt not what way to take, and making thee to attaine to a place more ſecured: and leſt thou ſhouldeſt haue a ſenſe of thy ſolitude, I will deuiſe with thee from this place as often as I may. We will be one in that part wherein we are beſt: we will counſaile one another, not depending vpon the preſence of him that heareth. I will lead thee farre from Sicily, to the end thou ſhalt not yeeld too much credit to Hiſtories, beginning to pleaſe thy ſelfe as often as thou ſhalt ſay in thy ſelfe, I haue this prouince vnder my gouernment, which hath ſuſtained and broken the armies of the mightieſt Common-weales of the world, when the honor of a long war hath remained for many yeares in ſuſpence, at ſuch time as ſhe ſaw the forces of foure Princes gathered together in one place, namely, of all the Empire, hauing taken away the proſperity of *Pompey*, wearied that of *Cæſars*, tranſlated that of *Lepidus*, and ſurpriſed all the reſt, that was preſent at the ſtrangeſt ſpectacle that may poſſibly be thought, whereby all mortall men may learne how ſudden the fall is from high to low, and by how many diuers wayes Fortune cauſeth the power of this world to decline. For at one time ſhe hath ſeene *Pompey* and *Lepidus* caſt from their high degree to a lower, but by different meanes, conſidering that *Pompey* fled before *Cæſars* armie, and *Lepidus* his owne.

The ſincere loue betwixt Seneca *and* Lucillius.

CHAP. I.

He entereth into diſcourſe of the encreaſe of Nilus in Summer.

BVt to the end I may wholly draw thee from thy ſelfe, although Sicily hath in it and about it many wonders, yet will I not for the preſent entermeddle with any queſtions concerning thy Prouince, but will draw thy thoughts another way. For wee will now deuiſe together vpon that which we haue touched in the former Booke, whence it is that Nilus floweth and encreaſeth in the Summer monethes. The Philoſophers haue left in writing, that Nilus and Danubius reſemble one another, alledging that the ſource of Danubius is vnknowne, and that it is more great in Summer then in Winter.

Both

Both the one and the other appeared to be falſe: for wee finde that the head-ſpring thereof is in Germany, and it beginneth likewiſe to increaſe in Summer, (yet Nilus alwayes remaineth in his accuſtomed meaſure) that is to ſay, about the firſt heates, at ſuch time as the Sunne growing more hot about the end of the ſpring time, cauſeth the ſnowes to melt, which Danubius hath conſumed, before that Nilus beginneth to increaſe: Danubius decreaſeth during the reſt of the Summer, and returneth to his greatneſſe in Winter, according to which it is meaſured.

CHAP. II.

In what time of the Summer this increaſe is made.

BVt Nilus increaſeth in the heart of the Summer time after the Æquinoctiall, before the riſing of the Dog-ſtarre. Nature hath ſet this famous floud before the eyes of all mankinde, and hath diſpoſed it in ſuch ſort that it ſhould ouerflow Egypt, eſpecially at ſuch time as the earth, being parched by the moſt burning heats, ſhould draine out the water from the depth, and ſhould draw as much as the drineſſe of the whole yeare required. For in that part which inclineth towards Æthiopia, it raineth not, or if ſometimes certaine raines doe fall, yet recomfort they not the earth which is vnaccuſtomed to raine water. Thou knoweſt that Egypt hath no other hope but in the water of Nilus, by meanes whereof the yeare is either fruitfull or barren, according as Nilus hath exceeded her bounds eyther more or leſſe. There is no labourer in that countrey that lifteth vp his eyes vnto heauen; wherefore then may I not ſport my ſelfe with my Poet, and alleage vnto him his *Ouid*, ſaying,

The herbs to IVPITER *make no requeſt*
To ſend them raine from heauen to wet their creſt.

The paſſages and courſes of Nilus.

If a man could comprehend from whence Nilus beginneth to encreaſe, hee ſhould finde likewiſe the cauſes of the increaſe thereof: but hauing run thorow the great deſarts, it ſpreadeth it ſelfe into Mariſhes, whence comming to diſgorge himſelfe into diuers currents that run here and there; firſt he beginneth to aſſemble them all together about Philus, which is a ſtony Iſland, ful of mountaines and hard to be landed at in any part, begirt with two Riuers, which mixe themſelues in one, and fall into Nilus, whence they take their name. Nilus more large then violent, round about this place being diſcharged from Æthiopia, and running thorow the ſands, that make a way vnto thoſe which traffique in the Indian Seas, is receiued into Cataractes a famous place, by reaſon of the marualles that are ſeene therein. In this place Nilus rayſeth it ſelfe amidſt high rockes and ſuch as are hollowed and diuided in diuers parts, employing in this place all her forces. For the ſtones he meeteth withall breake him, in ſuch ſort as he attempteth to eſcape by the ſtraights. In euery place where it findeth any breach or reſiſtance it floateth and gathereth together his waters, which he had carried along without any noyſe, and paſſeth with violence and vehement ouerflow thorow the moſt difficult paſſages, being no more like vnto himſelfe, becauſe in theſe ſtraights it rouleth wholly troubled and muddie. But comming to beate vpon the rockes, it ſometh, and at that time the iniurie of the place, and not his nature, maketh him change colour. Afterwards, hauing ſur-

The Cataracts of Nilus.

mounted

mounted all that which hindereth him, he falleth ſuddenly and plainely into a marueilous depth, with ſuch a noiſe as aſtoniſheth the inhabitants of the countrey round about, who hauing been planted in thoſe places by the Perſians, and being vnable to endure the continuall thunder that deafened their eares, went and encamped themſelues in places more remote, and better for their reſt. Amongſt the wonders of this riuer, I haue heard more tell of the incredible boldneſſe of thoſe who abide in thoſe quarters. Two men ſhippe themſelues in a little boate, which the one of them guideth, and the other emptieth. Hauing long times balanced amidſt the troubled waues of violent *Nilus*, they goe and retire themſelues into ſome narrow channels, by which they eſcape the dangerous paſſages of the rockes, where leaping into the middeſt of the ſtreame, they gouerne the boate that is turned ouer them with their hand, and diuing their heads downeward to the great amaze of all the inhabitants that behold and bewaile them with bitter teares, thinking that they are ſwallowed vp in this gulfe of waters, they ſhow themſelues againe, and appeare very farre off from the place where they diuided ſo ſwiftly, as if they had beene puſhed forward by ſome engines, receiuing no other harme by the violent fall of this furious ſtreame, but that it bringeth them to ſtill water. The firſt increaſe of *Nilus* is obſerued about the Iſle aboue mentioned. A little further off it is ſeparated by the meanes of a rocke, which the Grecians cal *Abatos*, on which no men ſet foot except it bee the Prieſtes of that place. Theſe ſtones firſt of all feele the encreaſe of *Nilus*. Farre off from this there appeare two rockes, which thoſe of the Country name the veines of *Nilus*, from whence there iſſueth a great abundance of water, but not ſufficient to couer *Ægypt*. When any feſtiuall day commeth, the Prieſts caſt in their mony, and the gouernours their iewels of gold in that part of *Nilus*. The which becomming more mighty in all mens ſight, runneth by a deepe and large channell, yet not ſo great as hee might well haue, if it were not reſtrained by the mountaines that hem it in on euery ſide. Finally he getteth liberty about *Memphis*, and hauing the Champion at his command, hee maketh diuers riuers, and entreth into channels made by hand running thorow all Egypt, in ſuch meaſure as they could wiſh, who diuert the ſtreame. From the beginning hee deuideth himſelfe into two armes, and then reioyning his waters, hee iſſueth foorth after the manner of a Lake or troubled ſea. His violent courſe relenteth by reaſon of the extent of the prouinces, ouer which hee is ſpred, embracing both on the right and the left hand all Egypt. As much as Nilus encreaſeth, ſo much is there hope of fertility, neyther doth the computation deceiue the husbandman, it is ſo anſwerable to the meaſure of the floud, which ſeemeth to fatten the ſandy and altered earth, vpon which hee powreth his ſtreame, and diſchargeth his mud al at once: for hauing his waters troubled, hee leaueth the thickeſt in drie places, and ſuch as are expoſed to heate, afterwards hee manureth all the deſert field with all the fat which hee hath brought with him, aiding the territorie by his inundation, & by this glewing and clammy fatneſſe, in ſuch ſort as all that which is not watered, remaineth barren and deſert. Encreaſing beyond meaſure he hurteth. By this reckoning behold a matuailous floud, which whereas many other ſmall riuers doe but waſh and waſte the lands, diminiſheth them nothing, but contrariwiſe fortifieth them: for by the meanes of his mudde hee fatneth and bindeth the ſands: ſo that Egypt aſcribeth not onely her fertility, but her good territory alſo to the ſame. It is a goodly thing to behold Nilus when it hath couered the champion. The fields are hidden, the vallies are couered, or appeare not

A rocke whence firſt encreaſe of Nilus is perceyued.

In what place hee getteth his freedome.

not but in forme of Isles. There is no traffique in the Midland places, except by boats, and the lesse the people see of these fields, the more reioyce they. But when as Nilus containeth himselfe within his bounds, hee floweth by seuen mouthes or chanels into the Mediterranean seas, and which of these mouthes thou wilt consider it is but a sea. True it is that it spreadeth some other little armes in other shores which haue no name. Besides there are foūd in this riuer diuers monsters as huge & cruel as those in the sea, which may suffice to make it knowne that it is Nilus. Since he containeth such creatures and feedeth them abundantly, and hath place large enough to containe. *Balbillus* an excellent man, and one of the learnedest in this world, writeth, that at such time as he gouerned Ægypt, with the greatest mouth of Nilus, called Hereaclioteca, hee had this pastime to behold a great troope of Dolphines comming from the sea, and another troope of Crocodiles comming out of Nilus, as if arranged in battell to encounter one another, and that the Crocodiles were ouercome by the Dolphins, which are peaceable fish and bite not. The Crocodiles haue a maruellous hard and impenetrable backe, so that other creatures that are more great and dreadfull cannot hurt them, but their bellies are soft and tender. It was in this place that the Dolphins pierced them with the fins, and bristles they had on their backes; in such sort as they cut out their bowels, and made them sinke: many were dispatched in this sort, the rest as being put to flight, returned themselues swiftly against the streame of Nilus. The Crocodile hath this propertie, that he flieth before these that run after him, and runneth after those that flie him. The Tontentes get the better of them, not for any priuiledge of generositie they haue aboue the other Egyptians, but for their contempt and temeritie. For they willingly hunt the Crocodile, and cast a snare ouer them as they flie, by meanes whereof they draw them to them: but diuers of these Tontentes that haue not sufficient courage to pursue the Crocodile, resolutely are deuoured by them. *Theophrastas* saith, that the water of Nilus was somewhat salt. For the space of two yeares vnder the raigne of *Cleopatra*, that is to say, in the tenth and the eleuenth yeare Nilus flowed not, which signified according to the report of the Diuines, the change of the State vnder the gouernment of two, vvhich vvere *Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*, vnder vvhom the Kingdome vvas reduced into the forme of a Prouince. *Calimachus* is the Author that in times past the Nile vvas nine yeares vvithout vvatering Egypt. But now let vs consider the causes of the encrease of Nilus in Summer, and let vs beginne with the most ancient. *Anaxagorus* saith, That the snowes that are moulten vpon the mountaines of Æthiopia, runne and discharge themselues in Nilus. All antiquitie followeth the same opinion. *Æschilus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* haue taught no lesse. But that this is false it appeareth by many arguments. First of all, That Æthiopia is a countrey extreamely hot, it appeareth by the tawnie colour of the inhabitants, and by the testimonie of the Troglotides, who haue their houses vnder earth: the rockes and stones are as they were on fire, not only at mid-day, but also in the euening: the sand is so hot, that a man cannot walke vpon it, the siluer waxeth lead, the soder or ioyning of the images dissolues, there is no couerture of any enriched matter that can endure. The Southerly wind that cōmeth from that countrey is extreamely hot. Those beasts that hide themselues in the winter, liue continually abroad. In the time of least heat, the Serpents creepe abroad. In Alexandria likewise, farre distant from these excessiue heats, it snoweth not, neither falleth there any raine on the highest places. How can it then be, that a countrie that is exposed to so great heats

The mouthes or chanals of Nilus.

The Marnailes contained in the same.

A combate betweene the Dolphins of the sea, and Crocodiles of Nilus.

The properties of the Crocodiles.

The causes of the encrease of Nilus in Summer according to the opinion of the Antients, which is false.

heats of the Sunne, there ſhould any ſnowes fall all the Winter time? Truely there ſhould ſome other mountaines be couered therewith, and namely thoſe of Thrace and Caucaſus. But thoſe Riuers that ſtreame along from the mountaines, ſwell about the ſpring time, and vpon the beginning of Summer, and afterwards decreaſe in Winter. For in the Spring time the ſnowes are melted, and about the firſt dayes of the ſummer the Sunne diſſipateth the reſt. The Rhine, the Rhoſne, Danubius and Cayſtre, are ſmall in winter, but great in ſummer: The Northerne mountaines are charged with very much ſnow. The Riuer Phaſis that runneth in thoſe quarters ſhould encreaſe then, if towards the ſummertime the ſwowes could make the Riuers ſwell. Furthermore, if ſuch were the cauſe of the encreaſe of Nile, it ſhould be very great in the beginning of ſummer, becauſe at that time, the ſnowes are at that time entire in great heapes. But Nilus floweth as proudly for foure monthes ſpace, alwayes in the ſame eſtate, if thou wilt beleeue *Thales*, the Eteſian windes reſiſt Nilus in his diſcent, and bridle his courſes, thruſting the ſea againſt the entrances of his chanels, by meanes of which repulſe he floweth backe againe and encreaſeth not, but becauſe he cannot haue further paſſage, he ſwelleth and ouerfloweth in euery place where he may make his way. *Euthymenes* of *Marſcillus* accordeth hereunto, ſaying, I haue ſailed in the Atlantique ſea, thence floweth Nilus more greater, as long as the Eteſians blow, for then the ſea being preſſed by theſe winds repulſeth them againſt their ſtreame. When ſuch windes ceaſe the ſea waxeth calme, and Nilus that returneth backe hath leſſe force. Then is the ſea-water ſweete, and the monſters in the ſame reſemble thoſe of Nilus. Why therefore? If the Eteſians make Nilus to ſwell, why doth the encreaſe thereof begin, before theſe winds riſe, and continue after they are laid? Whence likewiſe commeth it to paſſe, that it is not more great at ſuch time as they blow more rudely. For he neither riſeth nor falleth, whether they blow more or leſſe, which would come to paſſe if he encreaſed by their forces. Furthermore, the Eteſian windes beat vpon the ſhoares of Egypt, and Nilus ſtreameth againſt them, contrariwiſe he would iſſue from the places whence they came, if he tooke his originall from them. Beſides, he would flow from the ſea pure and blew, not troubled and dirtie, as he doth at that preſent. Beſides infinite teſtimonies ſpeake wholly to the contrarie of this opinion. Then was there place for falſehood to preuaile, when the coaſts were vnknowne. It was lawfull for them that ſpake to publiſh their fables. But at this day all the coaſt of the ſea is frequented by their ſhips who traffique; none of which ſay, that the water of Nilus is blew, or that the ſea hath any other taſte then it hath vſually, which likewiſe Nature forbiddeth to be beleeued. For the Sunne draweth that which is moſt light, and ſweet. Beſides, why encreaſeth it not in winter? Since at that time the windes being more violent then they were accuſtomed might moue the ſea? For the Eteſians are moderate. Furthermore, if he were deriued from the Atlantique ſea, hee would at one time fill all Egypt. But he encreaſeth by degrees. The Philoſopher *Oenopides* of Chios ſaith, that in winter the heate is hidden vnder earth, by meanes whereof the dens are hot, and the fountaine water is warme, by meanes whereof the vaines of the earth are dried by internall heate. But in other countries the flouds encreaſe by the meanes of raine. But the Nile, becauſe he is not aſſiſted by any other raine he waxeth the leſſe, and then encreaſeth in ſummer, at ſuch time as the inward parts of the earth are cold, and the fountaines are freſh and coole. But if this were true, the riuers ſhould encreaſe, and all the fountaines ſhould be full in ſummer. I ſay likewiſe that in ſummer time the heate is not

The opinion of Thales, *as touching the incurſe of Nilus.*

Euthymenes *opinion.*

The examination of theſe opinions.

An anſwere to Oenopides *opinion.*

not greater vnder earth. The water, the lower caues, and the fountaines are warme, becauſe they receiue not the aire that is cold without, ſo then they haue no heate, but they driue out cold. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth this, that they are freſh in ſummer, becauſe the aire being remote and ſeuered from the ſame, and afterwards warmed, attaineth not ſo farre. *Diogenes Apollinaris* is of that opinion, that the Sunne draweth humiditie vnto him, which is ſucked vp from the ſea, and other waters by the drie land, that it cannot be that one earth ſhould be drie, and another moiſt, becauſe all is perforated and full of paſſages. Thoſe things that are drier doe ſometimes borrow from the moiſter, and if the earth receiued not from other parts, long ſince had it fallen to duſt. So then the Sunne draweth the waues, but the meridianall regions are thoſe that haue moſt need: when the earth is dried, ſhe draweth more humiditie vnto her. Euen as in lamps, the oyle runneth thither where it conſumeth, ſo the water runneth into that part, where the vehemencie of heat and of the parched earth calleth it. Whence then is ſhe drawne? From thoſe parts that are alwayes cold, that is, from the Northerne parts whence ſhe floweth. For this cauſe the Pontique ſea powreth her ſtreame continually into that which is the lower, not by ebbes and flouds after the manner of other ſeas, but tending and running alwayes violently towards that part. If this were not, if that which euery one wanteth were not ſupplied, and that which were exceſſiue were not ſent backe againe by the ſame wayes, the earth ſhould peece-meale be brought to duſt, or drowned in the water. I would willingly demand of *Diogenes*, ſince that this ſea and the riuers ioyne themſelues together: Whence it commeth to paſſe, that the riuers in all countries are not more big in ſummer time: The Sunne ſcorcheth Egypt more then all other regions, and therefore Nilus encreaſeth the more: But in other countries likewiſe there is ſome encreaſe of riuers? Furthermore, how commeth it to paſſe that ſome places are wholly drie, ſince that all the earth draweth vnto her the humiditie of other countries, and ſo the more the drie earth ſhall be expoſed to the Sunne. Finally, whence commeth it that Nilus is ſweete, if his water floweth from the ſea? For there is no riuer more ſweet in taſte then Nilus is.

The examination of Diogenes Apolloniates *his opinion.*

An inſtance that wrappeth Diogenes *in new abſurdities.*

CHAP. III.

How the haile is made.

IF I ſhould maintaine that haile is made as yce is, the whole cloud being frozen, I ſhould vndertake a thing that were ouer-headie. Therfore number me amongſt thoſe witneſſes of the ſecond note, who deny that they haue ſeene, but auow that they haue heard it. Or at leaſtwiſe I will doe that which the Hiſtorians doe. For they when they haue fained many things according to their owne fancie, will not maintaine any one thing of conſequence, but adde theſe words, I refer my ſelfe to the credit of the Authors. *Poſſidonius* wil anſwere for me, as wel in that which I haue alreadie entreated of, as in that which followeth. For he will affirme that the haile is made of a rainy cloud conuerted into water, as boldly as if he had beene preſent at the making. But why haile is round, thou thy ſelfe mayeſt know without a maſter, when as thou ſhalt obſerue, that euery thing that droppeth gathereth it ſelfe into a round, which likewiſe appeareth in glaſſes, which gather a kind of dew from our breath, and in pots that are powred out, and in euery other light thing, as in the leaues of herbes and trees, if any drop cleaue vnto them, they are alwayes round.

Poſidonius *opinion.*

What

What is more hard then ſtone? more ſoft then water,
Yet hardeſt ſtones by ſofteſt drops are pierced.

Or as another Poet ſaith:

The drops that fall doe pierce the ſtone.

And this hollowneſſe is round alſo, whence it appeareth that the water hath ſome reſemblance with the ſtone that it holloweth, for it maketh a hole in the ſame, that is anſwerable to her forme and habitude. Furthermore, although the haile were not ſuch, yet in falling it might grow round, and tumbling ſo long thorow a thicke aire, take an equall forme on euery ſide, which the ſnow cannot do; becauſe it is not ſo ſolide, but is rather ſpread abroad, and falleth not from any great height, but taketh his originall from the lower region of the aire, ſo that it commeth not from an aire farre diſtant, but falleth from a place neere at hand. Why may not I giue my ſelfe as much libertie as *Anaxagoras* did, wher-as free libertie ſhould be amongſt no men more then amongſt Philoſophers? Haile is nought elſe but ſuſpended yce. The ſnow is a ſort of congelation hanging in the froſt. There is ſuch a difference betwixt froſt and yce, and ſnow and yce, as betweene water and dew.

The difference betweene ſnow and haile.

CHAP. IIII.

AND hauing reſolued this queſtion, I might diſmiſſe and repoſe my ſelfe, but I will giue thee full meaſure, ſince I haue begun to be troubleſome vnto thee, I will relate whatſoeuer it be, that may grow in queſtion vpon this matter. The queſtion is then why it ſnoweth in winter, and haileth not, and after that the cold hath beene broken by a milder weather, the haile falleth? Although thou thinkeſt that I am deceiued, yet account I it for true, which I apprehend in my minde, which permitteth it ſelfe to beleeue theſe trifling tales, wherein men are accuſtomed to nip our tongues, and not to pull out our eyes. In winter the aire freeſeth, by meanes whereof it reſolueth not him ſelfe into water, but into ſnow, to which the aire is more neerer. In the beginning of the Spring there followeth a great change of weather, and the aire being become more warme, there ſucceed more greater raine. Vpon which occaſion our Poet *Virgil* ſaith,

Why it ſnoweth, but haileth not in winter.

When as ſhowre-bearing ſpring,

Diſcouereth it ſelfe, the change of the ayre being opened, and reſolued euery wayes by the aſſiſtance of the ſeaſon, is farre more vehement. For this cauſe the raynes fall more waightie and thicke, but they continue not. The Winter hath lent, and thick ſhowers, which we ſee oftentimes happen when the ſnow falleth amidſt a rare and thin raine. We ſay that it is a ſnowie day when it is colde and the heauen is couered: contrariwiſe, when the Northeaſt winde bloweth and gouerneth in the ayre, the raines are more ſmall; but when the Southern winde rayneth the raine is more ſtrong, and the drops greater.

CHAP. V.

The opinion of the Poet vpon this point.

THat which is resolued by our Stoiques, neyther dare I speake because it is but weakely grounded, neyther must I let it passe. For what euill is it to write any thing that is presented vnto vs? For if we will exactly examine, and make a diligent scrutiny of all things, it were better to be silent, since there is scarcely any thing that is maintayned by the one, that is not impugned by the other. For there are very few things without contradiction. They say therefore that all that which is frozen about Scithia and Pontus, and to the Northward, dissolueth in the spring time: that at that time the Riuers thaw, and that the snowes wherewith the mountaines are couered, melt; by meanes wherof it is very like, that the colder windes engender such a change, and intermixe themselues with the ayre of the spring time. They further adde that which I haue not yet tryed, nor haue the will to do the same; and I counsaile thee that if thou wilt know the truth thereof, not to make triall in this sort if the snow be colde. Mark what they say, that they that treade vpon the firme and hard snow haue not so much colde in their feet, as those that treade vpon the snow that is newly falne. If they speake true, all that which commeth from the Northerly places (when as the snow is distributed, and the yce is broken) tieth and constraineth the warm and moyst ayre of the Southerne parts: and therefore when it should raine the vehemencie of the colde will make it fall into haile.

CHAP. VI.

Of those that foretell when it shall haile.

I Cannot temper my selfe, but that I must needes discouer all the follies of our Stoickes, who affirme that there are some men so well experienced in the obseruations of clouds, that they can foretell when it shall haile, hauing the meanes to comprehend the same, by long vse, by obseruing the colour of the clouds, after which haile hath followed so many times. It is an incredible matter that in the Citie of Cleone there were certaine men chosen to this end vpon the common purse, which were named χαλαξοφύλακες, that is to say, obseruers of the haile. When these had giuen the signe that haile would suddenly follow, what expectest thou, that men should run to their clokes, or their letherne peltches? Nay rather, euery one sacrificed for himselfe a Lambe or a Pullet; and forthwith those clouds declined another way, after he had tasted some little of the bloud: Dost thou laugh at this? Beholde cause of more laughter; if there were any that had neyther Lambe nor Pullet, he drew his owne bloud, wherein hee neyther hurt himselfe nor any other man. And to the end that thou shouldest not thinke that the clouds are cruell and desirous of bloude, one of them with a sharpe pen-knife pricked one of his fingers, and offered his bloud: at that the haile fled away from his field that had sacrificed thus, as from those pastures whose Master had the meanes by more greater offerings to preuent the eminent euill.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

SOme seeke a reason hereof. Othersome that are more wise say, that it is impossible to couenant with the haile, and to redeeme the tempests by their diminutiue presents, although the gods are pacified by such meanes. Some there are, that holde that they of Cleones thought, that there was some secret vertue in bloud, to turne away and repulse the cloude. But how may so great power be inclosed in so little bloud as to mount so high, and to cause a resentment in the clouds. The shortest way, was to say that all that was no other thing but a fable, & a lie: yet they of Cleones punished those that had not the care to foresee and prouide against tempests, because by their negligence their Vineyards were beaten, or their corne layed. And amongst vs, in the law of the twelue tables it was forbidden, that no man should enchant another mans fruite. The auncient Ideots and those of little iudgement, beleeued that the inchanters caused the raines either to faile or fall; but it is a thing most euident, that they cannot doe it, yea, and so manifest, that the cause hereof is not to be examined in any Philosophers Schoole.

Whether there be any reason in this prediction.

CHAP. VIII.

YEt one thing will I adde more, and it will content thee to fauour and applaude it. They say that snow is made in that Region of the ayre that is neerest vnto the earth, and that hath most heat, for three causes: the first is, that euery exhalation of the earth, wheras it hath much heate and drie within, it is so much the more hotter the neerer it is: the second, that the beams of the Sun reflect vpon the earth, and reuerberate backe to themselues; the which redoubling warms all that which is neerest to the earth, the which hath more warmth, because they feele the Sun twice: the third cause is, that the higher parts are more beaten by the windes, but what soeuer are lowest are lesse beaten by the windes.

In what region of the ayre the snow is made.

CHAP. IX.

TO these may a man adde the reason of *Democritus*: the more solid a body is, the more suddenly receiueth it heate, and keepeth it the longer. Therefore if you set a vessell of brasse, or glasse, or siluer, in the Sunne, that of brasse is warmed sooneſt, and keepeth the heate longest. He expresseth the reason in this sort: It must needs be that the pores and passages of those bodies that are closed, solid and thicke should be more lesse then the rest, and that the ayre that entereth should be farre more subtile. It followeth then, that as the Stoues that are lesse spatious, and the smallest Ouens are sooneſt hot; so the pores and passages that are hidden, and cannot be obserued by the eye, doe more speedily entertaine the heate, and because they are so narrow, deliuer ouer this heate more slowly then they haue receiued it.

Democritus *reason annexed to the precedent.*

CHAP. X.

The lowest Region of the ayre is more darkesome and lesse pure.

THese long Prefaces bring vs to the point that is now in question. All aire is more thick, according as it is more neere vnto the earth. As in the water, and in all humiditie, the lees are found in the bottome; so in the ayre, those things that are most thicke are alwaies lowest. But we haue alreadie proued that all things, the more their matter is thicke and solid, the more long time and more effectually keepe they the heate they haue receiued: but the more the ayre is raised and estranged from the ordures of the earth, the more pure and neate it is; by meanes whereof it retaineth not the Sunne, but letteth it passe as thorow a voyd place, and therefore is it that it warmeth lesse.

CHAP. XI.

Why the tops of the highest mountaines haue lesse sense of the heat of the Sun then the vallies.

COntrariwise, some say that the tops of the mountaines, being neere vnto the Sunne, should be also more hot. But in my opinion they deceiue themselues in this, that they thinke that the Apenine, the Alpes, and other renowned mountaines, by reason of their height haue their heads so high, that their tops may feele the neighbourhood of the Sunne: vndoubtedly these mountaines are high, if a man compare them with vs that are men; but when thou shalt consider the whole Vniuerse, euery one may perceiue that both mountaines and men are things very base. The one compared with the other haue the vpper hand, and together they are nothing. Neyther is there any thing, how high soeuer it be raised, that in comparison with the whole should be esteemed any thing; & if it were otherwise, we would not say, that all this circuit of the earth is but a bowl. The properties of a bowle is to be round in all equalitie. Consider this equalitie in a ball; the stitches, the corners and little holes that appeare therein, hinder not a man from saying that all the parts are round. But as these spaces hinder not this ball to haue a round figure, so in all the globe of the earth in the highest mountaines (whose tops are nothing if they be compared with the whole round) the same ought to be considered. He that saith that the highest mountaine, because it is neereſt to the Sunne, should be more warmed, may say also that a great man should haue more heate then a little man, and that heate ought to be rather in the head then in the feete. But whosoeuer hath considered the world according to his measure, and remembreth himselfe that the earth is the center or point of this great circumference, shall know that nothing may be so high in the same, that by that meanes it may haue more sense of the effect of the Sunne, and of those other celestiall fires, as if he were more neerer vnto them. These mountaines that we behold, and these high Tenarifes that are couered with perpetuall snowe, are notwithstanding in the bottom. True it is, that a mount which is raised high is neerer the Sunne then a valley, but in such sort is it, as one thing is greater then another: for after this maner one true is said to be neerer heauen then another; which is false, because betweene those things that are little there cannot be any great difference, but whilst they are compared one with another. When wee come to the comparison of a mighty body, it skils not how much the one is greater then the other, because although it be with a great difference, yet are they called small.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Why the ſnow is ſoft.

BVt to returne, by reaſon of the reaſons aboue mentioned, diuers haue bin of the opinion, that ſnow is made in the loweſt region of the ayre, by meanes whereof it is ſoft, becauſe it is gathered of a cold that is leſſe rigorous then that of other regions. The neighbouring ayre hath too much colde to conuert it ſelfe into water and rain, and ouer little to be hardned into haile. Of this moderate cold, and not too much intended are the ſnowes made by the meanes of thicke waters.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the reſolution of this queſtion: he entereth into cenſure againſt the Epicures of this world, who abuſe ſnow.

WHy, ſaieſt thou, doſt thou proſecute ſo earneſtly theſe follies, wherby thou ſhalt neyther become more learned, nor more better? Thou telleſt me how ſnowes are made, where it concerneth thee far more to let vs vnderſtand why ſnowes are not to be bought. Thou willeſt me to pleade againſt diſſolution: this is a daily and a fruitleſſe brawle; yet let vs chide at it: although ſhe be like to get the vpper hand, yet let her ouercome vs fighting and ſtriuing againſt her. What then? Thinkeſt thou that this inſpection of nature auaileth nothing to that which thou intendeſt? When we aske how ſnow is made, and ſay that by nature it is like vnto froſt, that it containeth in it ſelfe more ayre then water; thinkeſt thou not that they are reproached hereby, becauſe they buy not true water, but a far more baſer thing? But let vs rather inquire how ſnowes are made, then how they are kept, becauſe not contenting our ſelues to poure out our olde wines, and to diſpoſe them according to their ſauours and age, we haue found out the inuention how to keepe ſnow, and to the end it might ouercome Summer, and defence it ſelfe againſt the heat of the yeare, by the coldneſſe of the place, what haue we attained by this diligence? Forſooth this, to buy water that coſteth vs nothing. It grieueth vs that we cannot buy the winde and the Sunne; or for that the ayre commeth ſo eaſily to preſent himſelfe to a rich and more delicate ſort, who could be contented to buy the ſame. O how impatiently endure wee that nature, the mother of all hath left nothing common to all. This which ſhe would haue flow and lie open to all men; this which ſhe hath made publike, to the end that all men might drinke therof to entertaine life, that which ſhe hath largely and happily diſpenſed for all, to ſerue the common vſe of men, of ſauage beaſts, of birds and all other liuing creatures, that are the moſt idle, that hath diſſolution (ingenuous in her owne miſchiefe) drawne vnto a price; ſo is not [illegible] pleaſing vnto her except it coſt deere. This was the onely thing that equalled the rich with the common ſort, in which onely they could not exceed the pooreſt. For him was this deuiſed (whoſe riches are troubleſome to himſelfe) to feed his diſſolution euen in water. I will tell you whence it came to paſſe that no running water ſeemed cold enough for vs. As long as the ſtomacke is ſound and capable of conuenient nouriſhment, and is filled but not ouerpreſſed, it is content with naturall ſupplies, it feeleth not the heate of the time, but his inward diſtemper; when as continuall drunkenneſſe encampeth in his bowels, and the noble parts are inflamed by a cholericke humour that ſeizeth the ſtomacke, men ſeeke neceſſarily for ſomewhat that may temper that heate which

waxeth more violently by thoſe waters that are poured on it, and the remedy increaſeth the ſickneſſe. And therefore not in Summer onely, but in the depth of winter they drinke water for this cauſe. What is the cauſe hereof but an euill inteſtine, the intrailes rotted and ſpoyled by exceſſe, to which no intermiſſion hath bin granted, to concoct & digeſt that which they had thruſt into them; but ſome haue heaped on their dinners thoſe nightly banquets, which haue laſted till the next day morning, gourmandize and drunkenneſſe plunging as it were into a gulfe, mens ſtomacks charged with abundance and diuerſities of wines and meates. Beſides this, intemperance that hath no intermiſſion, hauing greedily deuoured all that which was preſented vnto him, becomes mad, and inflameth it ſelfe alwayes in a new deſire to follow his traine. Although therfore they garniſh their chambers with Tapeſtrie and other ornaments, and with huge fires conquer the vehemency of the colde, yet notwithſtanding their ſtomackes cloyed and weakened by their proper heate, ſeeketh ſome ſollace to refreſh themſelues. For euen as we caſt colde water vpon their faces that faint and are in a ſwound, to the end we may reuiue them, ſo the entrailes of theſe diſſolute men, wholly ſtupified with ſo much exceſſe, feele nothing, except you awake them with theſe extreame colde drinkes. Hence commeth it that they content not themſelues with ſnow, but ſteepe their yce in ſtore of freſh water, as if the thickeneſſe thereof gaue them ſome more certaine refreſhing. And this yce is not taken from that which groweth aboue, but to the end it may haue more force, and a more vehement colde, they draw it and digge it out of the deeper places. Therefore is it, that theſe delicacies haue more priſes then one, and there is traffique both of water and yce, according to the diuerſities of the ſeaſons of the yeare, to the great diſhonour of the buyers and the ſellers. The Lacedemonians baniſhed Perfumers out of their Citie, and commanded them ſuddenly to depart out of their confines, becauſe they waſted their oyle. What would they haue done if they had ſeene the ſhops and ſtore-houſes for ſnow, and ſo many horſes appointed to carrie water, whoſe colour and ſauour they alter by the meanes of the ſtraw wherein they keepe it? But good gods, how eaſie a thing is it to extinguiſh wholſome thirſt? But what can dull and dead jawes, ſtupified with burning meates, feele? Euen as nothing is colde enough for them, ſo nothing is hot enough: but they thruſt downe the ſcalding morſels, ſpeedily drowned in their ſawce, halfe ſmoaking into their ſtomacks, to the end they may extinguiſh them with ſnowie potions. Thou ſhalt ſee certaine leane fellowes, armed againſt the colde vp to the chin, pale and ill diſpoſed, that not onely ſwallow downe, but alſo eate ſnow, caſting great morſels of the ſame into their cups, fearing leaſt in forbearing their drinke a little, it ſhould waxe warme. Thinkeſt thou that this is thirſt? It is a feuor, yea, ſo malignant that it is neyther diſcouered in touching the pulſe, nor by the colour that appeareth in the face. But intemperance an inuincible euill, of ſoft and fluid becomming hard and ſtupid burneth the heart it ſelfe. Knoweſt thou not that all things looſe their force by cuſtome? Therefore this ſnow, in which at this day you that are delicate, are as it were plunged, by vſe and continuall ſeruitude of the ſtomacke hath gotten this priuiledge, that it obtaineth the place of water. Seek out now ſome other thing that is more colde, for an ordinary and accuſtomed freſhneſſe and cooleneſſe is as much to you as nothing.

A pleaſant and fit compariſon, to ſhew the miſeries of the diſſolute.

A liuely deſcription of belly-gods, and how great was Seneca's admired hatred againſt all exceſſe.

The end of the fourth Booke of Naturall Queſtions.

OF

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The fifth Booke.

Wherein

Is intreated of the matter and motion of the windes and aire.

CHAP. I.

THe Winde is fluent aire. Some haue defined it thus: The winde is an aire which is fluent in one part. This definition ſeemeth to be more exact, becauſe the aire is neuer ſo immoueable, but that in ſome ſort it is agitated. So ſay we that the Sea is calme, when it is but gently moued, and incli-neth not ouer-much to one part. When there-fore thou readeſt,

Hippocrat. lib. de Flatib. *Read* Valeriola *vpon thu, and* Ariſto-tles *opinion in* 2. Meteorolog. *wherein he high-ly taxeth the de-finition: but* Seneca *in this place firſt defi-neth what winde is.*

When as the Sea was calme vnbet by windes:

Know that it is neuer ſo ſtill but that it hath ſome ſlight replying, and is ſaid to be calme, becauſe it forceth not a ſtreame neither this way, nor that way. The ſame may a man iudge of the aire, that it is neuer immoueable although it be quiet and calme. Which thou maieſt conceiue by this: When the ſunne is infuſed into any cloſed place, we ſee certaine little bo-dies carried now a thwart, ſome vpward, ſome downeward, and diuerſly en-countring together. He ſhall therefore ſcarce diligently enough comprehend that he would, that ſaith: The floud is the agitation of the Sea, becauſe when it is calmeſt it is ſtirred likewiſe. But beyond exception ſhall he be that ſhall de-fine it thus. The floud is the agitation of the Sea into one part. So in this thing alſo, wherof we moſt of all now debate, he ſhall not be excepted againſt, that carrieth himſelfe ſo as hee ſaith: The winde is a fluent aire into one part, or

or the winde is fluent aire with violence; or the force of the aire that fleeteth into one part, or a course of the aire a litle more vehement then ordinarie. I know what may bee answered for that other definition, what needest thou to adde this, aire flowing into one part? For whatsoeuer floteth, fleeteth into some part. No man will say that the water floweth, if it be only moued in it selfe, but if it tendeth toward some part. There may be therefore somwhat that may moue and not flow, but contrariwise it cannot flow except it be into one part. But if this breuitie be sufficient to defend vs from reproofe, let vs vse this. But if any man be more circumspect, let him not spare his word, by whose adiection hee may exclude all cauill. Let vs now come to the matter it selfe, because we haue sufficiently disputed of the forme.

CHAP. II.

Whereof winde is composed.

DEMOCRITVS saith, that when there are many of these small bodies, which he calleth *Atomi*, in some voide streight, there followeth winde: contrariwise that the estate of the aire is calme and peaceable, when in much voide there are few *Atomes*. For euen as in the market place or street, as long as there is but little companie, a man may walke without tumult: but when as companie meeteth in a straight, there groweth quarrell, because they throng and iustle one another: so in this space wherein we are inuironed, when many bodies haue filled a small place, it must needes bee that in incountring one with another: the one should be pushed by the other, which push them back againe, and that they should be confused together, and compresse one another. From thence commeth winde, when as those two bodies that were at debate are fallen downe, and after they haue long time floted and remayned in suspence, incline themselues. But where there are few bodies in a great extent, neither can they iustle one another, nor be impelled the one by the other.

CHAP. III.

Refutation of Democritus argument in the former Chapter.

HOw false this opinion is, thou maist gather hereby, because that when the skie is cloudie and the aire is thick, there is no winde stirring. But at that time diuers bodies are assembled together, whence proceedeth also the thickneſse of the clouds. Adde hereunto that about Riuers and Lakes fogs fall very oftentimes, bodies being pressed and conioyned together, and yet there is no winde. And sometimes so great a mist is spred abroad, that scarce one man can see another, though they stand neare together, which should not come to passe except many bodies had enclosed themselues in a little space. But no time wanteth winde more then that which is foggie. Adde hereunto now that which falleth out on the contrarie side, that the rising sunne ordinarily attenuateth the thick and moist aire vpon his rise. And then doth the winde rise when as the bodies are set at libertie, and that their presse and multitude is resolued.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

NOw therefore how sayest thou, are the windes made, since thou confessest that they are made? not after one manner: for sometimes the earth pusheth out of her caues a great abundance of ayre, oftimes when a great and continuall exhalation driueth vp on high, that which shee had depressed, this change of intermixed ayre is turned into winde: for this neither can I bee perswaded to beleeue, nor to conceale, which some men doe hold, that as by the meanes of our meate, winde is caused in our bodies, which cannot burst forth, except it be by violent sneesing, or likewise sometimes by discharge of the belly with some noice, or making an escape which is not heard: so this spacious nature that maintaineth all things, in changing nature produceth windes. It is good for vs that shee digesteth alwayes, otherwise wee might feare some stinke or or more vncleannesse. Is there not therefore more apparance to say, that from all the parts of the earth, there necessarily arriues a great number of these Atomes, which heaped together, & afterwards attennated by the same, it hapneth that the winde is made, because that all that which enlargeth it selfe in a narrow place, requireth a greater space?

Winde is made in diuers sorts.

CHAP. V.

WHat then? thinkest thou that the euaporations of the waters and earth are the onely cause of the wind? That the grauity of the aire is caused by these, & afterwards resolued by violence when these things that stood thicke, as it is needefull by being extenuated, striue to get a greater space? For mine owne part I iudge it to be so. But that is the more truer and firmer cause, is that the ayre hath a naturall force of mouing her selfe, which shee hath of her selfe, as other thinges haue without hauing any need of conceiuing it from an other. Thinkest thou that the force of motion hath beene giuen vs, and that the ayre hath beene condemned to remaine idle, and without agitation, considering that the water ceaseth not to haue her motion, although the windes bee calme, for otherwise shee could not breed fishes. Wee see likewise that Mosse and other herbs grow in the waters, and float aboue them.

The ayre hath in it selfe a naturall faculty of motion.

CHAP. VI.

THere is somewhat therefore vitall in the water. Speake I it onely of the water; The fire that consumeth all things, createth likewise some things, and that which cannot seeme to bee true, and yet is very true) there are certaine liuing creatures that are engendred in the fire. The ayre likewise hath some such like vertue, and therfore sometimes it thickneth, sometimes it spreadeth and pureth it selfe, sometimes it closeth, it openeth, and restraineth it selfe. There is herefore such difference betwixt the ayre and the wind, as there is betwixt a Lake and a Riuer. Sometimes the sunne it selfe is the cause of winde, sometimes

It hath something vitall in it selfe.

times melting the colde ayre, and finding it thicke and closed in it selfe, purifieth and dilateth it.

CHAP. VII.

When and from whence the winds proceed.

WE haue spoken of the windes in generall, now let vs beginne to entreat of them seuerally. It will happily appeare how they are made, if it shall appeare when and whence they proceede, First therefore let vs examine those windes that rise before day, which eyther are raysed from some riuers, or vallies, or gulfes. There is none of them continueth, but falleth when the sunne is mounted somewhat high, neyther is carried aboue the sight of the earth. This kind of windes beginneth in the Spring time, and passeth not the Summer. And from thence most of all commeth it, where there are many waters and mountaines. The Champions although they abound with waters, yet say I, that they want this breath which standeth in stead of wind.

CHAP. VIII.

Whence strong windes are caused.

HOw then is that winde bred which the Grecians call ἐγχειλωίαν, what soeuer the riuers and marishes cast out of themselues, (the which is much and continuall) is in the day time the nutriment of the sunne, by night it is not spent, but being vnited in the mountains, is gathered into one region; when it hath filled the same, and being vnable to containe it selfe in it selfe, it breaketh forth, and goeth into an other part, and hence commeth the winde. It inclineth therefore towards that part, which inuiteth it with more free passage, and thorow the spaciousnes of the place, into which being gathered together it may runne. The proofe hereof is, that it riseth not before midnight: for this collection beginneth to bee made a little before day, and being as it were accomplished at such time as the light appeareth, it seeketh to discharge it selfe of the weight, and thether especially tendeth, where there is most ayre, and a great and spacious extent. The sunne likewise at his rise reflecting vpon the cold ayre, in some sort addeth forwardnesse to it: for euen before hee appeareth, hee preuaileth by his light, although his beames doe not dissipate the ayre, yet prouoketh hee it, and stirreth it by sending his light before: for when he himselfe appeareth, the one are raysed vp into the ayre, the other are dissipated by little and little, in such sort as they are not permitted to blow, except in the morning, their vigor vanisheth vnder the force of the Sunne. And if they bee strong about the morning, about midday they waxe weake, and these small windes neuer passe midday. There are some likewise that are very feeble, and more short, according as their causes are more or lesse powerfull.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

BVt why are theſe winds more violent in the ſpring-time, and in the ſummer? for in the two other ſeaſons they are very milde and ſcarſely fill the ſayles of ſhippes; becauſe the ſpring is moiſter, and a greater euaporation is made from diuers waters and places, that by reaſon of the moiſt nature of the heauens are full and ouercharged. But why is it that theſe vapours are ſo great in the ſummer time? becauſe ſuch dayly heat continueth after the ſetting of the ſunne, and continueth for the greater part of the night, and draweth to it ſelfe that which is without, and attracteth with violence all that which the earth is accuſtomed to render of it ſelfe, but it hath not ſufficient force to conſume and diſſipate that which it hath drawne: for this cauſe, the earth and water puſh out theſe little Atomes which are accuſtomed almoſt ordinarily to iſſue out, not onely by heate, but alſo by the reuerberation of his beames. the Sunne is the efficient cauſe of the winds: for the light that forgoeth the riſing of the Sunne doth not as yet warme the ayre, but onely reflecteth vpon it, which being ſtrucken vpon, retireth it ſelfe on the one ſide; although I auerre not that this light is without heate, conſidering that it is made of heate. It may bee it hath not ſo much heate, that it may actually apppeare, yet notwithſtanding it performeth his dewty by deducing and attenuating theſe things that are thicke. Beſides thoſe places, which by ſome iniquity of nature are ſo cloſed, that they cannot entertaine the ſunne, are notwithſtanding lightned by a drie and heauie light, and are leſſe colde by day then by night. By nature likewiſe euery heate drieth and diſperſeth away from it all cloudes. It followeth therefore, that the ſunne doth the like. For which cauſe ſome are of the opinion, that the winde bloweth from thence whence the ſunne parteth. But that this is falſe, it appeareth hereby becauſe the wind driueth ſhippes into diuers climates, and ſuch as trauell by ſea with full ſayle, ſayle againſt the ſunne riſe, which ſhould not come to paſſe, if the winde were alwayes carried by the ſunne.

Whence it commeth that ſuch a wind is more violent in the Spring and Summer.

If the winde bloweth from the place whence the Sun departeth.

CHAP. X.

THe Eteſian windes likewiſe (which are alleadged by ſome in way of proofe) ſerue them little for their purpoſe. I will firſt declare what their opinion is, and afterwardes why it diſliketh mee. The Eteſians (ſay they) blow not in the winter, becauſe in the ſhorter dayes the ſunne is ſooner ſet before the colde bee ouercome, and therefore the ſnowes both fall and are hardned. In the ſummer time they beginne to blow, becauſe the dayes are longer, and the beames of the Sunne directly beate vpon vs. It is therefore like to be true, that the cloudes being ſhaken with great heat, puſh forth humidity, and that the earth (diſcouered and diſcharged of the ſnow) produceth the vapours more freely; whence iſſue more impreſſions in the ayre to the North-ward, then otherwiſe, which are carried into places more ſweet and temperate: ſo doe the Eteſians inforce themſelues, and therefore is it that they beginne in the Solſtice, being vnable to endure the riſing of the Dogge-ſtarre, becauſe that already the colder part of the heauen hath powred much of his humour into the ſame. But the Sunne hauing

Why the winds that are called Eteſeans blow not but in ſummer, and during the number of certaine dayes.

hauing changed his courſe, draweth more directly towards vs, inuiting one part of the ayre, and repulſing the other. Thus the gale of theſe Eteſians breaketh the forces of Summer, and defendeth it from the violence of the hoteſt monethes.

CHAP. XI.

If the Eteſians and other windes are ſtirred by the ſunne.

NOw will I performe that which I promiſed, why the Eteſians helpe them no wayes, neyther yeelde any confirmation to this cauſe; we haue ſaide that about the ſpring of the day, there ariſeth a little wind, which is laid as ſoone as the Sunne meeteth with it. And therefore is it why the Mariners call the Eteſians idle & delicate, becauſe they know not how to riſe earely as *Gallion* ſaith. They beginne the moſt times to blow when that little mornings breath beginneth to calme, which would not come to paſſe if the Sunne were the ſtirrer of them as he is of the leſſer winds. Furthermore, if the length and greatneſſe of the day were the cauſe that they blew, they ſhould be heard before the Solſtice at ſuch time as the dayes are long, and the ſnowes are melted; for in the moneth of Iuly all the earth is diſcouered, or at leaſtwiſe there are very few things that lie vnder the ſnow.

CHAP. XII.

Of the winds called Ecnephy *and how they are made.*

THere are ſome ſorts of winds which the clouds that are broken, and fall, puſh before them; theſe windes do the Grecians call ἐκνεφίας, which in my opinion are made after this maner. When as a great inequality & diuerſity of bodies which are caſt forth by terreſtriall vapours, mount on high, and that the one of theſe bodies are drie, and the other moiſt. It is to bee belieued, that from ſo great a contrariety of bodies that inceſſantly ſtriue one againſt an other at ſuch time as they are aſſembled, there ſhould certaine hollow cloudes bee compoſed. and that there is betweene them ſome diſtances, full of narrow holes, ſuch as are in flutes: In theſe diſtances there is a ſubtill and thinne aire, that incloſeth it ſelfe, which being toſſed vp and down therein, and in the end warmed by a conſtrained and interrupted courſe, becommeth hereby more ſtrong; and ſeeking for a place more large, breaketh all that which incloſeth it, and iſſueth like a wind, which for the moſt part is ſtormy, becauſe it commeth from aboue, and falleth vpon vs with a great violence, becauſe it cannot ſpread it ſelfe euery wayes, but contrariwiſe trauelleth very much to finde an iſſue, enforcing his way before him, and as it were by a violent combate. Ordinarily this wind endureth not long, becauſe it breaketh the receptacles of thoſe cloudes wherein it was carried: ſometime it iſſueth with a great noyſe, but not without thunder and lightning. Such winds are of more vehemency and longer continuance, if they carry with them other violent winds intermixed with them, and ſuch as iſſue from the ſame way, and ſtriue to vnite themſelues with them: euen as torrents flow in a meaſurable greatneſſe, as long as euery one hath his particular courſe, but when as diuers of them meet together in one, they ſurpaſſe in depth, breadth and ſwiftneſſe the greateſt riuers that flow inceſſantly. The

ſame

ſame way in all likelyhood fall out in ſtormes, which of themſelues continue not long time, but when they haue aſſembled their forces, and when as from diuers parts of the heauen, the ayre being preſſed, aſſembleth it ſelfe in one place, they both gather more forces, and continue longer.

CHAP. XIII.

The maner how the winds breake from the cloudes that incloſe thē.

SO then a reſolued cloud maketh the wind which is diſſolued in diuers ſorts. Sometimes the ayre which is incloſed, ſearching to finde a vent, ſtrugleth in ſuch ſort that it breaketh all that collection of cloudes that detaineth it, ſometimes the heat that hath beene occaſioned by the ſunne, ſometimes the interſhocke of cloudes, as it hapneth when two great bodies encounter and cruſh one another. In this place it may be demanded (if thou thinkeſt it fit) whence that ſtorme is rayſed? which is accuſtomed to happen in riuers, which fleeting onward without interruption ſeeme peaceable and milde, and make no noyſe: but when they encounter with any rocke on this or that ſide of the riuer, they recoyle and turne their waters into round circles which cannot bee diuided; ſo that in whirling about they ſucke vp themſelues, and make a gulfe: ſo the winde as long as nothing reſiſteth it, extendeth his forces: but when it is beaten backe by any promontory, or if by conſtraint of the places it bee gathered into ſome ſtraight and crooked pypes, it oftimes turneth and returneth it ſelfe into it ſelfe, and maketh a gulfe like vnto thoſe waters, which as I ſaid, are conuerted and whirled about. This wind turning it ſelfe, and enuironing one and the ſame place, and mouing it ſelfe violently in diuers circles and rounds, is a whirle wind, which if it grow more ſtrong and furious is inkindled, and maketh that flying fire, which the Grecians call πρηςῆρα. This is a fierie ſtorme. Theſe windes for the moſt part being broken from the cloudes diſcouer all dangers, whereby whole herdes of beaſts are carried away in the fields, and whole ſhippes are toſſed and drowned in the floudes. Some winds alſo engender diuers others, and puſhing the ayre into ſome other places, then thoſe whereupon they were formerly caſt, ſpread themſelues here and there. I will tell you likewiſe that which is come into my memory; euen as the droppes of rayne in the beginning make not the earth ſlippery, but when they are gathered together, and reinforced, then is it ſaid that they flow and fall: in like caſe, as long as the motions of the ayre are light and agitated in diuers places, it is not winde as yet, it beginneth to be when hee hath mingled all his motions together, and hath made a mighty body. It is the meaſure that putteth a difference betwixt the aire and the wind, for the wind is a more vehement breath, and the ſpirit likewiſe a lightly flowing ayre.

CHAP. XIIII.

That there are windes likewiſe which breake from the caues and hollow places of the earth.

I Will repeate now that which I ſaid at the firſt, that the winds iſſue from caues and hollow places of the earth. The earth is not made and faſhioned of one whole maſſiue peece from the top vnto the bottome, but is hollow in diuers places:

Suſpended on obſcure and hollow caues.

Some where ſhe hath voides without any humour. There likewiſe if no light ſhow the difference of the aire, yet will I ſay that the clouds and miſts conſiſt in obſcuritie. For neither are theſe aboue the earth, becauſe they ſeeme ſo to be, but becauſe they are, they are ſeene. There notwithſtanding alſo are they for this cauſe, becauſe they are not ſeene. Thou mayeſt know likewiſe that there, there doe flow certaine riuers, no leſſe great then thoſe that we ſee, the one ſtealing along ſweetly, the other violently and with roaring noiſe, by reaſon that they fall downe headlong from craggie and ſtonie places. What then wilt thou not confeſſe alſo, that there are lakes vnder the earth, and that there are certaine pooles, whoſe waters ſtandeth continually without iſſue? Which if it be ſo, it followeth alſo that the aire is burthened, and by his burthen bended, and raiſeth the wind by his vrging forward. We ſhall know well then that theſe winds ſhall be produced, in obſcure places, out of theſe clouds vnder earth, when they haue gathered ſo much forces that either may ſuffice to breake thorow the reſiſtance of the earth, or occupie ſome open paſſage for theſe windes, and that by theſe caues they may be conueyed amongſt vs. But this is moſt manifeſt, that vnder earth there is a great quantitie of ſulphure and other minerals, that ſerue to enkindle fire. The aire ſearching iſſue by theſe caues, after it is very much agitated, muſt of neceſſity in this great preſſe, expreſſe and cauſe the fire to iſſue. Afterwards the flames being ſpred more at large, if there remained any aire that was ſtill, the ſubtiltie thereof gaue it motion, and there with great noiſe and cracking ſound, it ſeeketh paſſage. But I will entreate hereof more exactly when I ſhall ſpeake of, and debate of the trembling of the earth.

CHAP. XV.

A digreſſion wherein he entreateth of riuers and pooles vnder ground.

PErmit me now to tell thee a pleaſant tale. *Aſclepiodotus* reciteth, that in times paſt *Philip* cauſed certaine work-men to be let down in deſert mines, to ſee if there were any thing to bee gotten, in what eſtate all things were, and if the auarice of our predeceſſors had left any thing for thoſe that were to ſucceed. Theſe men deſcended with many lights, and remained there for many daies, and finally being wearied with walking, they ſaw great riuers, and pooles of a maruellous length like vnto ours, but not incloſed and reſtrained with any earth to bound them in, but ſpred and extended abroad, which made them afraid: I tooke great content to reade this; for I vnderſtand that our age is ſicke, not onely of new vices, but alſo of thoſe which the Ancients haue taught, and that it is not of late time that auarice hath digged into the vaines of earth, and rocks, ſeeking in the darkneſſe the ruine of mankind. And as touching our Anceſtors, whom we praiſe ſo much, they likewiſe (whoſe vertues we complaine that we cannot equall) being led by hope, haue opened and digged downe mountains, and haue found themſelues buried vnder the ruines, and vnder the gaine they had made. There haue beene Kings long time before *Philip* of *Macedon*, that haue ſearched out the verie bowels of the earth to finde out ſiluer, and forſaking the free ayre, haue ſlid downe into thoſe caues, where there was no difference betwixt day and night, leauing the cleareneſſe of the day behind them. What great hope could this be? What neceſſitie hath bowed a man towards the earth, who was made vpright to behold the heauens, that he hath digged, and drowned himſelfe in the heart of the earth, to draw out gold, which is as dangerous in the ſearching, as in the keeping!

An inuective againſt auarice.

keeping! For this hath he vndermined the earth, and vnder hope of an vncertaine prey couered in dirt, (forgetfull of his time, and forgetfull of his better nature) hath he ſequeſtred himſelfe. There is no dead man to whom the earth is ſo waightie, as to thoſe vpon whom auarice hath caſt ſo waightie a load of earth; from whom ſhe hath taken the light of heauen, and whom ſhe hath buried in thoſe bottomleſſe pits, wherein this poyſon was hidden: Into thoſe places durſt they deſcend, where they haue found a new diſpoſition of things, the earth ſuſpended, the windes blowing in an obſcure void, the dreadfull ſources of waters that ſtreamed along, a profound and perpetuall night, yet for all this they feare hell.

CHAP. XVI.

BVt to returne to that which is now in queſtion. There are foure windes, diuided into Eaſt, Weſt, South, and North. All the reſt which we call by diuers names are numbered vnder theſe: *Of the foure principall winds, and whence they come.*

EVRVS *retired towards the mornings riſe,*
And to the Nabathean Kingdomes flies,
Breathing on Perſia, and thoſe mountaines hye,
That are expoſ'd to PHOEBVS *riſing eye.*
Milde ZEPHIRVS *the euening hath poſſeſt,*
And beates vpon the warmer ſhores of Weſt,
But horrid BOREAS *doth the North inuade*
And bends his ſtormes againſt the Scythian glade:
Where contrarie, the Southerne winde againe
The Nooncſted tract doth moiſt with clouds and raine.

Or if thou haddeſt rather comprehend them in ſhorter words, let them be aſſembled in one tempeſt (which can no wayes be.)

EVRVS *and* NOTHVS *tempeſt both together,*
And ſtormie Afrike haſts (to helpe them) thither.

And the North-winde which had no place in that conflict. Some imagine that there are twelue windes. For they diuide the foure parts of the heauens into three, and giue two adiuncts to euery one of the foure principall windes. According to this manner, *Varro*, a very diligent man, hath ordered them; and not without cauſe: For the Sunne neither riſeth nor ſetteth alwayes in one place, but one is the riſing and ſetting Equinoctiall, (for there are two Equinoctials) other the Solſtitiall and hibernall. We call that *Subſolanus*, that riſeth from the Orientall Equinoctiall: the Grecians call it ἀπηλιώτην. *Eurus* iſſueth from the Orient of winter, which wee haue called *Vulturnus*. And *Liuy* ſo termeth it in that vnfortunate battell of the Romans, wherein *Hanibal* ſet the riſing Sunne and winde in the eyes of his enemies, and by the aſſiſtance both of Sunne and winde, got the victorie. *Varro* ſurnameth it alſo *Eurus* after this manner. At this day the Latines vſe indifferently both the one and the other. The winde that bloweth from the Orientall Solſtice, is called *Cæcias*, or καικίαν by the Greeks and the Latines haue no other name. The Weſt Equinoctiall ſendeth *Fauonius*, *Of twelue winds, according to ſome* *Their names.*

which they that vnderſtand not the Greeke will tell thee is *Zephirus*. From the Occidentall Solſtice proceedeth *Corus*, or according to others, *Argeſtes*, which I thinke not, becauſe that *Corus* bloweth violently, and maketh a ſtorme in ſome part; *Argeſtes* is ordinarily ſlacke, equall, and common as well to thoſe that go, as thoſe that returne. *Africus* that is both ſtormie and tempeſtuous, departeth from the Occident of winter, and by the Grecians is called λὶψ. To the Northward, the higheſt is Aquilon, that in the middeſt Septentrion, and *Thracias* is the lower, which hath no other name amongſt the Latines. From the Meridionall *axis* ariſeth *Euronotus*, then *Notus*, in Latine *Auſter*; after theſe *Libanotus*, which amongſt vs is without a name.

CHAP. XVII.

There cannot be but twelue principall winds.

I Agree that there are twelue windes, not becauſe there ariſe many in euery country (for the inclination of the earth excludeth ſome) but becauſe there are no more in any place. So ſay we that there are ſix caſes, yet meane we not, that euery nowne hath ſix caſes, but becauſe there is no nown that can haue more then ſix. They that haue propoſed twelue windes, haue followed this reaſon, that there are as many winds as there are parts of the heauen, which is diuided into fiue circles, which paſſe thorow the Cardines of the world, that is to ſay, the Northerne, Solſtitiall, Equinoctiall, Hibernal, and Meridional, to which is annexed a ſixt, diſtinguiſhing, as thou knoweſt, the ſuperiour part of the world, from the inferiour. For there is alwayes a halfe aboue, and another beneath. The Greekes haue called this line which is partly couered, and partly diſcouered, *Horizon*, we *Finitor* or *Finiens*. To this muſt wee adde the Meridian circle, which diuideth the Horizon by ſtraight angles. Some of theſe circles goe ſloapewiſe, and trauerſe the others. But it is neceſſarie that there ſhould be as great differences in the aire, as there is in the parts. So then the Horizon diuideth the fiue aboue-named circles, whereof it maketh ten parts, fiue to the Eaſtward, and fiue to the Weſtward. The Meridian circle, which encountereth with the Horizon, addeth two parts. If the aire haue twelue differences, ſo many windes maketh it. There are ſome that are proper to certaine places, which go not from one place to another, but bend themſelues towards that which is next, without blowing from one end of the world to another. *Atabulus* moleſteth *Apulia*; *Iapix*, *Calabria*; *Sciron*, *Athens*; *Catagis*, *Pamphilia*; *Circius*, France; whoſe inhabitants ceaſe not to giue him thankes, although he breaketh their buildings, as if they were bound vnto him for the bountie of their aire. At ſuch time as the Emperour *Auguſtus* ſoiorned in France, he vowed and builded a Temple to this winde. It were an infinite matter if I ſhould entreate of all other windes in particular, ſince for the moſt part, there is not any region that hath not ſome winde, that both breedeth and ceaſeth in it, or about it.

CHAP. XVIII.

AMongst other workes of diuine prouidence therefore, a man may likewise wonder at this, as a matter worthie of admiration. For it hath not out of one cause, both found out, and disposed the windes diuersly: but first of all, to the end it might not suffer the aire to stand still, but by continual agitation make it profitable and vitall to those that should vse it. Againe, that they might minister raines vnto the earth, and bridle excessiue stormes. For sometimes they bring on clouds, sometimes seuer them, to the end that the raine may be distributed thorow all the world: Auster driueth it into Italy, Aquilo casteth it into Africa, the Etesians suffer not the clouds to stay with vs. The same windes in the same season, when we haue drought, water India and Æthiopia with continuall raines. But why? could a man store vp his corne, were it not that the winde assisted him to driue the chaffe from that which was to be reserued? Except there were somewhat that caused it to encrease, and that breaking the eare and spike that holdeth the graine hidden and couered (which the laborers call the husks) should open the same? Is it not a great good, that she hath giuen vs the meanes to be able to traffique and to merchandize with forren Nations? This is a great benefit of Nature, except the furie of men conuerted it to their iniurie. Now that which in times past was spoken by the greater part of people by *Cæsar*, that a man could scarcely say whether it were more expedient for the Commonweale, if this man had liued, or had neuer beene, may be at this day said of the windes. So much the necessity of them, and the profit that they bring counterpriseth the euils, that the furie of mankind hath inuented to his owne ruine by this meanes. For such goods cease, not to be good of their own nature, although they are become hurtfull through their wickednesse that abuse the same. The eternall prouidence of God, who is the gouernour of this world, hath not giuen this charge vnto the windes to agitate the aire, neither hath he lodged them in all parts to cleanse the same, to the end we should couer a part of the sea with vessels charged with armed souldiers, or that we should seeke out enemies in or beyond the same. What madnesse is it that possesseth vs, and maketh vs to seeke out a meanes how to murther one another? We embarke our selues to fight and seeke out danger, wee hazard our selues to find out hazard. We aduenture on vncertain fortune, we combat against the violence of a storme, which no humane power is able to surmount, and runne vnto death without hope of sepulture: yet should this be nothing, if we might attaine peace hereby. But now when we haue escaped so many hidden rockes, and the ambushes of a sea full of shoales, impetuous billowes, and sands into which a head-long winde driueth those that saile: when we haue passed thorow dayes couered with skowling clouds, horrid night full of raine and thunder, and seene the vessels broken and battered by the winde. What shall be the fruit of this labour and feare? What hauen shall entertaine vs, being wearied with so many euils? It shall be warre, and the enemie that attendeth vs vpon our descent; the Nations we shall murther, aud shall kill a part of the Conquerours armie, with burning of those Cities that were builded for perpetuitie. Why call wee the people to armes? Why leuie we men of warre, entending to arrange our battels in the middest of the sea? Why disquiet we the seas? Is not the earth great enough for vs to die in? Fortune handleth vs too delicatly: She hath giuen vs too hard

Why the windes haue been created and lodged in the aire.

How men haue abused this blessing of God bestowed vpon vs by the winde.

Inuectiues against the disturbers of humane peace.

bodies, and to happie health. There is no accident that may hurt vs. Euerie one may measure his yeares, and pursue them vntill old age. Let vs then enter vpon the sea, and prouoke the forts that forbeare vs. Wretched men what seeke you? Death; which euery where attendeth you, and alwayes is at hand? He will finde you euen in your beds, but let him finde you alwayes innocent; he will possesse you in your houses; but let him take hold of those that practise no euill. But what other thing is this, but meere rage, for a man incessantly to carrie his dangers about him, and to thrust himselfe amongst new and vnknowne dangers, to enter into choller without any offence, and thereupon to treade all things vnder foote that a man meeteth withall, and after the manner of sauage beasts, to murther him that a man hateth not? yet beasts bite either for reuenge or hunger sake; but we that are prodigall both of our owne and other mens bloud, trouble the seas, lanch our ships, commit our securitie to the waues; wish for faire windes, whose felicitie is to be carried speedily to warre. How farre haue our euils rauished vs that are euill? Is it a little matter for vs to play the fooles in our owne countrey? So the foolish Persian King sailed ouer into Greece, which he conquered not, although he couered the conntrie with souldiers. So would *Alexander* enquire, when he was beyond the Bactrians and Indians, what was beyond that great sea, & would be angrie if he should leaue any thing behind him. Thus Couetousnesse will deliuer *Crassus* into the Parthians hands. He shall not feare the execrations of the Tribune that calleth him backe, nor the stormes of a long voyage, nor the lightnings which enuironing Euphrates, foretold him of his fall, nor the gods that made head against him; In spight of heauen and earth, he will runne and seeke out gold. It were therefore some reason, to say that Nature had greatly fauoured vs, if she had forbidden the windes to blow, to the end to bridle the forces of humane furie, by staying euery one in his owne countrie. For if there followed no other good, at least wise no man could be borne, but to doe euill to himselfe, and his owne. But now it is a small matter to play the mad-man at home, we must goe farre off, and torment others. There is no countrie so farre of vs, but it may send vs much miserie. Whether know I, whether any powerfull and vnknowne Prince, made proud with his owne greatnesse, shall sallie out of his owne countrie with armed hand? Or whether he riggeth some nauy, intending to cause some trouble? whence know I whether such or such a winde may bring armes against me? It were a great part of humane peace, if the seas were closed, yet can we not, as I said a little before, complaine against God our Creator, if we abuse his benefits, and make them contrarie vnto vs. He gaue the windes to keepe the temperature both of heauen and earth, to call forth and suppresse the waters, to nourish seeds and fruits of trees; which the agitation of the windes, together with other assistance doe ripen, drawing nutriment to their vpper parts, and encreasing them, lest they should wither. He gaue the winds to know the furthermost parts of the earth. For man had beene an vnskilfull creature, and without great experience of things, if hee had beene shut vp within the confines of his owne countrie. He gaue the windes, to the end that the commodities of euery countrie might be common, not to the end they should carie legions and horsemen, nor transport men to pernicious warres. If we weigh the benefits of nature according to their deprauednesse that vse them, we haue receiued nothing but to our owne miserie. What profiteth it a man to see, to speake? Nay, whose life is not a torment? Thou shalt finde nothing of so manifest profit, which error cannot transferre to the contrarie. So Nature intended, that the windes should be

The strange vanities of Xerxes and Alexander.

In what sort men auaile the windes.

God is the author of good, from whom euen play his blessings to the contrarie.

The wicked vse nothing but to their owne confusion.

be good, but we haue made them euill. There is not one but puſheth vs towards ſome euill. Euery one ſetteth ſaile to diuers ends and intentions, but no man aymeth at the iuſt cauſe; for diuers euill concupiſcences make vs embarke, therefore we ſet ſaile to ſome euill end. *Plato* ſpeaketh well to the purpoſe, and he it is, that muſt be produced before vs, as a witnes in the end of our daies, that wee priſe our liues baſely for things of ſmall value. But (my deere *Lucillius*) if thou eſtimate their furie well, that is to ſay, our owne (for wee are of the company) thou wilt laugh; yet more when thou ſhalt bethinke thy ſelfe, that life is gotten by thoſe things, wherin life is conſumed.

A notable cenſure of our vanitie.

The End of the fifth Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The sixth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of the motion of the earth.

CHAP. I.

IT hath beene heard by vs (my *Lucillius* the best of men) that Pompeias a renowned Citie in Campania, hauing on the one side the Surrentinian and Sabiane shores, on the other side the Herculan, and which the Sea begirteth with a pleasant gulfe, made as it were artificially, was shaken by an earthquake, not without the preiudice of those countries that bordered vpon the same: and that the same happened in Winter time, which as our auncestors assure vs, is exempt from such danger. This earthquake happened the fift day of February, when *Regulus* and *Virginius* were Consuls, which brought a marueylous ruine into Campania, which had beene neuer well assured from that danger: yet had it not before that time encountred with any such misfortune, and in great feares had beene oftentimes preserued; for a part of the Citie of Hercule is falne to the ground, and that which as yet standeth, is not well assured. The Colonie of the Nucernis also, as it hath not suffered some generall destruction, so is it not without complaint. Naples likewise hath priuately lost much, but publiquely nothing, being lightly touched with a great euill. As touching some scattered Farmes, they haue beene almost all of them shaken, but not offended by this earthquake. They adde hereunto, that sixe hundreth flockes of sheepe were strooken dead, and that statues haue beene riuen in sunder, and moreouer, that some persons lost their wits, and ranne about the streets like

The wonderfull earthquake that happened in Campania in Senecaes *time.*

The effect of this earthquake.

like mad men. The proceſſe of this enterpriſed worke, and the circumſtance of the ſeaſon require vs to examine the cauſes of theſe accidents. We ought to ſeeke out comfort for thoſe that are diſmayed, and extinguiſh mighty feare. For what ſecurity can a man promiſe himſelfe if the world it ſelfe be ſhaken, and the moſt ſolid parts thereof quake, if that which is wholly immoueable and ſetled, to the end it may ſuſtaine all other things on it bee ſhattered heere and there? If the earth looſeth that which ſhe hath propper in her, which is to be firme; whereupon may we aſſure our diſmay and feare? What retreat ſhal there be for our bodies? Whether ſhall they retire in danger, if feare iſſueth and be drawne from the bottom of the earth? All men are amazed with feare hearing the houſes cracke, and the ruine hath giuen a ſigne; then euery one flyeth headlong from the place, and forſaketh his home and houſhold-goods, and ſetleth himſelfe in the open fields. What retreate diſcouer we? What ſuccour appeareth if the world it ſelfe fall into ruine? If ſhe that keepeth and ſuſtaineth vs, whereon our Cities are builded, which ſome haue ſaid to be the foundation of the world ſinketh and trembleth? What ſupport, or rather what ſolace may a man hope for, when as feare it ſelfe hath loſt the meanes of flight? Is there any aſſured retreat or firme ſafegard, ſay I, eyther for a mans ſelfe or another? I may repulſe mine enemy from the breach; high Rampiers and Bulwarkes will ſtay great armies from approaching very eaſily. The heauens preſerue vs from ſhipwracke: the corners of our houſes reſiſt the violence of raging raines, and defence vs from the continuall fall of ſhowers: the fire followeth not thoſe that flie it: the houſes vnder ground, and deepe digged caues ſerue for a ſhelter againſt thunders and the threatnings of heauen. The lightning penetrateth not the earth, but is repulſed by a little obiect of the ſame. In the plague time a man may change his habitation. There is no euill but may be auoyded. Neuer did lightnings burne vp whole Nations. The peſtilent ayre hath deſolated Cities, but not deſtroyed them: this euill extendeth it ſelfe euery way, and is vnauoydably greedie, and publiquely harmefull. For it not onely deuoureth houſes, or families, or priuate Cities, but ouerturneth whole Nations and Regions, and ſometime couereth them in her ruines, ſometimes hideth them in a bottomleſſe gulfe of confuſion. Neyther leaueth it ſo much whereby it may appeare that that was at leaſtwiſe, which now is not. But the earth extendeth it ſelfe aboue noble Cities, without any appearance of the former condition: neyther want there ſome men that feare this kinde of death, more then any other, whereby both they and their houſes are ſwallowed vp, and are carried away aliue from the number of the liuing, as if all ſorts of death conducted vs not to one and the ſame end. Amongſt all other rites that nature pretendeth in iuſtice, this is the principall, that drawing neere vnto death we are all equall. There is no difference therfore whether a ſtone cruſh me, or a whole mountain ſmother me, whether the burthen of one houſe fall vpon me, or I breath my laſt vnder a little heape of the duſt thereof, or whether the whole earth hide my head; if I die by day and before all men, or if ſome obſcure and vaſt yawning of the earth couer me, if I fall alone into ſuch a bottomleſſe pit, or if many Nations keepe me companie. What care I if they make a great noyſe about me when I ſhall depart? The death is alwayes death in what part ſoeuer I meete it. Let vs therefore fortifie our courages againſt this ruine, which neyther can be auoyded nor preuented. Let vs liſten no more to thoſe men, who haue renounced Campania, and who after this accident haue forſaken the countrie, and vow that they will neuer viſit that Region againe; for who will promiſe them that this

There is nothing aſſured vnder heauen.

How vaine are the hopes which men apprehend amidſt ſo great incertainties.

Conſolations and remedies againſt the ſame.

this or that ground ſhall ſtand vpon better foundations. All places of the earth are of the ſame ſtuffe, and if as yet they are not moued, yet are they moueable: happily this night, or the day before this night ſhall deuide this place likewiſe, wherein thou liueſt more ſecurely. Whence wilt thou know that the condition of theſe places is better, on which fortune hath alreadie ſpent all her forces, and are aſſured for euer by the ruine which they haue ſuffered. We deceiue our ſelues if we thinke that there is any part of the earth exempt from this danger. All of them are ſubiect to the ſame law. Nature hath made nothing, which is not expoſed to change: this thing faileth at one time, and that at another. And euen as in great Cities, now this houſe, now that is ſuſpended; ſo in this world, now one Region is ſhaken, ſtraight another. Tyre in times paſt was defaced by ruines. Aſia loſt twelue Cities at once. The laſt yeare Achaia and Macedon haue beene endamaged with this euill (whatſoeuer it be) that hath now afflicted Campania. Fate maketh his circuit; and if for a time he forget ſome things, at laſt he reuiſiteth them. He afflicteth ſome more rarely, and others more often, but leaueth nothing exempt and free from euill: he muſtereth not vs onely that are men that haue but a little handfull of life, but Cities alſo, extents of countries, ſhores, and the Sea it ſelfe. Meane while we make our ſelues beleeue that theſe corruptible things are eternall, and beleeue that our good hap which we enioy, and which paſſeth away more lightly then the wind, ſhal haue ſome waight or ſtay in this or that. And they that promiſe themſelues that all things ſhal be perpetuall vnto them, cannot remember that the earth it ſelfe, on which we treade, is neyther firme nor ſtable: for this accident is not onely incident to Campania and Achaia, but to euery ground, to be brittle, and to be reſolued vpon diuers cauſes, and to be ruinated in part although the whole remaine.

All countries are expoſed to earthquakes.

CHAP. II.

WHat doe I? I had promiſed to ſet downe comforts againſt dangers, and beholde I denounce perrils euery way; I denie that there is any thing, which both cannot periſh nor cauſe ruine, which may be euer in eternall repoſe: but contrariwiſe, I maintaine alſo that this ought to ſerue for the greateſt aſſurance that may be found, becauſe a feare without remedie is a meere folly. Reaſon ſhaketh off wiſe-mens feare, imprudent men gather great ſecuritie in their deſperation. Think therefore that this is ſpoken vnto mankinde which was ſaid vnto thoſe men, who thorow a ſudden captiuitie ſtood amaſed amidſt the flame and the enemie.

The true aſſurance againſt dangers, is to remember that we are expoſed to dangers.

The onely helpe to thoſe that are in thrall
Is counted this, to hope no helpe at all.

If you will feare nothing, think that all things are to be feared: look about you, vpon how ſlight cauſes we are ſhaken and ouerturned. Neyther is our meate, nor our drinke, our watching, our ſleepe wholſome for vs, except it be in ſome meaſure: you ſee now that our bodies are vaine, fluid, infirme, and eaſily deſtroyed. Vndoubtedly this one danger were enough that the earths tremble, that they are inſtantly diſſipated, and ſwallow that which they themſelues ſuſtaine. He priſeth himſelfe very much, that feareth the lightning, the ſhaking and

and openings of the earth, although the ſenſe of his owne infirmitie, make him feare his owne flegme. After this maner are we borne; hauing ſo happie members alotted vs, men growne to this greatnes, and for this cauſe, except the parts of the world be moued, except the heauens thunder, except the earth ſinke, we cannot periſh. A little paine, not of the whole finger but of one ſide of the naile of our little finger, or a chap killeth vs: and ſhall I feare the tremblings of the earth, whom a little thick ſpittle choketh? Shall I feare that the Sea ſhal breake from out his bounds, and that the flouds with a courſe more greater then accuſtomed, by aſſembling more waters ſhould attempt to drowne me. When as a potion hath ſtrangled ſome that ſlippeth downe the contrary way into the throat? What a fond thing is it to feare the Sea, when thou knoweſt that thou mayeſt periſh by a little drop? There is no greater ſolace and remedie againſt death, then to know that we muſt die; and againſt all dangers that enuiron and aſtoniſh vs, to remember that we beare an infinite number of perrils in our boſomes. For what madneſſe can there be more, then to ſwound when we heare it thunder, and to hide our ſelues vnder earth for feare of lightning? What is more fooliſh then to feare the ſudden fall and ouerthrow of mountaines, the ouerflowes of the Sea, being caſt without his bounds. When as death meeteth with vs in all places, and accoſteth vs on al ſides, and there is nothing ſo litle, but is of ſufficient force to exterminate mankinde. Neyther ſhould theſe accidents confound vs, as if they contained in them more euill then an ordinary death: but contrariwiſe, ſince we muſt needs depart out of this life, and at one time or other breath our laſt, it ſhould be a contentment for vs to die by ſome notorious meanes. We muſt needs die ſometime, whereſoeuer it be. Although this earth that ſuſtaineth me remaineth firme, and containeth it ſelfe within his limits, and is not ſhaken by any incommoditie, yet ſhall ſhe couer me one day. What skils it then whether I couer my ſelfe, or that the earth of it ſelfe couer me? She openeth her ſelfe thorow the marueilous power of an vnknowne euill, ſhe yawneth and maketh me ſinke, and ſwalloweth me in her immeaſurable depth: What then? is it a more gentle death to die in the plaine? What cauſe haue I to complaine, if nature will not permit me to be buried in an ignoble place? and if ſhe caſt a part of her ſelfe ouer me? My friend *Vagellius* wrote very wittily in that worthy Verſe of his;

The ſmalleſt dangers being ſufficient to end vs, why ſhould we feare any whatſoeuer appearance offereth it ſelfe, the end is one.

If I muſt fall this thing wiſh I,
That I may fall downe from the skie.

The ſame will I ſay if I muſt die; let it be then when all the world is ſhaken, not that it is a thing lawfull to wiſh the ruine of the world, but becauſe it is a great ſolace againſt death, to ſee that all the earth muſt one day haue an end.

CHAP. III.

Of the naturall cauſes of earthquakes.

THis likewiſe ſhall profite much, to preſume in minde that the gods doe none of theſe things, neyther that their indignation is the cauſe, whence proceedeth this agitation both of heauen and earth. Such accidents haue their cauſes; it is not by commandement that they rage thus, but euen as our bodies are afflicted with euill humours, ſo both heauen and earth haue certaine defaults, and euen then when

when they seeme to doe vs harme, they endamage themselues. But because we vnderstand not the true causes, all accidents seeme terrible vnto vs, and because they happen very seldome, we are thereby affrighted the more. Those euills that are ordinarie are more easily endured, but those that are extraordinarie, astonish the more. But why seemeth any thing a noueltie vnto vs? It is because we comprehend nature by the eyes and not by reason, and thinke no wayes on that which shee may doe, but only on that which shee hath done. Therefore are we worthily chastised for this negligence, being terrified by those accidents which wee call new, when as indeede they are not, but only vnaccustomed. What then? Feele we not our mindes seized with religious feare, and finde we not the common sort dismaid, to see the Sunne loose his light, or the Moone, (whose obscuritie is more often) when shee hideth her selfe wholly, or in some part, and farre more if we see pillars of enflamed fire thwarting the aire; a greater part of the heauens on fire, if we see crinite Comets and diuers Sunnes, if we behold the starres by day time, the sodaine fires running from one part to an other, and leauing after them a great light? We behold none of these things without feare, and when as to be ignorant is the cause of feare, thinke you it a small matter to be instructed how you should not be affraid? How farre better were it therfore to seeke out the causes of these changes, by applying the minde diligently thereunto? For there cannot any one more worthy subiect be found out, wherein a man should not only fixe his studies, but spend them also.

Whence it commeth to passe that wee esteeme extraordinarie accidents for nouelties.

CHAP. IIII.

LEt vs therefore seeke out what the cause is which moueth the earth from her bottome to the top, that impelleth the waight of so massiue a body, what it is that hath so much force to bee able to lift vp so vnweldie a burthen, whence commeth it that sometimes shee trembleth, and sometimes being loosened sincketh, now renteth her selfe into diuers parts, now appeareth long time open, sometimes closeth her selfe sodainly, presently swalloweth vp great Riuers, anon after disgorgeth new, discouereth in one place the veines of hot water, in an other cold: vomiteth sometimes fire by a new vent of a Mountaine or Rock: other whiles choaketh and shuteth vp those that had flamed and burned for the space of many yeares. Shee moueth a thousand miracles, produceth diuers changes, transporteth mountaines, maketh mountaines of plaines, swelleth vp the vallies, and raiseth new Islands in the Sea. To know the causes of so many accidents, is a thing worthy to be discussed. But what commoditie saiest thou will there grow hereby? The greatest in this world, which is the knowledge of nature. Although the consideration of this matter bringeth many commodities with it, yet containeth it nothing in it selfe more excellent then this, that the worthinesse thereof wholly possesseth the minde that is fixed thereupon, and it is not the gaine, but the miracle that is obserued therein that maketh it venerable. Let vs consider then what the cause might be, why such things happen, the contemplation whereof is so pleasing vnto me, that although in times past, during my yonger yeares, I published a Treatise of earthquakes, yet had I a minde to trie and assay, whether age hath added any thing either to my knowledge or diligence.

The causes of diuers tremblings, and yawning of the earth, and other such great accidents.

What profit the search into nature yeeldeth a man.

CHAP. V.

Diuers opinions vpon the causes of earthquakes.

SOme haue thought that the cause of earthquakes was in the aire, some in the impressions of fire, some in the earth it selfe, and others some in the aire. Some haue said that two or three of the elements were the cause, some haue imputed it to all. Some of these haue said that one of these in their knowledge was the cause thereof, but which they knew not: But now let vs examine euery particular. This before all things must I needes say, that the opinions of the ancients were both grosse and feeble. They wandered as yet about the truth. All things were new to those that spake of it first, but afterwards they were better polished and discouered, and if any thing be found out, yet for all that we ought to ascribe and attribute the honour to them. It was the enterprise of a high vnderstanding, to diue into the secrets of nature, and not content to behold her outwardly, to contemplate her inwardly, and to descend into the secrets of the Gods. He hath helped very much in the finding it out, that hath hoped that he might find the same. Our ancients therefore are to be heard with some excuse: nothing is consummate in the beginning: neither in this thing only which is the greatest and most intricate of all others, wherein likewise when as much is performed, yet euery age shall finde what to doe: but in euery other businesse also, the beginnings were alwaies farre from perfection.

The ignorance of the ancients in this point of naturall Philosophie.

CHAP. VI.

Whether waters be the cause of earthquakes.

IT hath not beene maintayned by one, nor after one manner, that the water is the cause of earthquakes. *Thales Milesius* is of the opinion, that all the earth floateth, and is carried aboue the water, whether it be that we call it the greater Ocean, or the great Sea, or any simple water of another nature, or a moist element. By this water, saith he, the earth is sustained as a great ship, which waigheth very much vpon the waters that bear it vp. It were a superfluous matter to set downe the reasons why he thinketh that the most waightiest part of the world cannot be sustained by the aire which is subtill and light: For the question is not now about the situation thereof, but of the trembling of the same. He alleageth for one of his reasons, that the waters are the cause of the quaking thereof, because that in all extraordinarie motions, there issue almost ordinarily some new fountaines: as it hapneth almost ordinarily by some ships, which if they be inclining to one side; and shew their keele aside-longs, gather water, which (if it happen that the burthen they beare be ouer-waightie) either spreadeth it selfe aboue, raiseth it selfe more higher towards the right, or towards the left. Wee neede no long answere to shew that this opinion is false. For if the water sustayned the earth, sometimes the whole earth should bee shaken, and haue continuall motion, neither should we wonder that it is agitated, but that it stayeth setled. Shee should not tremble in a part, but wholly: for neuer is a ship shaken to the halfes. But the earthquake is not of the whole, but a part only. How then can it be, that all that which is carried is not wholly agitated? if that which is not carried is agitated? But why appeare new waters? First of all the earth hath oftentimes trembled, and yet no new source hath euer discouered it selfe. Againe,

The reasons alleged by Thales to proue this, with Senecaes answeres.

if

if for this cauſe the water brake forth, it would ſpreade it ſelfe on both ſides of the earth, as we ſee it hapneth in Riuers, and in the Sea, that when the ſhips lie at roade, the increaſe of the waters appeareth, eſpecially about the ſides of the Veſſell. Finally, there ſhould not be ſo ſmall an eruption made as he ſpeaketh, and the pump ſhould not yeeld water as it were by cleft, but a great deluge ſhould be made as from an infinite water that beareth the earth.

CHAP. VII.

Other reaſons of thoſe who after Thales haue thought, that the water is the cauſe of the trembling of the earth.

SOme haue imputed the motion of the earth to the water, but vpon a different cauſe: They ſay that diuers kinds of waters runne thorow the whole earth: and that in ſome place the waters are perpetuall, great and nauigable, although it rayneth not. On the one ſide Nilus is very great, and violent in the Summer time, on the other Danubius and the Rhine, paſſing thorow peaceable and hoſtile Countries, the one brideling the incurſions of the Sarmatians, and ſeparating Europe from Aſia: the other repelling the Almaines which are a warlike Nation. Adde hereunto the ſpacious Lakes, the pooles enuironed by nations that know not one another, the Mariſhes that neuer as yet ſhip hath thorowly ſayled thorow, nor the inhabitants that border thereupon haue euer viſited and ſearched. After this ſo many fountaines, ſo many ſources, whence are vomited both from aboue and beneath the earth, ſo many Riuers in ſo great number. Beſides theſe ſo many furious torrents, whoſe forces dure as little as they are ſodaine and violent. Such is the nature and appearances of waters, eſpecially of thoſe that are in the earth. There likewiſe are diuers currents of marueilous ſwiftneſſe, which ſpend themſelues into bottomleſſe pits: and others more gentill, which are ſpred abroade by ſpacious channells, where they flow peaceably without any noiſe. But who will denie that they are contayned in vaſt receptacles, and that in diuers places they remayne in repoſe without ſtirring. I neede not long time inſiſt vpon this proofe, that there are many waters there, where all are. For the earth would not ſuffice to produce ſo many flouds if ſhee had not abounſdance in ſtore. This being thus; it muſt needes bee that ſometimes a Riuer ſwelleth inwardly, and that in breaking his bounds hee runneth violently againſt that which reſiſteth him. By this meanes there ſhall bee ſome motion made of ſome part againſt which the floud inforceth it ſelfe, and againſt which it will beate vntill ſuch time as it hath a decreaſe. It may bee that the Riuer exceeding his bounds eateth away ſome quarter of the Countrie, and carryeth with it a maſſe of the earth: which beginning to be diſſolued, all the reſt which is aboue is ſhaken and followeth after. But that man ouer-truſteth his eyes, and cannot extend his minde further then the eye of his body, that beleeueth not, that in the cauities of the earth there are gulfes of the ſpacious Sea. For I ſee not what thing may hinder, but that there is a ſhore vnder earth, and that by the channells which are hidden vnder Sea, which therein it may bee haue as much and more place then thoſe which wee ſee. The reaſon is that the earth and the ſea, that is diſcouered to our ſight, ought to bee as it were couered with ſo many Creatures as wee ſee. Contrariwiſe the Regions that are hidden, deſerts, and without inhabitants, receiue the waters more freely, which nothing hindreth to flow, and to be agitated by thoſe windes, by the

whole ayre, and the whole distances of places. A storme being raised there, and more violent then ordinarie, may more rudely shake some portion of the earth which it encountreth with. For in our quarters likewise many places farre distant from the Sea, haue beene beaten with a sudden accesse and floud of the same; and the floud that is conceiued to come a farre off hath inuaded those countrey houses that are builded about vs. Vnder earth also the Sea may haue his ebbe and floate; which cannot be without some shaking of the earth, which is aboue the same.

CHAP. VIII.

He proueth that there are abundant waters vnder the earth.

I Thinke that thou wilt not very much debate and doubt, whether there bee riuers and a sea hidden vnder ground: for from whence doe they issue, and come vnto vs, except that it be because the water is inclosed in his source? Tell mee when thou seest the course of the riuer Tigris stayed, and the water thereof dried vp by little and little, and not all at once, and lesse appeareth not, but that it is diminished vntill such time as it is wholly dryed, whether thinkest thou that it goeth, when as thou seest it issue, as violent, spacious, and deepe as it was in the beginning? And when thou seest the riuer Alphæus, which the Poets haue so much renowned, loose it selfe in Achaia, and after hauing trauersed the sea, discouer it selfe in Sicilie, where with a liuely source it passeth forward the pleasant fountaine of Arethusa, what thinkest thou? Knowest thou not that amongst the reports that are made of the Riuer of Nilus, and the ouerflow thereof in Summer time, that it is said that it issueth from the earth, & that it increaseth not by the waters of the ayre, but by those waters that spring from vnder the earth? I haue heard say by two Centurions, whom the Emperour *Nero* (a friend of all vertue, but aboue all of veritie) had sent to discouer the source of Nilus, that after a long iourney, accomplished by the assistance of the King of Æthiopia, who had recommended them to diuers other Kings, they came vnto certaine marishes of infinite extent, the inhabitants of which countrey knew not the end thereof, and no man durst promise himselfe to discouer the same, by reason that the hearbes and waters were so tyed together, that it was impossible for a foote-man to trauell; no lesse for a Boate, because the Marishes being full of mud and flags, could not beare the vessell wherein there was any more then one man. They adde moreouer, that they haue seene in Marishes two rocks, from whence the water falleth abundantly. But whether it be that such water be called the source or increase of Nilus, or that he hath his beginning there, or that he is deriued from farther places, thinkest thou that it mounteth not from some great Lake vnder earth? It must needes be that these rockes haue their waters deriued from diuers places, and gathered vp on high, which discharge themselues in such abundance and so violently.

Neroes praise during the first yeares of his Empire, but how great alteration breedeth much authority, where the counsailors are flatterers, religion paganisme, delight impiety?

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THere be ſome that iudge fire to be the cauſe of this motion, yet conſider they this cauſe in diuers faſhions. Amongſt the reſt *Anaxagoras* thinketh that the ayre and the earth are almoſt ſhaken by the ſame cauſe. When as the winde which is incloſed vnder earth, breaketh the ayre which was thickened and formed in a cloude, with as great violence as the clouds which wee ſee are accuſtomed to breake, and that the fire by this enterſhocke of clouds, and by the courſe of the ayre, which is reſtrained within it, cauſeth lightning to iſſue. This ayre oppoſeth it ſelfe againſt all things it meeteth, which ſeeking a paſſage to iſſue forth, and teareth open all that which hindereth it, vntill ſuch time that eyther it hath found a paſſage by ſome little hole to mount towards heauen, or that it hath gotten it by force and violence. Some ſay that the cauſe is in the fire, but they are not of opinion that it is for this reaſon, but for that being couered in diuers places, it burneth and conſumeth all that which it meeteth withall. And if the things that are eaten thereby happen to fall, then is it that there followeth a diſiunction of the parts, which are diſfurniſhed of their ſtayes, and finally, a totall ruine, becauſe nothing preſenteth it ſelfe to ſuſtaine the burthen. Then are the openings and vaſt yawaings of the earth diſcouered; or elſe when the partes of the ſame haue long time declined, they which remaine intire beginne to diſſolue. We ſee the like hereof happen amongſt vs as oftentimes as the fire hath taken holde of ſome quarter in the Citie, when as the beames and principals are burned, or that the maine tymbers that ſuſtaine the houſe are ſunke, then the houſe being ſhaken falleth to the ground, and ſo long time ſhrinke they, and are vncertaine, vntill they haue found ſome place to ſtay vpon.

The examinatiō of their opinion who hold that the fire is cauſe of earthquake.

CHAP. X.

ANAXIMENES ſaith, that the earth her ſelfe is the cauſe of her motion, neyther is there any thing extrinſecally that impelleth the ſame, but that into her, and from her fall certain parts which the water diſſolueth, or the fire eateth, or the winde ſhaketh? but although theſe three ceaſe, yet ceaſeth ſhe not to haue ſomthing, by meanes whereof this revulſion and diminution is made. For firſt of all, all things decline by ſucceſſion of time, and there is nothing that is exempted from the hands of age which ruinates the ſtrongeſt & moſt ſolid things. Euen as therfore in olde houſes, ſome things fall although they are not ſtrooken, when as they haue more waight vpon them then force to beare it: ſo falleth it out in this vniuerſall bodie of the earth, that the partes thereof are diſſolued by age, and being diſſolued, fall and breede a trembling in the vpper parts. Firſt, whilſt they ſeperate themſelues (for there is no great thing that is diſioyned without the motion of that whereunto it cleaueth) then when they are falne they rebound backe againe after the manner of a ball, which falling from on high vpon the earth, is many times ſtrooken vp, and maketh diuers bounds. But if they happen to fall into ſome great poole, the water that is moued by

The opinion of Anaximenes, *that the earth is ſelfe is the cauſe of her motion.*

the fall maketh that tremble which is round about, and it is the waight that falleth from on him that cauſeth this preſent ſhocke, and that ſpreadeth it euerie wayes.

CHAP. XI.

Another opinion of thoſe that thinke the earthquake is cauſed by fire.

THere are ſome that aſſigne this trembling to the fire, but otherwiſe; for when as in diuers places they are hote and boyling, it muſt needes be, that a mightie vapour is turned vp and downe without iſſue, which by the multiplication thereof reinforceth the ayre; which being animated & prouoked, riueth that which is oppoſite; but if it be more remiſſe it doth nothing elſe but moue. We ſee that water ſometh when fire is put vnderit. That which this fire doth in this water, that is included in a ſtraight and narrow veſſell, by farre more we may thinke it may doe it, when with violence and great abundance, hee cauſeth great quantities of waters to boyle. Then agitateth hee by the vaporation of the waters that ouerflow, whatſoeuer he beateth vpon.

CHAP. XII.

Whether the winde be the cauſe of earthquakes.

MAny and the greateſt learned men, are of the opinion that the winde is the cauſe of earthquakes. *Archelaus* who hath carefully examined the opinions of the auncients, ſaith thus: The windes are carried thorow the cauities of the earth, afterwards when all ſpaces of the ſame are filled, and that the ayre is thickned as much as may be, that winde that commeth after preſſeth and expreſſeth the former, and firſt of all by redoubled ſtroakes puſheth it forward, and finally caſteth it out. This ſeeking for a place, runneth here and there, and enforceth it ſelfe to breake his bounds. Thus commeth it to paſſe that the earth is ſhaken by the winde, which ſtriueth and ſeeketh for a paſſage to get out at; when as therefore an earthquake is like to follow, firſt there goeth before it a tranquillitie and calme of the aire, and the reaſon is, becauſe the power and vertue which was accuſtomed to moue the windes, is detained vnder earth. And now likewiſe in this earthquake of Campania, although it were in Winter time, and in a troubled ſeaſon; yet ſo it is that ſome dayes before it happened, the ayre was calme and peaceable. What then? Was there neuer earthquake when the windes blew? Very ſeldome haue two windes blowne at once: yet can it be, and it is wont to be; which if we admit, and that it appeareth that two windes may blow at once, why might it come to paſſe that the one ſhould agitate the higher ayre, and the other the inferiour.

CHAP. XIII.

YOu may number amongſt thoſe of this opinion *Ariſtotle* and his ſcholler *Theophraſtus*, a man not ſo excellent and diuine as the Græcians make him, yet of a pleaſing, fluent, and vnaffected diſcourſe. I will diſcouer vnto thee both their opinions: there is alwayes ſome euaporation from the earth, that is ſometimes drie, ſometimes intermixed with humiditie. This exhalation iſſuing from beneath, and carried vp as high as it might, when as ſhe hath not a farther place by which ſhe may finde iſſue, recoyleth backe againe, and enfoldeth her ſelfe in her ſelfe: and whilſt the debate of the winde, which goeth and commeth, ouerturneth that which maketh head againſt her, be it that ſhe remaineth encloſed, be it that ſhe eſcapeth by narrow ſtraights, ſhe moueth earthquakes and thunders. *Strabo* is of the ſame opinion; a man who hath carefully addicted himſelfe to this part of Philoſophie, and hath diligently ſearched out the ſecrets of Nature. This is his opinion: Colde and heate are two oppoſites, and cannot be together, the colde ſlippeth in thither where the heat is abſent; as contrariwiſe, the heate entereth that place whence the colde is driuen. This that I ſpeake is true; but that both are driuen contrariwiſe, by this it appeareth. In Winter time when the colde is vpon the earth the Springs are warme, the Caues and all hidden places vnder earth are hot, becauſe the heate is retired thither, giuing place vnto the colde that poſſeſſeth the vpper part. When the heate is thus entered into the lower partes, and hath inſinuated it ſelfe as much as it may, the thicker it is the ſtronger it is. If a new heate come vnto it, the one being preſſed by the other giueth place: the contrarie happeneth, when as the colde becomming more powerfull ſlippeth into the Caues. All the heate which at that time was hidden therein, giuing place vnto the colde, retireth it ſelfe into ſome narrow corner, and is moued, and inforceth it ſelfe with great violence; for the nature of them both admitteth no concord, neyther can they euer bide in one place. Flying therefore and ſtriuing by all meanes to get out, he ouerthroweth, ruinateth and toſſeth whatſoeuer he meeteth. Therefore before the earth is moued, men are accuſtomed to heare a kinde of whiſtling or murmure whilſt the windes combate beneath, or otherwiſe, as our *Virgil* ſaith could not,

The firme opinion of Ariſtotle *and others, that winde is the cauſe of earthquakes.*

The earth waues vnder feet, the mountaines quake.

If the winde were not the cauſe hereof. There are likewiſe viciſſitudes of this fight, and each hath his turne. The heate ceaſeth to aſſemble it ſelfe, and to iſſue. Then is the colde repreſſed, and ſucceedeth to reinforce himſelfe incontinently: when as therefore the force of heate and colde runneth and returneth often, and that the winde goeth and returneth here and there, then is it that the earth trembleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

The diuers causes of earthquakes by the meanes of wind.

THere are some that thinke that earth is shaken by the wind, and by no other meanes; but they imagine another cause then *Aristotle* did. And heare what they say. Our bodie is watered and moistened with bloud and spirit, which run here and there, thorow those passages that are deputed to those offices. But we haue som more narrow receptacles of the soule, by which she doth nothing else but wander, some more open and spacious, in which she is gathered together, and from whence she diuideth her selfe into parcels. So this great bodie of the earth is open to the waters that possesse the place of bloud, and to the windes, which a man may well call the soule. These two encounter in some place, in some place stay. But as in the bodie, as long as it is in health, the continuall beating of the arterie is measured, but if the health thereof be altered, the pulse is frequent and high, the signes and violent respirations, are the signes that the bodie is wearied and afflicted. In like sort when as the waters and the winds are in their naturall receptacles in the bodie of the earth, they haue no agitation aboue measure. But if there happen any disorder, at that time there is distemper, as in a sicke bodie, the wind that breathed along pleasantly, if it be stopped in the passage, agitateth his vaines. It followeth not therefore that the earth should be as the bodie of a liuing creature, as some doe pretend. For if it were so, it should be wholly agitated as a liuing creature is. And we our selues feele that feuor afflicteth not some parts of the bodie more gently then other some, but that shee runneth thorow all equally. Consider therefore, if it be not true that the wind entereth into the earth, replenished with aire round about, which as long as he hath free passage, stealeth along gently, if hee encounter with any thing that stoppeth his passage, first of all he is charged by the aire that presseth after hard at his backe, afterwards he flieth secretly by some crany, and the more eagerly dislodgeth he, the more straiter his passage is. This cannot be done without conflict, neither is there any combate without agitation. If he findeth not any clift to escape there, he gathereth himselfe together and beginneth to tempest, whirling vpwards and downwards, vntill such time as he hath ouerturned and suncke that which resisted him: if he be subtill, he is wonderously strong, and if he slideth thorow passages that are somewhat narrow, and that by his vertue he enlargeth and dissipateth all that where he entereth, then is the earth shaken. For either she openeth her selfe to giue passage to the winde, or after she hath giuen it, being destitute of foundation, shee seazeth and seateth her selfe in that cauity whereby she gaue him passage.

CHAP. XV.

The third opinion of earthquakes by force of wind.

THus some thinke: The earth is perforated in diuers places, neither hath she onely these first entrances and pores which she receiued as vents from her beginning, but casualtie hath bred many more in her. In some places the water hath enlarged all that earth which she had ouer her, the torrents haue eaten away some portion, the greatest heates haue cleft another. The winde entereth betwixt both, which if the sea hath included and driuen, neither suffered the flouds to go backward,

ward, then he being cut off both of his entrance and returne, tumbleth about. And becauſe he cannot, according to his nature, tend directly, he ſhooteth vp himſelfe on high, and reuerberateth the earth that preſſeth him.

CHAP. XVI.

The fourth opinion as touching the trembling of the earth by winde.

WE muſt alſo ſpeake ſomething as touching that which diuers Authors approue, and where it may be they will be found to be different. True it is that the earth is not without aire, and not only this aire which maintaineth the ſame, and tieth the parts thereof together, penetrating likewiſe thorow ſtones and other bodies without life: but alſo this vitall aire which quickeneth and nouriſheth all things. If ſhe had it not, how ſhould ſhe giue life to ſo many plants and ſeeds, which draw their vigor from no place els? How could ſhe entertain and ſuſtain ſo many diuers roots in her, the one of one faſhion, the other of another; the one entertained in her vpper part, the others buried more deeper, if ſhe had not much ſoule which engendreth ſo many and ſo diuers things, and nouriſheth them by her inſpiration and vertue? Hitherto haue I ſet downe but coniectures. All the heauens, that are encloſed and arounded with elementarie fire, all theſe innumerable numbers of the ſtarres, all the celeſtiall bodies, and amongſt the reſt, the Sunne (ſhaping his courſe more neere vnto vs, and which is but twice as great as the globe of the earth) draw nouriſhment from the earth, and diuide it amongſt them, being ſuſtained by nothing elſe but terreſtriall vapoures. This is their nouriſhment and feeding. But the earth could not nouriſh ſo many creatures, ſo ample and more greater then her ſelfe, if ſhe were not full of a ſoule, that day and night is ſpread thorow all her parts. For it cannot be but that there remaineth very much in her, from whence there is ſo much both expected and gathered, and that which iſſueth forth ſhould not be bred in his proper time. She ſhould not haue continuall abundance of ſpirit to furniſh ſo many celeſtiall bodies, if theſe things had not concurrence amongſt themſelues, and were not grounded and changed in ſome other thing. Yet of neceſſitie ſhee muſt abound and be full, and that ſhee furniſh her ſelfe with it, which ſhee hath in ſtore. There is no doubt then, but that much ſpirit is hidden therein, and that within the entrals of the earth there is a marueilous abundance of aire. This being ſo, that muſt needes follow, that that which is filled with a thing which is very moueable, ſhould bee oftentimes remoued. Euery one knoweth that there is nothing more inconſtant, ſtirring, and fleeting then the aire.

Senecaes opinion as touching the greatneſſe of the Sunne.

CHAP. XVII.

A conſequence drawne from the precedent diſcourſe, and a prooſe that the wind is the cauſe of the trembling of the earth.

IT is conuenient therefore that ſhe exerciſe her nature, and that that which will alwaies be moued, ſhould ſometimes agitate and moue other things. When is this done? Then when her courſe is cut off and ſtayed. For as long as he is not intercepted, he ſtealeth along quietly and peaceably; but if he be reſiſted or reſtrained, he entereth into furie, and breaketh thorow all that which intercepteth him, euen as the Poet ſaith by the floud:

Araxes

Araxes that disdaines to beare a bridge.

As long as he hath an easie and free passage, he fleeteth along at pleasure, but if either by cunning or aduenture some stones are gathered together which stay his course, hee taketh occasion hereby to doe much mischiefe, and the more stones are opposed against him, the more forces findeth he. For all these flouds that come behind, and make the heape more high, being vnable to support themselues any more, ouerthrow all things in passing by, and flie along leuelling their streame with that they haue ouerthrowne, and those waues that fled before them. The same befalleth the winde: The more vigorous and swift it is, the more swiftly flieth it, and carrieth away with it, with greater violence, all that which either stoppeth or resisteth his passage. Thence commeth the earthquake, but in that part vnder which this conflict was made. That this which I haue spoken is true, it appeareth by this that followeth. Oft-times when there hath bin an earth-quake, if any part of the same hath beene shattered, the winde hath issued forth, and blowne for the space of diuers daies, as it fell out by report in that earthquake, whereof those of Chalcis were afflicted, which was described by *Asclepiodotus*, *Posidonius* scholler, in his booke of Naturall Questions. You shall finde in other Authors, that the earth being opened in a certaine place: anone after, there issued a winde, which vndoubtedly had made his way in that part from whence it blew.

The winde can neuer be stayed.

The conclusion of all the precedent discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what sort the winde causeth the earth to tremble.

SO then the winde being by nature swift, and changing from place to place, is the greatest cause wherby the earth is moued. As long as this wind is impelled and lieth hidden in a void place, it remaineth calme, and doth no euill to that which enuironeth it; when as any externall or superuenient cause solliciteth him and chaseth him, and driueth him into a strait: yet for a while giueth he place and wandereth, but when as all occasion of escape is taken from him, and he is pressed on euery side then,

With a mightie murmure of the mountaine,
He furious runnes about his strait inclosure

And after he hath long time beat against the same, hee teareth and scattereth it in pieces, showing himselfe the more violent, the longer that this debate hath lasted in his prison and enclosure. Afterwards when as he hath searched euery nooke of the place wherein he was restrained and could not escape, hee returneth towards that part, where he was most of all impact and closed, and then slideth he away by certaine secret places, which the earthquake hath a little opened, or passeth by some new breach. Behold how his extreame violence cannot be stayed, and there is no restraint sufficient to retaine him: for he breaketh all bounds, and carrieth with him euery burthen that is laid vpon him, and infused into those things that are more small and thinne, he prepareth himselfe a release and libertie by an inuincible power that is naturall vnto him, and running

ning on head-long, eſtabliſheth himſelfe in his rights. In a word, the winde is inuincible, neither is there any thing that,

May keepe in awe, or elſe in priſon ſtrong
The ſtrugling windes or tempeſt thundring long.

Vndoubtedly the Poets, who haue diſcourſed in theſe tearmes, intended to ſpeake of theſe couerts vnder ground, where the windes remaine incloſed. But they haue not comprehended, that that which is incloſed is not winde alreadie, and that that which is the winde, cannot bee incloſed. For that which is incloſed remaineth ſtill, and is a ſtatue of the aire. The winde appeareth not to be winde, but when it flieth. To theſe reaſons a man may adde this alſo, which proueth that the windes is the cauſe of earthquakes, that is to ſay, that our bodies tremble not, except ſome cauſe doe ſhake the ſpirit, which being reſtrained by feare, weakened by age, the vaines decaying and ſhrinking, is arreſted by cold, or when the acceſſe approacheth is caſt out of his courſe. For as long as he floweth without hinderance, and floweth according to his accuſtomed manner, there is no ſhaking in the bodie. But if any thing happen that hindereth him from performing his office, then being ſcarce able to beare thoſe things which he ſuſtained by his vigor, in falling he ſhaketh all that which in his integritie he had ſupported.

A compariſon taken from the body of man.

CHAP. XIX.

BVt we muſt needs giue eare to *Metrodorus Chius*, that will haue his opinion ſtand for law. For mine owne part I will not ouerſlip thoſe opinions I approue not, when as it is far better to preſent all, and rather to condemne that which we approue not, then to paſſe it vnder ſilence. What ſaith he then? Euen as his voice that ſingeth in a tunne, paſſeth and reſoundeth in euery place with a certaine eccho, and although it be not high, yet filleth it alwaies the tunne, not without noiſe and rebound of the ſame: So the capacitie and vaſtitie of the cauities, and holes that hang vnder ground haue their aire, which as ſoone as another that falleth from aboue hath ſtrucken, maketh a noiſe, euen as the things that are voide, whereof I haue ſpoken, haue a reſound, when any one crieth in them.

The opinion of Metrodorus *vpon this point.*

CHAP. XX.

LEt vs now come vnto them, that haue ſaid that all the Elements, or the greater part of thoſe whereof we haue ſpoken, are the cauſe of earthquake. *Democritus* ſetteth them not downe all, but for the moſt part. For ſometimes he ſaith that the wind is the cauſe, ſometimes the water, and ſometimes both; and this proſecuteth he after this manner. Some part of the earth is hollow, and in that there aſſembleth a great quantitie and abundance of water. Of this there is ſome part more ſubtill

The examination of their opinion who thinke that all the elements together, or the moſt part, are the cauſe of Earthquakes.

ſubtill and liquid then the reſt: This being reiected by the waight that commeth vpon it, is beaten againſt the earth, and ſhaketh the ſame. For it could not float, except it ſhaked that againſt which it is beaten. That likewiſe which heretofore we haue ſpoken by the aire, may be ſaid by the water alſo, when as it is gathered into one place, and that it ceaſeth to containe any more: ſhe ſtayeth her ſelfe againſt ſomething: then worketh ſhe an iſſue firſt by her waight, ſecondly by her violence, for ſhe cannot haue iſſue, but by ſome hollow or bending place hauing beene long time retained, nor fall by meaſure in a right line, or without ſhaking thoſe things, by which, and vpon which ſhe falleth. But if it ſo fall out, that hauing taken ſome motion, ſhe happen to ſtay in ſome place, and that this collection of water mounteth backe againe, and confuſeth it ſelfe in it ſelfe; ſhe is repulſed towards the firme land, which ſhe ſhaketh towards that ſide where ſhe diſchargeth her ſelfe moſt. Furthermore, the earth being ſometimes ſteeped in water that hath entred into it, ſetleth a little lower, and the bottom thereof is ſhaken: which comming to paſſe, this part is preſſed towards that, towards which the greateſt abundance of water enclineth. Sometimes alſo the winde puſheth forward the waues, and if he inſiſt with more violence then ordinarie, he cauſeth that portion of the earth to tremble, into which he tranſlated the waters that are gathered by him. Somtimes incloſed in ſtraits, and ſeeking iſſue, he ſtirreth all thoſe things which he enuironeth, but the earth is porie, and giueth paſſages for the winde, which is ſo thin and pure, that a man cannot containe it, and ſo ſtrong, that nothing can reſiſt his force. The Epicure ſaith that all theſe cauſes may be, and he ſearcheth out diuers others likewiſe, cenſuring thoſe that haue maintained that both the one and the other cauſes aboue mentioned, proceed from the quaking of the earth; ſure it is a thing almoſt impoſſible to maintaine certaine things to be certaine, which a man cannot comprehend but by ſimple coniecture. So then, according to his opinion, the water may ſhake the earth, if it hath waſhed and worne away ſome portions thereof, which being diminiſhed and infeebled, cannot any more ſuſtaine that, which they bare being in their entire. The impreſſion of the aire may cauſe an earthquake, and it may come to paſſe that the externall aire ſhall be agitated by another, that commeth to intermixe it ſelfe with it. It may be alſo that the earth being iuſtled by ſome part of it ſelfe, that ſincketh and falleth ſuddenly, is ſhaken likewiſe: Or elſe a portion of the ſame, being ſuſtained by ſome ſupports, trembleth if either the ſupporters bend, or retire backe. Happily alſo ſome inflamation of the aire being conuerted into fire, and like vnto lightnings darteth forth and confoundeth all that which it meeteth withall. And it may bee that ſome winde incenſeth both the waters of mariſhes and pooles, whence followeth an earthquake, becauſe the ſhocke is violent, or elſe the agitation of the aire, which encreaſeth by motion and vrgeth it ſelfe, moueth all things from the bottome to the top. But the Epicure can finde no more certaine cauſe of earthquake then the winde.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

THis is our opinion alſo, that it is the wind that effecteth ſo great things: ſince there is nothing ſo ſtrong and violent in nature, and without which, thoſe things that are moſt vehement, haue not any vigor. The wind enkindleth the fire: take away the wind from the waters, they are ſluggiſh and dead; but if the wind ſtirreth them, they flow violently. The wine can diſſipate the greateſt ſpaces of countries, make new mountaines appeare and riſe, place vnſeene Iſles in the middeſt of the Ocean. Who doubteth but that the winde brought that Iſland of Therafia into ſight, which in our time appeared in the Ægean ſeas, in the preſence of thoſe Mariners that beheld the miracle. *Poſidonius* ſetteth downe two ſorts of earthquakes, giuing euery one of them a ſeuerall name: the one is called Succuſſion, when the earth is moued vpward and downwards: The other is called Inclination, when the earth is ſhaken, and inclineth to one ſide like a boat. But I think there is a third, which hath his denomination from vs, and our predeceſſors haue called Earthquake, and not without cauſe, becauſe they differ the one from the other. For in theſe accidents there is not alwayes an agitation from high to low, nor an inclining on one ſide or another, but ſometimes a darting or preſſing forward, which is the leaſt dangerous, whereas on the other ſide the inclination is farre leſſe dreadfull then the ſuccuſſion or ſhaking. For if in the inclination of the earth, the oppoſite motion, haſteth not to redreſſe that which bendeth ſide-long, there neceſſarily followeth a dreadfull raine. And as theſe motions are different in themſelues, ſo are their cauſes diuers.

Seneca *accordeth with* Ariſtotle *in his opinion, in as much as concerneth earthquakes.*

Three ſorts of earthquakes.

CHAP. XXII.

THerefore let vs firſt of all ſpeake of the motion by ſuccuſſion or ſhaking. If at any time, by change of diuers chariots, men carry great burthens, and that the wheeles being drawne with more then vſuall force, ſincke into ſome place, you ſhall feele a ſhaking of the earth. *Aſclepiodotus* reporteth, that when as a ſtone fell from the ſide of a mountaine that was broken, it ſhaked in ſuch ſort the buildings that were neere, that they fell to the ground. The like may happen vnder earth, that ſome of thoſe ſtones that hang ouer the mountaine, being diſſolued, fal with ſome great waight and noiſe into the hollowes that are vnder earth, and the greater the waight is, and the higher it falleth from, the more violent noiſe is there made; and ſo all the couering of the hollow valley is moued. And it is not vnlikely but the rocks are puſhed downward, and diuided by their ſimple waight; but when as the riuers flow and rage aboue them, the water continually miniſheth the ioynts of the ſtone, riuing off (if I may ſo ſpeake) the skin that incloſeth it. This diminution increaſing by ſucceſſion of time, infeebleth in ſuch ſort that which it hath eaten, by little and little, that ſuch ſtaies cannot any more ſuſtaine the burthen. Then fall the ſtones through exceſſiue waight and this rocke being caſt downe head-long, ſhaketh all that which it hath driuen to the bottome, hauing found no reſiſtance.

Of the earthquake by ſuccuſſion.

And all things ſeeme to fall to ſudden ruine.

As our *Virgil* ſaith. This ſhould be the cauſe of this motion of ſuccuſſion: now paſſe I ouer to the other cauſe.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the earthquake by inclination.

THe earth is of a rare nature, and hath much void in it. Thorow theſe parts and rarities the wind is carried, which when it is entered in ſome quantitie and findeth no iſſue, it ſhaketh the earth. This cauſe, if a troop of witneſſes preuaileth any thing with thee, is pleaſing vnto others, as I haue ſaid a little before. This likewiſe doth *Caliſthenes* approue a man of no ſmal reckoning. For he was a man of a noble mind, and ſuch a one as could not endure a Princes inſolencie. *Alexander* is defamed for euer, which neither his vertue, neither his felicity in warre can euer redeem. For as oftentimes as a man ſhal ſay, that he hath defeated diuers thouſands of Barbarians: it will be oppoſed, and *Caliſthenes* alſo. If any one ſaith *Alexander* killed *Darius*, who at that time was the greateſt King of the earth: ſome will reply, and *Caliſthenes* too. When ſome ſhall alleage that he conquered all that which he met withall, as farre as the bounds of the Ocean, on which he rigged new nauies, extending his Empire from the one corner of Thrace, as far as the furtheſt part of the Eaſt, it will be ſaid that he ſlew *Caliſthenes*. Although he hath ſurpaſſed all Princes, and precedent Captaines: the wrong which he offered *Caliſthenes* was ſo great, that it blemiſheth all his other exploits. This Philoſopher then, in his bookes wherein he deſcribeth how Helice and Buris haue beene deuoured by the waters: and what accident was the cauſe why the ſea couered them, or why they were ſucked vp, ſaith that which hath bin touched in the former part, that the winde entered the earth by ſome ſmall and ſecret conduits in all parts, yea vnder the ſea. Afterwards, when this courſe which it had held to enter, is ſtopped, and the water hath cloaſed vp behind him all other paſſage, he turneth here and there, and returning himſelfe into himſelfe, ſhaketh the earth. And therefore is it, that the places that border vpon the ſea are oftentimes agitated: and the Poets haue aſſigned this power vnto *Neptune*. Whoſoeuer vnderſtandeth the Greeke tongue, knoweth that *Homer* ſurnameth him ἐννοσίγαιον, that is to ſay, Earth-ſhaker.

Caliſthenes *opinion.*

CHAP. XXIIII.

In what manner the wind entreth into the earth, to cauſe it to tremble.

FOr mine owne part I am of this opinion that the wind is the cauſe of ſuch an euill. I will only debate vpon one point, in what manner this winde entereth, if it bee by pores, ſo ſtrait that the eye cannot obſerue them, or if they are more greater, and open, and likewiſe whether they riſe from the bottome or aboue the earth. This is incredible: For in our bodies likewiſe, the skinne repulſeth the winde, which hath not entered, except by thoſe paſſages, by which it is drawne, and being entertained by vs, cannot conſiſt but in the moſt ſpacious part of the bodie, for it remaineth not amongſt the nerues, and in the pulpe, but in the entrals, and the large retreat of our breſts. A man may think as much of the earth, eſpecially by reaſon that the ſhaking happeneth not aboue, nor about the ſurface of the earth, but from beneath, and proceedeth from the bottom. The proofe whereof

whereof is, that the deepeſt ſeas are agitated, when as that whereupon they are ſpred is moued. It is therefore likely to be true that the earth is agitated from the bottome, where the winde is formed in ſpacious dennes: Some will reply, that euen as after we are ſeiſed with great cold, a horror and trembling ſucceedeth, ſo the winde finding a paſſage outward cauſeth the earth to tremble. But this is impoſſible. For firſt of all the earth ſhould of neceſſitie be ſubiect to this acceſſe of cold, to the end that the ſame might befall her as doth vs, who quiuer vpon an externall cauſe. I will not denie, but that there is ſomething in the earth that hath ſome reſemblance with that which hapneth in our bodies, but the cauſes are diuers. It muſt needs be ſome interior and deepe agitation, that ſhaketh the earth, as a man may gather euidently enough by this, becauſe the earth hauing beene opened by a very great and terrible motion, ſuch opening hath ſometimes ſwallowed and ſucked vp whole Cities, which no man hath ſeene afterwards. *Thucydides* writeth, that about the time that the war was in Peloponeſus, al the Atlantique Iſland, or the moſt part thereof, was couered with waters. As much hapned in Sidonia, if thou beleeueſt *Poſsidonius*. This matter needeth no witneſſes: for we our ſelues remember, that the earth hauing beene opened by an inward earthquake, all the Countries were ruined, and the Champions periſhed: which I will now tell you how I thinke it hapneth.

CHAP. XXV.

How the earth is ſhaken by the winde.

WHen as the winde with great violence hath engulfed himſelfe wholly in the cauities and void places of the earth, and that it beginneth to tempeſt in ſeeking an iſſue, it oftentimes beateth againſt the ſides and places, wherein he is reſtrained, vpon which ſometimes whole Cities are ſituated. And theſe at ſometimes are in ſuch ſort ſhaken, that the houſes that are builded thereupon fall vnto the ground. Sometimes the agitation is ſo violent, that the foundations and walls that ſuſtayne all the reſt of building, fall into this concauitie, in ſuch ſort as whole Cities ſinke downe into a depth without end or meaſure. If thou wilt beleeue it, it is reported that the mountaine Oſſa was ioyned to the mountayne Olympus, and was torne away by an earthquake in ſuch ſort, that the Mountayne, that beforetime was very thick, was diuided into two: and that at that time, the Riuer Peneus retyred himſelfe, which dryed vp the Mariſhes that were diſcommodious to Theſſalie, aud carried with him thoſe waters that were ſetled there without iſſue. Ladon, a Riuer that is betwixt Helis and Megalopolis, was cauſed to flow by an earthquake, what proue I by this? That the windes are gathered in ſpacious caues: for I can giue no other name to thoſe voide places vnder earth. If it were otherwaies, the greater part of the earth ſhould be ſhaken, where as now the earthquake extendeth it ſelfe neuer farther then two hundreth miles about. That whereof all the world talketh hath not paſſed Campania. At ſuch time as Chalcis was ſhaken, Thebes remayned in quiet. Ægium was violently toſſed, and Patraſſa that was neare vnto it, heard nothing of it. That vaſt concuſſion that oppreſſed the two Cities of Helice and Buris, ſtaid on the other ſide of Ægium, whereby it appeareth that the earthquake had as much extent as vnder earth thoſe hollow places had, where the winde was encloſed.

The maruailous force of the winde.

How farre the earthquake extendeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The examination of their opinions who hold the Egyptians, and the Island of Delos were neuer shaken.

I Could abuse the authoritie of great men to proue this, who write that Egypt hath neuer trembled. And the reason they yeeld hereof is this; That it is wholly gathered and composed of mud. For (if we may giue credit to *Homer*) Phares was so farre off from the Continent as a ship with full saile may reach in one dayes iournie: but now it is adioyned to the continent. For Nilus flowing with a troubled streame, and bearing along with him much mud, and heaping it afterwards on those other lands, that are vnited together, hath from yeare to yeare enlarged the Confines of Egypt. Thence is it that it is a fat and muddie ground, without any openings, but of a continued thicknes: the mud being become drie; which hath stopped vp and cimented all that structure, and vnited all the parts of the same so well together, that no voide may come betweene, considering that alwaies that which is soft and moist, ioyneth it selfe with that which was solide. But I say that Egypt is subiect to trembling, and the Isle of Delos likewise, although that *Virgil* willed them to stand:

He made th'inhabitants this fauour finde,
Neither to feare strange earthquakes, nor strange winde.

These the Philosophers likewise (a credulous Nation, according to *Pindarus*) said to bee exempt from trembling: *Thucydides* writeth, that before time it had not beene agitated, but that about the time of the Peloponesian warre it trembled. *Calisthenes* saith, that it was at an other time. Amongst many prodigies (saith hee) which denounced the ouerthrow of Helice and Buris, there were two most notable, the one was a pillar of fire, of immeasurable greatnesse, the other the earthquake in Delos. The reason why he thinketh that Delos is firme, is, that being in the sea it hath many hollow rocks and stones that are pierced through, which giue passage to the windes that are encloſed. He addeth, that by reason hereof the Islands are more assured, and the Cities also that are more nearer to the sea. The Citie of Pompeias and Hercule haue felt, that this is false. Furthermore, all the sea coasts are subiect to agitation. So Paphos hath oftentimes been ruined, and Nicopolis likewise too familiarly acquainted with this miserie. A deepe sea inuironeth Cyprus, yet is it shaken, and so is Tyre likewise: Hitherto haue we examined the causes why the earth trembleth.

CHAP. XXVII.

A discourse vpon those sheepe which were found dead in that earthquake, and of the causes of this accident.

BVt some particular accidents fell out in this earthquake of Campania, whereof I am to set downe some reasons. For they say that six hundreth flock of sheepe were killed in the Region of Pompeias. Thou hast no cause to thinke that these sheepe perished through feare, we haue said that after great earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a pestilence: neither is this to be wondered at, because many pestilent things lie hidden in the depth. The aire it selfe, that is imprisoned in eternall obscuritie, either by the intermission of the earth, or by his owne idlenesse, is pernicious vnto those that suck the same, either being corrupted by the malignitie

nitie of hidden fires, when it is ſent from a farre off, it ſoileth and infecteth the other aire which is pure, and breedeth new ſickneſſes in them who breath the ſame, whereunto they haue not beene accuſtomed. Furthermore, there are certaine vnprofitable and peſtilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and ſecrets of the earth, and the cauſe why they are ſuch, is, becauſe they haue neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat vpon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and couered with an obſcure miſt, they haue nothing in them that is not peſtilent, and contrarie to our bodies. The aire likewiſe that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidſt thoſe mariſhes when it rayſeth it ſelfe, ſpreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth thoſe that draw the ſame. But bruit beaſts and cattell feele this leaſt, on whom the plague the more greedier they are, raigneth more fiercely. The reaſon is, becauſe they remaine moſt often in open aire, and along by riuer ſides, which ordinarily draw more contagion. As touching ſheep, which are of a more tender nature, and haue their heads almoſt daily inclining towards the ground, I wonder not that they haue been attainted with this contagion, conſidering that they haue ſucked and gathered the breath of the infected aire from the earth. Such an aire had done more miſchiefe vnto men, had it iſſued in greater aboundance, but before it iſſued or was ſuckt vp by any man, it was choaked by aboundance of pure aire that breathed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why the ayre iſſuing from the hollow places of the earth is peſtilent and mortall.

THat the earth containeth many things both peſtilent and mortall, thou maiſt know, becauſe ſo many poiſons iſſue from it, not ſcattered by the hand, but of their owne accord, the ground containing in it the ſeedes both of good and euill. And why? are there not diuers places in Italie wherein by ſecret pores certaine venomous vapors are exhaled, that kill both man and beaſts if they draw near them. The birds alſo if they light vpon it before it be tempered with a better aire, fall downe in their very flight, and their bodies become blew and ſwolne, euen as theſe humane bodies are, that are ſtrangled. This ſpirit as long as it is contayned in the earth, flowing through a ſmall and ſlender paſſage, hath no more power to kill any, but thoſe that looke into that, or willingly offer themſelues vnto it. But when as for many ages it hath beene hidden in darkneſſe, and thorow the malignitie and vice of the place hath gathered more corruption, the longer it ſtayeth there the more heauie it waxeth, and conſequently the more pernicious is it. But when it hath gotten an iſſue, it ſpreadeth that eternall venome; of ſhadie cold and infernall night, and infecteth the aire of our Region. For the beſt are ouer-come by the worſt. Then likewiſe that purer aire is tranſlated and changed into euill: whence proceede ſodaine and continuall deaths, and monſtrous ſickneſſes, as proceeding from new cauſes. The contagion continueth more or leſſe, according to the continuance and vehemencie of the earthquake, and ceaſeth not vntill the ſpacious extent of the heauens, and the agitation of the windes hath diſſipated thoſe venemous vapours.

CHAP. XXIX.

A consideration of an other accident as touching some that haue become insensate and stupid in these earthquakes.

IF a particular and slight feare maketh those that are attainted therewith to become senseleſſe, and to runne about like fooles and desperate men, wee neede not wonder, if at such time as the world hath had an alarum, and Cities haue beene sunke, whole peoples swallowed vp, and the earth shaken, that some haue been seene tormented with sadnesse and feare, destitute of consolation, and driuen out of their wits. It is no gasing matter to haue a good sence in prosperitie or aduersitie. And therefore the milder spirits haue beene attainted with such feare, that they haue swounded. There is no man affraid that hindreth not his health in some sort: and whosoeuer is attainted with feare, resembleth a mad man rather then any other, but some recouer themselues sodainly, other some remayne troubled a longer time, and are as it were transported. Thence commeth it that during the warre time there are found so many fooles running about the streets; and neuer meet we with so many diuines and sooth-sayers, as when feare intermixed with Religion, attaynteth and seizeth mens braines. I wonder not that during this earthquake, a statue was diuided into two parts, and that the earth it selfe was rent from the top to the bottome.

Some say that earſt the furie of a ſtorme,
(So much can age and tract of many yeares
Transforme thoſe thinges beneath in ſundrie ſorts)
Did ſeparate two places, which at firſt
Were but one ſoyle. The Sea puſht forth her waues:
And head-long flouds by force ſurpaſſing meaſure,
Did rent the ſtrong Sicilian ſhores perforce
From Italie and his faire Continent,
And ſeuered with a ſtraight and floating ſtreame,
The fields and Cities from their former bounds.

Thou seest that there is nothing permanent in the estates of Cities and Peoples, when as one part of nature is moued by it selfe, or that a violent winde agitateth some Sea. For the effect of the parts as well as of the whole is maruailous. For although it rageth in some parts, yet is it caused by the forces of the whole. So hath the Sea diuided and torne Spaine from Africa: and by the same inundation, so much testified by the most famous Poets: Sicilie hath beene separated from Italie. But sometimes those things haue most violence which come from beneath, for that is most furious that inforceth his passage through streights: we haue sufficiently declared both of the effects of the earthquake, and of the maruailous euents that haue succeeded them.

CHAP. XXX.

How it may come to passe that a statue cleaueth in two by earthquake.

WHy therefore should a man bee amazed for this cause, that the brasse of one statue, which is neither solide, but hollow and thin, is broken? when as happily the spirit that seeketh issue is included in the same? But who is he that knoweth not this? wee haue seene houses tremble, and the ioynts and the timbers of the same open,

open, and afterwards cloſe againe; contrariwiſe we haue ſeene ſome buildings that were not wel grounded at the firſt, and which the Carpenters had carelelly ioyned together, which being agitated by an earthquake, haue vnited themſelues together in a better ſort. And if it riueth in two, whole walls, and renteth whole houſes, and ſhaketh the walls of whole Towers which are ſolide, and ouer-turneth the foundations of the building, who is he that can finde any matter worthy of note, that a ſtatue hath beene rent from the bottome to the top? But why continued the earthquake for diuers dayes? For Campania ceaſed not to tremble continually, ſometimes more mildly then at other times, but with great hurt: becauſe the earthquake ſhiuered that which had beene ouer-turned and ſhaken, which finding no ſtay or reſting place, fell, and broke it ſelfe anew. All the winde had not as yet gotten iſſue, but had only deliuered ouer a part whilſt the ſtronger part, that remayned, laboured to finde iſſue.

Why the quaking continueth diuers dayes.

CHAP. XXXI.

AMongſt thoſe arguments whereby it is proued that theſe thinges are done by the winde: thou maieſt without all doubt ſet downe this: when as there is a great earthquake paſt, whereby Cities and Countries are deſtroyed: there cannot an other follow the ſame that is equall with it, but after the greateſt, the lighter motions follow, becauſe the moſt violent haue giuen paſſage to thoſe windes that encountred one an other. The remainder of theſe windes cannot doe ſo much, and doe not beat one vpon another, becauſe they haue their way alreadie opened, and follow that way by which the greateſt force is paſt. Moreouer I thinke that worthy memorie which a learned and honourable perſonage hath obſerued, that being in the ſtoue to waſh himſelfe, hee vndoubtedly ſaw the pauements and ſtones, wherewith the houſe was paued, ſeparate themſelues the one from the other, and afterwards reunite themſelues, and the water eating betweene the clefts, at ſuch time as the tyles ſeparared themſelues one from another; boyled and foamed betweene them both, at ſuch time as they cloſed themſelues. I haue heard the ſame man report, that hee had ſeene ſoft things tremble more gently and oftner, then thoſe of hard and ſolide nature.

Why the firſt trembings are almoſt the moſt violent.

CHAP. XXXII.

AND thus much, my *Lucillius*, the beſt of men as touching the cauſes. Now come I to that which will fortifie our mindes, where it more concerneth to be confident then to bee learned. But the one is not done without the other. For reſolution is no otherwaies planted in the minde then by good arts, and the contemplation of nature. For whom will not this accident fortifie and confirme againſt all others: why then ſhould I feare a man or a ſauage beaſt? I am expoſed to far greater dangers. Wee are aſſailed by Riuers, by Lands, and by the greateſt parts of nature: we ought therefore to prouoke death with a mightie courage, whether he inuade vs by an equall and vaſt aſſault, or by a daily and ordinarie end: it makes no matter with what maske he be couered, nor how mightie the engine is that he draweth againſt vs, that which he demandeth at our handes is the

What reſolutions we are to gather from theſe earthquakes.

The principall is a reſolute and aſſured contempt of death.

the leaſt matter. This ſhall old age take from vs, this the paine of an eare, this the corrupt aboundance of humours in vs, this meate which the ſtomack can hardly diſ-geſt; this a foot but ſlightly offended. The ſoule in man is but a ſmall matter, but it is a mightie thing to contemne the ſoule. Hee that contemneth it ſhall with a quiet eye behold the enraged ſeas, although all the windes haue incenſed the ſame, although the ſtreame with ſome perturbation of the world, turne and arme all the Ocean againſt the earth. Hee ſhall ſecurely behold the dreadful & horrid face of the lightning-heauen. Although the heauen breaketh it ſelfe, and mixeth his fires to ruine both himſelfe, and all that is vnder him. He ſhall ſecurely behold the yawning earth that riueth and renteth vnder him. Although thoſe infernall Kingdomes ſhould bee diſcouered, hee ſhall dreadleſſe ſtand in the face of this confuſion, and happily ſhall skip into the gulfe, into which he ſhould fall. What care I how great the meanes be, by which I periſh? when as to periſh is no great matter? if therefore we will be happy, if we would not be vexed by the feare of men, of gods, or any things: if wee would deſpiſe fortune that promiſeth vs vnneceſſary things, and threatneth vs with trifles, if we will liue quietly, and debate for felicitie with the gods themſelues, we muſt carrie our ſoules in our hands: whether it bee that ambuſhes would entrap, or ſickneſſe aſſaile, or the enemies ſword threaten, or the noiſe of falling Iſlands, or the ruine of the earth, or theſe great fires that conſume Cities & Countries doe inuiron her, ſhe will lay hold on, which ſoeuer of theſe dangers ſhe liſteth: what elſe ſhould I doe but exhort her in her departure, and to ſend her away with all her goods? Goe forth couragiouſly, goe happily. Thinke it not ſtrange to reſtore that which thou haſt receiued. The queſtion is not now of the things, but of the time. Thou doeſt that which thou oughteſt to doe at an other time: neither deſire thou death, neither feare it, beware thou ſtep not back as if thou wert to depart into ſome place of euil: Nature that made thee, exſpecteth thee, and a place farre better and ſecure. There the earth trembleth not, neither the windes combate one with an other, and burſt the clouds with thundring noiſe, nor fire deſolateth whole Countries and Cities, nor the feare of whole Nauies ſucked vp by ſhipwrack, nor Armies ready to giue battell, nor a multitude of Souldiers running in furie to murther one another, nor the plague, nor fires kindled here and there, to burne the bodies both of great and ſmall, into aſhes. This is but a ſmall matter: what feare we? Is death a grieuous matter? rather let it happen once, then threaten alwaies. Shall I be affraid to periſh, when as the earth periſheth before me, and thoſe things are ſhaken which ſhake others, and attempting to doe vs miſchiefe, offence themſelues? The ſea hath ſwallowed vp Helice and Buris wholly: ſhall I be affraid for one little body? Ships ſaile ouer two Cities, yea two ſuch as wee knew, which are reſerued in our remembrance, by the meanes of that diſcourſe which hath beene publiſhed of them. How many other Cities, in great number, haue beene ſwallowed vp in other places? how many Nations hath either the earth or ſea deuoured. Shall I refuſe mine end, when as I know that I am not without end? yea when I know that all things are finite: ſhall I feare the laſt breath or ſigh. As much as thou canſt therefore, my *Lucillius*, animate thy ſelfe againſt the feare of death. This is he that maketh vs humble, this is he that diſquieteth and confoundeth that very life which he ſpareth. This is hee that maketh theſe earthquakes and lightnings greater then they bee. All which thou wilt endure conſtantly, if thou thinke that there is no difference betwixt a ſhort and long time. They are hours which we looſe: put caſe they be dayes, moneths, yeares; wee looſe them be-

Miſerable effects cauſed by the ouer great apprehenſion of death.

cauſe

cauſe they muſt be loſt. What importeth it, I pray you, whether I attayne to ſuch a yeare or no? The time fleeteth away, abandoning thoſe that deſire it ſo much: neither is that mine that either is to come or hath beene. I hang vpon the point of flying Time, and it is a great matter that it hath beene but a very moment. The wiſeman *Lælius* anſwered very elegantly to a certaine man, that ſaid, *I haue ſixtie yeares of age*; ſpeakeſt thou (ſaith hee) of theſe ſixtie which thou haſt not? neither hereby vnderſtand we the condition of incomprehenſible life, nor the chance of time which is neuer our owne, becauſe wee make accompt of the yeares that are paſt. Let vs fixe this in our mindes, and let vs oftentimes ſay one vnto an other, we muſt die: when? what careſt thou? Death is the law of nature; Death the tribute and office of mortall men, and the remedie of all euils; whoſoeuer feareth it will wiſh for it. Setting aſide all other things, my *Lucillus*, meditate on this only, leaſt thou waxe afraid of the name of Death; make him familiar with thee by continuall meditation, that if the cauſe require thou maiſt ſtep forth and meet it.

The End of the ſixth Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILIVS

The ſeuenth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of Comets.

CHAP. I.

THere is no man ſo ſlow, dul, and brutiſh, that lifteth not his thoughts to behold diuine things, and fixeth not his whole minde vpon them, eſpecially when as ſome new miracle appeareth in the heauens. For as long as nothing appeareth but that which is ordinarie, cuſtom taketh away the greatneſſe of things. For wee are ſo compoſed, that thoſe things which we daily meete withall, paſſe by, although they be worthy of admiration: contrariwiſe, we take a ſingular pleaſure to beholde the ſmalleſt trifles, if they haue any noueltie in them. This aſſembly therefore of ſtarres, whereby the beauty of this immeaſurable body is diſtinguiſhed, inuiteth not the people to beholde them; but when as any thing is changed in ſome extraordinary manner, all mens eyes are fixed on heauen: no man gaſeth at the Sunne except it be in the eclipſe: no man obſerueth the Moone except ſhe be darkened. Then whole Cities crie out, and euery one being tranſported thorow vaine ſuperſtition, feareth in his owne behalfe. But how farre greater things are thoſe, that the Sunne (if I may ſo ſpeak it) hath as many degrees as it hath dayes, and firmeth the yeare by his courſe? that from the ſolſtice he preſently inclineth and giueth ſpace vnto the nights, that he hideth the ſtars, that he burneth not the earth being farre more greater then the ſame, but nouriſheth it by temperating his heate, by intentions and remiſſions,

Noueltyraiſeth vs, ordinary matters are contemptible vnto vs.

missions, that he neuer filleth or obscureth the Moone but when she is opposite vnto him; yet respect we not these things as long as they continue in their order. If any thing be troubled or appeare contrary to custome, we behold it, we inquire of it, we shew it: so naturall a thing is it to admire at the newnesse, and not at the greatnesse of things. The same falleth out in Comets: if a rare fire appeare, and of an vnaccustomed figure there is no man that is not desirous to know what it is, and forgetting all other things he questioneth vpon this new accident, not knowing whether he ought to admire or feare. For many there are that will enkindle feare in other men, and walke about and presage that this fire threatneth some great mischiefe. They enquire therefore, and would needs know whether it be a prodigie or some starre in the heauen. But truely no man may eyther search after a thing more magnificent, nor learne a thing more profitable, then what the nature of the starsand planets is. Whether this contracted flame, which both our sight doth affirme, and that light which floweth from them, and that heat that descendeth from thence; or whether they are not flaming Orbes, but certaine solid and earthly bodies, which sliding thorow fierie tracts, draw their brightnesse and colour from them, not being cleere of themselues. Of which opinion many great men were, who beleeued that the starswere compact of a solid substance, and were nourished by forrain fire: for their flame, say they, would flie away except it had something that restrained it, and detained it, and being gathered and not vnited to a stable bodie, vndoubtedly the world by his stormines had dissipated it.

The application of this curiositie to the consideration of Comets

The modest search & examination of these fires is laudable.

CHAP. II.

If Comets are of the same condition as other starrs.

FOr the better inuestigation hereof, it shall not be amisse to enquire whether Comets are of the same condition as the starsare. For they seeme to haue something common with them, their rising and setting, their resemblance likewise, although they spread and stretch themselues out longer: for they are as fierie and bright as the other. But if all starres were terrestriall exhalations, the Comets and starres should be alike: but if they be nought else but pure fire, and continue sixe moneths; neyther the continuall turning and swiftnesse of the heauen dissolueth them, they likewise may consist of a thin matter, neyther for all this be dissipated by the continuall course of heauen. To this point it appertaineth also to know if the heauen turneth the earth continuing fixed, or if the heauen is vnmoueable, and the earth turneth. For some there were that haue said that it is we whom nature insensibly turneth about, and that the rising and setting is not by the motion of the heauens, but that they rise and set. It is a thing worthy contemplation to know in what estate we are, if the place wherein we abide be fixed or turned, whether God causeth vs to turne, or causeth all things to turne about vs; but it is necessary for vs to haue a collection and knowledge of the auncient rising of Comets: for as yet their courses cannot be comprehended, by reason of their raritie, neyther can it be sought out whether they obserue their courses and some due order produceth them to their certaine day. This obseruation of celestiall things is a noueltie, and but lately brought into Greece.

A Paradox of the motion and turning of the earth about the heauens, reuiued in our time by Copernicus.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

DEMOCRITVS alſo the moſt ſubtleſt amongſt all the ancient Philoſophers ſaith, that he ſuſpecteth that there are diuers ſtarres that runne, but neyther hath he ſet downe their number, nor their names, for as yet had he not comprehended the courſes of the fiue Planets. *Eudoxus* was the firſt that brought the doctrine of theſe motions out of Egypt into Greece, yet ſpeakes he nothing of Comets; whereby it appeareth that this part had not beene ſufficiently laboured and ſought into by the Egyptians, who had been the moſt curious obſeruers of the heauens. After him *Conon* a diligent enquirer after theſe things, likewiſe gathered that theſe eclipſes of the Sunne were obſerued by the Egyptians: yet made he no mention of Comets, which he would not haue forgotten, if they had any waies made mention or giuen knowledge of them. Two onely amongſt the Caldees, who are reported to haue ſtudied this ſcience, *Epigenes* and *Apollonius Mynaius* a moſt cunning obſeruer of the works of nature, differ amongſt themſelues: for the one ſaith that Comets by the Caldees are put amongſt the number of wandering ſtarres, and that their courſes are well knowne. But *Epigenes* contrariwiſe ſaith that the Caldees haue no aſſured knowledge of Comets, but that in their iudgements they are kindled by ſome ſtorme that is agitated and ſtirred in the ayre.

The ancient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed ouer curious in obſeruing comets

CHAP. IIII.

IF firſt therefore thou thinkeſt it meete, we will ſet downe their opinions and refell them: This man thinkes that the ſtarre of Saturne hath the moſt force vnto all the celeſtiall motions. This when as ſhe preſſeth the neighbouring ſigne of *Mars*, or that ſhe paſſeth into thoſe that haue a vicinity with the Moone, or falleth into the beames of the Sunne, being by nature windie and colde, ſhe cloſeth and thickneth the ayre in diuers parts. Afterwards, if ſhe hath gathered into her ſelfe the beames of the Sunne, it thundereth and lightneth. If *Mars* fauoureth her likewiſe, it lightneth. Beſides (ſaith he) the lightnings haue one matter, and the fulgurations another; for the euaporation of the water, and all other things which are moiſt, doth nought elſe but moue the lightnings, which doe nought elſe but moue threatnings; neyther ſucceedeth there any other euill. But the exhalation that mounteth from the earth, as being more hot and more drie produceth lightnings. But thoſe beames and Torches which differ in no other thing amongſt themſelues but in greatneſſe, are made after this manner: when as ſome globe of the ayre hath incloſed moyſt and earthly things in that which we call a ſtorme; whitherſoeuer it is carried it preſenteth the forme of an extended fire, which continueth ſo long as the complexion of that ayre hath remained, carrying in it ſelfe much moyſt and earthly matter.

Epigenes *opinion as touching the meteors of fire.*

CHAP. V.

An examination and diſtinct refutation of theſe opinions.

TO begin with the laſt lies: this is falſe that Torches and fierie beames are expreſſed by a ſtorme: for a ſtorme is formed, and rowleth neere vnto the earth; and therefore it pulleth vp ſhrubs by the roots, and whereſoeuer it inclineth, it maketh the ground naked, laying holde in the meane ſpace on woods and houſes, for the moſt part lower then the clouds, and yet neuer higher. But contrariwiſe, the pillars appeare in the higheſt region of the ayre, and conſequently they haue neuer reſiſted the clouds. Furthermore, a ſtorme preſſeth forward more violently beyond compariſon aboue any other cloude, and fulfilleth his courſe in a round. It likewiſe continueth not long time, but burſteth it ſelfe by his owne violence. But pillars of fire neyther rome, nor flie ouer as Torches doe, but abide in one place, and ſhine in the ſame part of the heauen. *Charimander* alſo in that booke which he wrote of Comets, ſaith, that *Anaxagoras* obſerued in the heauens a great and vnaccuſtomed light of the greatneſſe of a huge pillar, and that it ſhined for many dayes. *Caliſthenes* teſtifieth that there appeared the like reſemblance of extended fire, before that *Buris* or *Helice* were hidden by the ſea. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that it was not a beame but a comet; but that by reaſon of the exceſſiue heate it appeared not to be ſcattered fire, but in proceſſe of time, when as now it burned leſſe, it preſented it ſelfe in the forme of a Comet: in which fire there were many things that were worthy to be noted, and yet nothing more then this, that when it ſhined in the heauens, the Sea preſently ouerflowed *Buris* and *Helice*. Did not therfore *Ariſtotle* beleeue, that not only that, but al other beames were Comets? This difference haue you, that in the one the fire was continuall, in the other ſcattered: for pillars haue an equall flame, neyther intermitted or failing in any place, and coacted in the vttermoſt parts thereof, ſuch as that was whereof I ſpake of late, according to *Caliſthenes* opinion.

CHAP. VI.

Two ſorts of Comets, according to Epigenes, and of their cauſes.

EPIGENES ſaith there are two ſorts of Comets; the one on euery ſide powre forth their heat, and change not their place; others extend their ſcattered fire in one place like haire, and trauerſe the ſtars, where two ſuch haue appeared in our time. Theſe former are crinite, and euery wayes likewiſe immoueable, yet are they for the moſt part lower, & compoſed of the ſame cauſes, as pillars and torches are from the intemperature of the troubled ayre, which carries with it ſelf many moiſt and drie exhalations that are raiſed from the earth. For the winde that ſlides thorow theſe ſtraits may inflame the ayre aboue, ful of nutriment, fit for fire, and afterwards driue it backeward from the place where it is calmeſt, for feare leſt through ſome cauſe it ſhould returne and grow faint, and anon after ſhould come to raiſe it ſelfe, and enkindle the fire where it was. For we ſee that the winds after ſome certain daies, return vnto the ſame place whence they firſt iſſued. The raines alſo, and other kindes of tempeſts, returne vnto their point and aſſignation. But to expreſſe his intent in a few wordes, he thinketh that Comets are made in the ſame ſort, as fires that are caſt out by ſtormes; this only is the difference, that the ſtormes fall from on high vpon the earth, and theſe fires raiſe themſelues from the earth vnto the heauens.

CHAP. VII.

MAnie things are ſpoken againſt theſe; firſt, if the winde were the cauſe, a Comet ſhould neuer appeare without winde, but now it appeareth euen in the calmeſt ayre. Againe, if it were cauſed by winde, it ſhould fall with the winde: and if it beganne with the winde it ſhould increaſe with the winde, and the more fiery ſhould it be, the more violent the winde was. To this adde that likewiſe: The winde impelleth many parts of the ayre; but a Comet appeareth in one place: the winde mounteth not vp on high; but Comets are ſeene very high aboue the windes. After this he paſſeth ouer to thoſe, which as he ſaith, haue a more certaine reſemblance of ſtars, which goe forward, and paſſe the ſignes in the Zodiaque. Theſe, ſaith he, are made of the ſame cauſes as the other that are lower: in this onely they differ, that the exhalations of the earth, carrying many drie things with them, aſcend to the higher part, and by the North wind are driuen into the vpper part of heauen. Againe, if the North winde did driue them, they ſhould be alwayes driuen to the Southward, againſt which the North winde bloweth. But they haue diuers ſtations, ſome goe towards the Eaſt, ſome towards the Weſt, and all in turning, which way the winde would not giue. Againe, if the violence of the North winde, lifted them vp from the earth vnto the heauens, Comets ſhould not riſe with any other windes; but they riſe.

The winde is no cauſe of Comets, as Epigenes *thinketh.*

CHAP. VIII.

BVt now let vs refell that reaſon of his (for he vſeth them both). All that which the earth hath exhaled, eyther drie or moyſt, comming to ioyne in one, the diſcord that happeneth betweene theſe bodies, maketh the ayre become ſtormie. The vehemencie then of that turning winde enkindleth by his courſe, and rayſeth vp on high, that which it holdeth incloſed in it ſelfe, and the brightneſſe of the fire that is incloſed dureth as long time as the exhalation, whereby he is entertained, which beginning to decreaſe, the fire decreaſeth likewiſe. He that ſaid this, conſidered not what the courſe of ſtorms & Comets is. That of ſtorms is headlong and violent, and ſwifter then the winds: that of the Comets is more milde, and no man can diſcouer what way they make in foure and twenty howers. Furthermore, the motion of ſtormes is inconſtant, ſcattered, and turning: that of Comets is certain, and keepeth one ſetled courſe. Would any one of vs thinke that the winde carrieth away, or that the ſtorme cauſeth the Moone to turne, or elſe the fiue wandering ſtars? Nothing leſſe in my iudgement. And why? Becauſe their courſe is neyther troubled nor ſuſpended. Let vs transferre the ſame vnto Comets. They moue not confuſedly or tumultuoſly, ſo as any man ſhould beleeue that they are impelled by turbulent and inconſtant cauſes. And again, although theſe ſtorms might embrace the exhalations of earth & water, & afterwards lift them vp from beneath vpwards, yet ſhould they not make them mount aboue the Moone. All their carriage extendeth no farther then the clouds. But we ſee that comets are intermixed with the ſtars, & ſlide along the ſuperior parts. It is not therfore likely, that in ſo great ſpace a ſtorm of winde may continue, the which as it is moſt violent, the ſooner takes it an end.

Stormes are not the cauſe of Comets.

CHAP. IX.

The continuation of the refutation contayned in the former chapter.

LEt him chooſe which of theſe two he liſt: if it be a light ſtorme it cannot diſcend from ſo high, if it be a violent and ſudden ſtorme, it will break it ſelfe the ſooner. Moreouer, theſe lower comets mount not ſo high as ſome think, by reaſon that they haue more waighty matter then the reſt. This waight hindreth them from mounting. Contrariwiſe, it muſt neceſſarily follow that the comets that are higheſt, and are of longeſt continuance haue a matter more ſolid then the lower. They likewiſe could not continue longer except ſome more ſtronger nutriment maintained them. I ſaid not long ſince that a ſtorme could not endure long, nor raiſe it ſelfe aboue the Moone, nor as far as the ſtars: for a ſtorme is raiſed by a conflict of diuers windes one with another. This conflict cannot be of long continuance: for an vncertaine winde hauing ſtrugled with the reſt, finally, the victory remaineth to that which is the ſtrongeſt. But no violent tempeſt laſteth long. The more headlong the tempeſts are, the leſſe time and continuance haue they: when the windes are in their full force, they incontinently begin to decline, and it muſt needs be that by their more earneſt vigor they ſhould tend to their diſſolution. So then no man euer ſaw a ſtrong ſtorme of winde continue longer then foure and twentie houres, no not an houre. The ſwiftneſſe thereof is wonderfull, and no leſſe wonderfull is the ſhortneſſe. Beſides this, he turneth with more greater violence and ſwiftneſſe about the earth: if it be high, it is leſſe headlong, by reaſon whereof it ſpreadeth it ſelfe. Adde hereunto now, that if it raiſed it ſelfe aboue the regions of the ayre, towards the heauens and ſtars, the motion of them, which whirleth about the whole frame would diſſolue and diſſipate the ſame: for what is it that turneth more ſwiftly then the motion of heauen? When the force of all the winds ſhould be aſſembled together, and the ſolid and firme ſtructure of the earth likewiſe, this motion could diſſipate all that, and conſequently in leſſe then nothing, ſhould make that parcell of intorted and confuſed aire to vaniſh.

CHAP. X.

He continueth his proofe, that ſtormes of the ayre cannot be the cauſe of the enkindling of Comets.

FVrthermore, the fire carried vp by the ſtorme could not continue long, if the ſtorme continued not likewiſe: but what is more incredible then that a ſtorme ſhould laſt long? For one motion is ouercome by his contrary motion: for the place aboue the ayres hath his motion that carrieth the heauens.

And drawes the higher ſtarres with ſwifter turne,
And whirles them round about.

And if thou grant them ſome remiſſion, which can hardly be done in any ſort, what ſhall we ſay of comets that continue ſixe moneths? Againe, there ſhould be two motions in one place, the one of them diuine and continual, accompliſhing his work without intermiſſion, the other freſh & new, being ſhaken by the ſtorme. Of neceſſitie therfore, the one muſt be an impediment to the other. But the motion of the Moone & the courſe of the other Planets, which are aboue, alwaies obſerue their time, neither ſtop they euer, or ſtay they, nor giueth vs

any

any ſuſpition of intermiſſion or let in their motion. It is an incredible thing that a ſtorme (which is a kinde of tempeſt extremely violent and impetuous) ſhould mount as high as mid-heauen, and whirle it ſelfe amongſt the ſpheares, whoſe courſe is ſo peaceable and gouerned, Put caſe that a ſtorme enkindleth a fire, and driueth it vp on high, or that it appeareth in a longer forme, yet think I that it muſt be ſuch as that is which cauſeth the fire. But the forme of a ſtorme is round, for it turneth in the ſame place, and is whirled about, after the manner of a cylinder that turneth and rouleth in it ſelfe: therefore the fire that is incloſed therein muſt be like vnto the ſame. But it is long and ſcattered, and no wayes like vnto that which is round.

CHAP. XI.

LEt vs leaue *Epigenes*, & examin other mens opinions, which before I begin to expound, this is firſt of all to be preſuppoſed, that Comets are not ſeen in one part of the heauen, nor in the Zodiak only, but appeare as well in the Eaſt as in the Weſt, yea, and oft-times about the North. Their forme is not one; for although the Grecians haue made a difference of thoſe whoſe flame hangeth downe after the manner of a beard, and of thoſe which on euery ſide of them ſpread their light as it were haire, and of thoſe whoſe fire extendeth and poureth it ſelfe out, but tendeth towards a head; yet are all theſe of the ſame note, and are rightly called Comets, whoſe formes when as they appeare after a long time, it is a hard matter to compare them one with another. At that very time when they appeare, all thoſe that beholde them are not of the ſame opinion in reſpect of their habitude, but euen as each of them hath eyther a ſharper or a duller ſight; ſo ſaith he that they are eyther cleerer or redder, or that their haires are drawn inwardly or ſcattered on the ſides. But whether there be any differences of them or no, yet muſt Comets be made by the ſame reaſon. One thing muſt remaine reſolued, that it is an extraordinary thing to ſee a new appearance of ſtars, that draw about themſelues a ſcattered fire. Some one of the ancients allow of this reaſon, when as one of the wandring ſtars adioyneth it ſelfe to another, both their lights being confuſed into one, make an appearance of a longer ſtar: neyther doth this happen onely at ſuch time as one Planet toucheth another, but alſo when they approach, for the ſpace betweene them both is enlightned and inflamed both by the one and the other, and maketh a long fire.

Comets appeare in diuers parts of heauen.

Their qualitie is iudged by the obſcuritie or cleereneſſe of our ſight.

CHAP. XII.

TO theſe we will anſwer thus; that there is a certaine number of moueable ſtars, and that at one time both they and Comets are wont to appeare; whereby it is manifeſt, that Comets are not cauſed by their coition and meeting, but are created of themſelues. It oft-times hapneth that a ſtar is found right vnderneath one of thoſe which is higheſt, and ſomtimes *Saturne* is aboue *Iupiter*, and *Mars* beholdeth in a right line both *Venus* and *Mercurie*. But for all this courſe and incountry the one with the other, a Comet is not therefore made, otherwiſe they ſhould be made euery yeare, for in euery yeare ſome ſtars meete together in

An anſwer vnto thoſe that thinke that Comets are formed by the approach and incountry of two Planets.

in one ſigne, if one Planet drawing neere or aboue another, did make a comet, it ſhould ceaſe to be in the ſame inſtant, for the Planets paſſe ſuddenly. And therfore is it, that the eclipſe of the Planets dureth not long time, becauſe the ſame courſe that brought them together carrieth them away ſwiftly. We ſee that in a very little ſpace of time the eclipſes both of Sunne and Moone take an end. Thoſe of the other Planets likewiſe which are leſſe, ought likewiſe to continue leſſe. But there are certaine comets that endure ſixe moneths, which would not come to paſſe, if they were produced by coniunction of two planets, which cannot long time ſubſiſt together; but that the lawe of neceſſitie muſt needes ſeparate them. Beſides, theſe planets ſeeme neere neighbours one vnto another, yet are they ſeparated by huge diſtances. How then may one planet dart out fire vnto another, in ſuch ſort as both of them ſeeme but one, when as there is ſo great a diſtance betweene them? The light (ſaith he) of two ſtars is intermixed, and preſent a forme of one: in no other ſort then when as by meeting with the Sunne, a cloud becommeth red, as the euenings and the mornings are yellow, and as ſometimes or other we ſee the Arch of the Sunne. All theſe firſt of all are cauſed by great force: for it is the Sun that enkindleth theſe, the ſtars haue not the ſame power. Againe, none of theſe appeare but vnder the Moone, and neere vnto the earth. The ſuperior bodies are pure and ſincere, & neuer change their colour. Beſides, if any ſuch thing ſhould happen it ſhould not endure, but ſhould be extinguiſhed ſuddenly, as crownes are which begirt the Sunne or Moone, and vaniſh a little while after: neyther doth the Raine-bow continue long if any ſuch thing were, wherby the middle ſpace between two ſtars ſhould be confuſed, they would as ſoone vaniſh out of ſight, or if it continued it ſhould not be ſo long as the comets endure. The planets ſhape their courſe in the circle of the Zodiacke, but the comets appeare in all the parts of the heauen. As touching the time of their apparition, it is no more certaine then the place wherein they are confined.

CHAP. XIII.

An inſtance of Artemidorus to maintaine his opinion, and the anſwer to the ſame.

THis is alleged by *Artemidorus* againſt that which is ſaid before, that not onely the fiue ſtars do run, but that they are obſerued alone, yet that innumerable ſtarres, that are carried in ſecret, eyther vnknowne vnto vs by reaſon of the obſcuritie of their light, or by reaſon of ſuch a poſition of their circles, that then at length they are ſeene when they are come to their period or end. Therfore, as he ſaith, ſome ſtars run betweene, which are new vnto vs, which intermix their light with thoſe that are fixed, and extend their fire far mort then other ſtars are accuſtomed: this is the ſlighteſt of his fictions, for all his diſcourſes of the world are impudent lies: for if we beleeue him, the heauen that we ſee is moſt ſolid, and hardned after the manner of a tyle, and of a deepe and thicke bodie, which was made of Atomes congeſted and gathered together. The next ſurface vnto this is fiery, ſo compact that it neither can be diſſolued or vitiated, yet hath it ſom vents and windows, by which the fires enter from the exterior part of the heauen, which are not ſo large that they may trouble it inwardly, whence again they ſteale and ſlip forth. Theſe therefore which appeared contrarie to cuſtome, flowed and had their influence from that matter, that lay on each ſide of the world. To anſwer theſe queſtions, what other thing is it, then to exerciſe the hand, and to caſt a mans armes into the winde?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

YEt would I haue this man tell me who hath laid ſuch thicke planchars on the heauen, what reaſon there is that we ſhould beleeue him that the heauen is of this thickneſſe. What is the cauſe he ſhould cary ſo many ſolid bodies thither, and detaine them there? Againe, that which is of ſo great thickneſſe, muſt needs be of a great waight. How therefore may heauie things remaine ſuſpended in the heauens. How commeth it to paſſe that this heauie burthen faileth not, and breaketh not himſelfe through his waight? For it cannot be that the force of ſo great a burthen, as he ſetteth downe, ſhould hang and depend on ſo ſlight ſtaies. Neither can this likewiſe be ſpoken, that outwardly there are ſome ſupporters that vphold it from falling; nor likewiſe that in the middeſt there is any thing oppoſed, that might entertaine or containe ſuch an impendent bodie. No man likewiſe dare be ſo bold as to ſay that the world is carried and whirled about infinitly, and that it falleth, but that it appeareth not whether it fall or no, becauſe the precipitation thereof is eternall, hauing no end wherein it may terminate. Some haue ſpoken thus of the earth, when as they had found no reaſon why a waight ſhould conſiſt in the aire; It is alwayes falling, ſay they, but it appeareth not whether it fall or no, becauſe, that is infinite into which it falleth. What is it then, whereby thou wilt proue that only fiue ſtarres moue not, but that there are many, and in many regions of the world? Or if it be lawfull to anſwere this without any probable argument. What is the cauſe why ſome man ſhould not ſay, that either all the ſtars are moued or none? Againe, that troope of ſtars that wander heere and there, helpe thee nothing. For the more they be, the oftner ſhould they fall vpon others: but comets are rare, and for this cauſe are wonderfull. Moreouer, all ages will beare teſtimony againſt them, which haue both obſerued the riſing of thoſe ſtars, and haue communicated them with poſteritie.

An exact refutation of Artemidorus *his Paradoxes.*

Another Paradox incloſed in diuers abſurdities.

CHAP. XV.

AFter the death of *Demetrius* King of Syria, the father of *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, and a little before the warre in Achaia, there appeared a comet almoſt as great as the Sun. In the beginning it was a circle of red fire, ſparkling with ſo great light, that it ſurmounted the obſcuritie of the night. Afterwards this greatneſſe began to diminiſh, and the brightneſſe thereof to vaniſh. Finally, the Comet was wholly ſpent. How many wandering ſtarres, thinke you, ſhould haue beene ioyned together to make ſo great a bodie? Although a thouſand had beene reduced into one Maſſe, yet could they not reflect ſo much light as the Sun doth. During the raigne of *Attalus* a Comet was ſeene, which in the beginning was but little, but afterwards it encreaſed, and extended, and lengthened out it ſelfe as farre as the Æquator, in ſuch ſort as it equalled (ſo long was the extent thereof) that part of the heauen which the Aſtronomers call the Milke-white way. How many wandering ſtarres ſhould there haue beene gotten together, to occupie with a continuall fire ſo long a tract of heauen?

Examples to approue that one Comet cannot be made of diuers wandering ſtars.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The ſhameleſſe error and abſurditie of ſome Hiſtorians, taxed, and namely of Artemidorus.

Againſt Hiſtorians in title, and liers in effect.

WE haue ſpoken againſt the argument, now muſt we ſay ſomewhat againſt the witneſſes: we need not labour much to empouerish the authoritie of *Ephirus*, he is an Hiſtorian. Some men get commendation by relating of incredible matters, and excite the Reader by ſome miracle, who would doe ſome other thing elſe, if he were but entertained by ordinarie matters. Some are credulous, and ſome negligent, ſome are circumuented, and ſome pleaſed with lies: the one auoid them not, the other deſire them. And this is common of the whole Nation, which as he thinketh cannot approue his worke; neither that it will be paſſable and vendible, except it hath ſome aſperſion of lies. But *Ephirus*, a man of no religious honeſtie or faith, is oft-times deceiued, and oftentimes deceiueth: as in this place, becauſe when as in this Comet, which all the world obſerued, drew after it the euent of a mightie matter, when as vpon the riſing therof it drowned Helice and Buris, hee ſaith that it diuided it ſelfe into two ſtarres, which beſides himſelfe no man teſtifieth. For who is he that could obſerue that moment, wherein the Comet was diſſolued, and diuided into two parts? And how if there be any man that hath ſeene a Comet diuided into two, is there no man that hath ſeene it made of two? And why added he not into what ſtarres it was diuided, whereas it muſt needs be ſome one of the fiue Planets.

CHAP. XVII.

The examination of Apollonius *Paradox, that there are many wandring Comets.*

APOLLONIVS MINDIVS is of a contrary opinion, for he ſaith that a Comet is not made one out of diuers erraticall ſtarres, but that many Comets are erraticall. It is not a falſe appearance, nor an extended fire, by the vicinitie of two Planets, that maketh a Comet: her forme is not reſtrained in a round, but more high, and extended in length: yet hath it no manifeſt courſe, for it trauerſeth the higheſt part of heauen, and when as ſhe is at the loweſt of her courſe, ſhe is not ſeene. Neither are we to thinke that we ſaw the ſame in *Claudius* time, which appeared in *Auguſtus* dayes, nor that which appeared vnder *Nero Cæſar*, which hath enobled all the reſt; was like vnto that which appeared about the eleuenth houre of the day, when as men celebrated the ſports of mother *Venus*, after *Iulius Cæſar* had beene murthered. There are diuers Comets of diuers ſorts, of different greatnes and diſlike in colour: the one are red, without any clearenes, the other white, and of a pure and cleare brightneſſe, the other flaming obſcurely, and enuironed with thicke ſmoake. Some are bloudie, hideous, which preſage nothing elſe but murthers and maſſacres. Theſe either leſſen or encreaſe their light, as other celeſtiall fires doe in deſcending and approching more neere vnto vs, they ſhow more cleare and more great: leſſe and more obſcure in remounting, becauſe they withdraw themſelues further off.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

HEreunto we forthwith answere, that the same falleth not out in Comets, that happeneth in other Celestiall fires. For Comets, the very first day they appeare are at the greatest. But they should encrease the neerer they draw vnto vs: but now their first appearance continueth vntill such time as they begin to bee extinguished. Againe, that which was answered to the first, may be answered to this man likewise: if a Comet were a Planet, and had his course, it should be moued within the bounds of the Zodiake, in which all other Planets shape their course. For neuer doth a starr appeare by a starr. Our sight cannot penetrate thorow a starre, to see thorow it, what is vnder it. But men see thorow a comet, as thorow a cloud, that which is vnderneath, whereby it appeareth that it is not a starr, but a light fire that is gathered in hast.

A difference betweene Comets and other celestiall fires.

CHAP. XIX.

ZENO the Stoique is of this opinion, supposing that the starres doe ranke themselues, the one of them neere vnto the other, and intermix their beames, where there followeth an appearance of a long starr. By this reckoning diuers thinke that there are no comets, but that by reuerberation of the starrs, which are one of them neere vnto the other, or by the coniunction of them that entertaine one another that is caused, which hath such or such appearance of a comet. Some maintaine that there are; but that they haue their particular courses, and at the end of certaine yeares they appeare. Some other accord also that there are; but deny that they ought to be called starres, because they diminish by little and little, and continue not long, and vanish, as it were, in an instant.

Zenoes *opinion according with* Apollonius.

CHAP. XX.

DIuers of our coat and sort are of the same opinion, neither thinke they that it repugneth against the truth: for we see diuers sorts of fires that are formed in the aire, and sometimes the heauen on fire, sometimes long streames of flame, then burning torches carried away swiftly, with a large fire: the lightnings also, although marvellously sudden, in an instant dazle the eyes, and leaue there fires proceeding from the aire, that is crushed and violently beaten together. Therefore resist they not, but being expressed, flow, and forthwith perish. Other fires continue long, and vanish not, except first of all that aliment that nourished them be consumed. In this ranke are those miracles that are written by *Possidonius*, burning pillars and bucklers, and other fierie impressions, notable by reason of their noueltie, which would not astonish mens minds, if they appeared according to custome and nature. All men are amased that behold these, and be it that any fire either shine or shoot, be it that pressing the aire, and by setting it on fire, it subsisteth, and is reputed for some noueltie, euery one gazeth thereat, and supposeth it to be miraculous. What then? Hath not the heauen sometimes opened,

Senecaes *opinion hereupon.*

ned, and a great clearenesse hath broken forth of the cauitie. Thou mightest exclaime: What is this?

I see the heauen depart it selfe in twaine
And scattered starres from thence shine forth againe.

Which sometimes haue shined before the night was expected, and haue broken forth at mid-day, but there is another reason hereof, why they appeare at an vnusuall time, which that they were, it is manifest euen then, when they were hidden. We see not many comets that are obscured by the Sunne-beames, in whose Eclipse, as *Possidonius* testifieth, there appeared a Comet, which the neighbouring Sunne had hidden. For oftentimes when the Sunne setteth, there are certaine scattered fires seene not farre of him: the cause is, because the greater light is spred in such sort ouer the lesser, that it may not be seene: But Comets escape the Sunne-beames.

CHAP. XXI.

That which the Stoiques teach, as touching Comets.

SO then the Stoickes hold that the Comets, such as are torches, trumpets, pillars, and other such wonders in the heauen are created of thicke aire. And therefore appeare they most often in the North, because in that place there is found much waightie aire. Why then is not a Comet fixed, but goeth forward? After the manner of fires, it followeth that which nourisheth it. For although by nature he inclineth vpwards, yet when it wanteth matter, it declineth into that aire, according as the matter thereof tendeth or bendeth it, either to the right or left part. For it hath no way, but such as the vaine of that which nourisheth it leadeth it, thither creepeth it; neither shapeth she her course as a starre, but is led as fire is. Why then appeareth it a long time, and is not quickly extinguished? For that we beheld vnder the happie gouernmet of *Nero*, was seene for the space of six moneths, shaping a course altogether opposite to that which appeared in the time of *Claudius*. For that rising from the North vpwards, declined towards the East, alwaies more obscure. This began in the same part, but bending towards the West, declined towards the Southward, and then vanished out of sight. That in *Claudius* time had a quarter more moist, and more fit for inflamation, which she followed. That in *Neroes* time had a more spacious and furnished extent. They therefore descend thither, whither the matter that maintaineth them draweth them, and not their way: which appeareth to be diuers in those two which we beheld, whereas the one moued toward the right hand, the other towards the left. But all starres haue their course in the same part, that is to say, contrarie to that of the heauens, which turneth from the East to the West, and the starres quite contrarie: they haue therefore a double motion, that of their owne, and that of the heauens, that carrieth them.

Of two Comets that appeared in the time of Claudius *and* Nero.

CHAP. XXII.

I Am not of the Stoiques opinion, for I think not that a comet is a ſudden fire, but that it is to be reputed amongſt one of the eternal workes of Nature. Firſt of all, whatſoeuer the aire createth, are of ſhort continuance, becauſe they are made of a fleeting and mutable ſubiect. For how can any thing ſubſiſt long time in the ſame ſort in the aire, when as the aire it ſelfe neuer remaineth like it ſelfe? It doth nothing but turn and flow, and hath very little reſt. In a moments ſpace it is changed into another ſtate then it was in before: now is it faire, now rayny, then inconſtant betweene both, for clouds are familiar with it, into which he gathereth him ſelf, and from which hee is diſſolued, which now aſſemble themſelues, ſuddenly ſcatter, and neuer continue at reſt. It cannot be that a ſetled fire ſhould take his ſituation in a body ſo fleeting, and ſhould cleaue vnto it ſo obſtinatly, as if nature had ſo appropriated it, that it ſhould neuer be ſeperated from it. Moreouer, if it alwayes remained annexed to that which entertaineth the ſame, it ſhould neuer deſcend: for the neerer the aire approcheth to the earth, the thicker it is, and neuer doth a comet deſcend as far as the lower region of the aire, neither approcheth ſo neere vnto the earth. The fire likewiſe mounteth thither, whither his nature carieth him, that is to ſay, on high, or thither, whither the matter to which it cleaueth, or that it feedeth, draweth him.

The examination of the Stoicks opinion.

CHAP. XXIII.

NO ordinary and celeſtiall fires haue an obiike way. Circular motion is the property of the ſtars, yet know I not whether any other comets haue done the like; two in our age haue done it. Againe, all that which is kindled by a temporall cauſe, is quickly extinguiſhed. So doe torches burne in paſſing by, ſo lightnings haue their force for a flaſh, ſo thoſe ſtars that are called tranſuerſe and falling, flie ouer and cut the aire; no fires haue continuance but in their owne fire. Thoſe diuine ſtars ſpeake I of, which ſhall continue as long as the heauen it ſelfe, becauſe they are parts and the workmanſhip thereof. But theſe do ſomething, they go, they infallibly follow their courſes, and are equall. For they ſhould euery other day become greater or leſſe (if there fire were gathered and collected) ſodainly enkindled vpon ſome cauſe: for it ſhould be leſſer or greater, accordingly as it ſhould be abundantly or ſparingly entertained. I ſaid of late that there is nothing continuall which is inflamed by the corruption of the aire: now adde I further, it neither can abide or ſtand by any meanes. For both a torch, and lightning, and a ſhooting ſtar; and whatſoeuer fire is expreſſed by the aire, ſtayeth not in a place, neither appeareth but whileſt it falleth. The comet hath her ſiege, whence ſhe is not ſo ſoone chaſed, but ſhee finiſheth her courſe in meaſure, and is not extinguiſhed ſuddenly, but vadeth by little and little: if it were a wandering ſtarre, ſaith he, it ſhould be in the Zodiake. Who ſetteth one limit for the ſtars? Who drieueth diuine things into a ſtrait? The Planets which thou only thinkeſt haue motion, haue diuers circles. Why therefore ſhould there not be others, which might haue a way proper & peculiar from that of the Planets? what is the cauſe that the heauē is vnacceſſible in ſome place? If thou thinkeſt that no Planet may paſſe the Zodiake, I ſay that a comet may haue his circle ſo large, that in ſome place he may enter into the Zodiaque. This is not neceſſarie, but it may be.

The difference betweene ſtarres and Comets.

That which is enflamed by the corruption of the aire cannot ſubſiſt.

Seneca *ſeemeth to encline in ſome ſort to this opinion, that a Comet is ſome kind of wandering ſtarre.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The reasons that moue him to produce this Paradox.

COnsider whether this becommeth not the greatneſſe of heauen better that it bee diuided into ſeuerall courſes, then to imagine one only circle wherein all the Planets haue their courſe, and that the reſt remayne vnprofitable and idle. Beleeueſt thou that in this ſo great and faire body, amongſt innumerable ſtarres, which by their diuers beautie adorne and diſtinguiſh the night, nor ſuffering the ayre to remayne voide and improfitable, that there ſhould be but only fiue ſtarres, to whom it ſhould be lawfull to exerciſe themſelues, whilſt all the reſt ſtand, like a fixed and immoueable multitude? if any man enquire of me in this place, why therfore is not the courſe of theſe as well obſerued as of thoſe fiue ſtarres? To him I will anſwere, that we graunt that there are many things, but what they are we know not. All of vs will confeſſe, that each of vs hath a ſoule, by whoſe command we are impelled, and reuoked: but what this ſoule is which is the Ruler and Gouernour ouer vs, euery man is as farre from telling thee, as he is vncertaine where it is. Some will ſay that it is a ſpirit, an other that it is harmonie. That Man, a diuine thing, and like vnto God; This Man, a very ſubtill aire, and that other, an incorporeall facultie: neither will there want ſome that will call it bloud; otherſome, heat. So that a man cannot know the truth of other things, who as yet hath not the perfect knowledge of himſelfe.

CHAP. XXV.

That there is ſomewhat more in Comets then in other Meteors of fire.

WHy wonder we therefore that the Comets (which are a rare ſpectacle of heauen) are as yet vnreſtrained vnder certaine lawes, and that neither their beginnings nor endings are knowne, hauing not their returne, but after a long ſpace of time? There are not yet a thouſand and fiue hundreth yeares paſt ſince Greece

Numbred and named the light-ſome ſtarres.

and many Nations are there at this day who know not the heauen but by ſight, that as yet are ignorant why the Moone faileth, or ſuffereth an eclipſe: And theſe things amongſt vs likewiſe haue beene lately reduced to a certaintie. The time ſhall come that theſe things which are now hidden ſhall be diſcouered by Time, and the diligence of future Ages. One Age is ouer-ſhort to ſeeke out theſe ſecrets, and a mans whole age is required to be ſpent in the contemplation of heauen. Is it not a miſerie for vs that wee diuide this little time wee haue to liue, betweene ſerious and friuolous occupations? There ſhall bee diuers ages therefore that ſhall cleare theſe difficulties: The time ſhall come wherein our Poſteritie ſhall wonder that we were ignorant of ſo manifeſt thinges: wee haue learned not long ſince in what time thoſe fiue Planets, which we perceiue, doe riſe and ſet, or ſtay, why they goe directly on, or recoile backward, and which holding ſo different courſes, conſtraine vs to be curious: Not many yeares ſince it hath beene ſhewed vs, if *Iupiter* riſeth, or ſetteth, or is retrograde; for ſo it is ſaid, when he retireth. There haue been ſome that haue ſaid vnto vs: you erre, that iudge that any ſtarre either ſuppreſſeth or turneth his courſe. Celeſtiall bo-

One Age cannot know all things.

dies

dies haue their motion, neither can they be auerted, they all goe forward, as ſoone as they are ſent, they goe. They ſhall bee no more when they ceaſe to moue. This eternall worke hath irreuocable motions: which if they ſhould at any time ſtay, the one ſhould bee confounded in the other, where as now the ſame tenure and equalitie conſerueth them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the retrogradation of certain Planets.

WHence commeth it then that certaine Planets ſeeme to bee retrograde? The courſe of the Sunne impoſeth on them this appearance of ſlow motion; beſides, the nature and ſite of their courſes and circles in ſuch ſort, that at ſomtimes they deceiue their ſight that behold them. In this ſort, ſhips that ſaile with a fore-winde ſeeme not to ſtirre: The day will come when ſome one ſhall ſhew vs in what parts the Comets wander: why they obſerue ſo different a courſe from other ſtarres, what and how great they are: We content our ſelues with thoſe things that are found: Let thoſe that ſucceede vs manifeſt the truth likewiſe for their parts: We ſee not, ſaith he, any thing that is vnderneath the Planets. Our eyes pierce the Comets. Firſt, if this be ſo, it is not in that part where the celeſtiall body is of a thick and ſolide fire, but there, where there is a brightneſſe more rare, and in that part where the haires are ſcattered. Thou ſeeſt through the ſpaces of the fires, and not through them. All ſtarres (ſaith he) are round, all Comets are extended, whereby it appeareth that they are no ſtarres: but who will graunt thee this, that Comets are long? whereas naturally according as other celeſtiall bodies are, they are formed round, but it is their brightneſſe that extendeth it ſelfe. Euen as the Sunne ſpreadeth his beames farre and neare, and yet hath another forme then that which proceedeth from his beames: ſo the bodies of Comets are round, but their light appeareth more long, then that of the other ſtarres.

To maintain his opinion he anſwereth to an obiection that is made, that the Comets are more nearer the earth then the Planets and that they are of another ſorm.

CHAP. XXVII.

An other anſwer of Senecaes, to the obiection, that there is a difference betweene the light of the Comets and Planets.

WHy (ſaieſt thou?) Tell me firſt why the Moone receiueth a different light from that of the Sunne, when as ſhee receiueth the ſame from the Sunne? whence is it that ſhe is ſometimes red, and ſometimes pale? For what cauſe hath ſhe a leaden and darke colour, when ſhee is excluded from the ſight of the Sunne? make me vnderſtand why all the ſtarres haue a different appearance the one from the other, and haue no reſemblance with that of the Sunne. But as nothing hindereth them to be ſtarres, although they reſemble not, ſo nothing hindereth the Comets from being eternall, and of the ſame condition that the ſtarres are, although they haue not the ſame appearance. And why? the world it ſelfe, if thou conſider the ſame, is it not compoſed of diuers parts? whence is it that the ſunne is alwaies burning in the ſigne of *Leo*, and ſcorcheth the earth with exceſſiue heat, and that in *Aquarius* he calleth on the Winter, and cauſeth the Riuers to freeze? All this is but one ſunne, although his nature and effects are diuers: within a ſhort time after, he riſeth in the ſigne of *Aries*, and ſlowly ſtealeth on in that of *Libra*, yet both the one and the other ſigne is of the ſame nature, al-

though that in the one there is swift motion, and in the other slow progresse. Seest thou not how contrarie the elements are the one vnto the other. They are heauie and light, cold and hot, moist and drie. All the harmonie of the world is composed of discords. Thou denyest that a Comet is a starre, because the forme of the one is not answerable to that of the other. For thou seest how like that starre is that fulfilleth his course in thirtie yeares, to that which finisheth his within the space of twelue moneths, nature frameth not all her workes vpon one mold, but glorifieth her selfe in her varietie. Shee hath made some bodies greater, some more swift then others, some more violent, and some more tempered: There are some shee hath drawne from the troupe, to the end they should march apart and in sight, other some hath she put into companie: hee is wholly ignorant of the power of nature, that thinketh not that it is lawfull for him to doe that sometimes which he doth often. She sheweth not Comets ordinarily, she attributeth them an other place, other times, and different motions from the rest: By these Comets he would embezzle the excellencie of his worke and the face of the Comet is more faire, then that it should be esteemed casuall; whether it be we obserue their extent, whether their more cleare brighrnesse, and more ardent then others. But their face hath some worthy and notable thing in it, for it is not restrained and locked vp in a narrow roome; but is more large and spacious, and that comprehendeth that which diuers starres embrace.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Presage of Comets,

COmets signifie tempest, as *Aristotle* saith, and the intemperature of windes and raynes. Thinkest thou then that that which presageth a thing to come is not a starre? For this is not in such sort a signe and presage of tempest as that is of rayne, when

Where boyling oile doth crack, and rotten mushromes growes.

Or as it is a signe that the sea will rage,

When Morcheus sport vpon the dryer coast,
And leaue the marshes where they haunted most:
And mounting hence forsakes his watrie shroudes,
And soares aloft aboue the highest cloudes.

But thus as the Equinoctiall presageth heat or the cold of the yeare, that runneth as the Chaldies say, that the starre that gouerneth on the birth-day, setleth and presageth the good or euill hap of men. But to the end thou maiest know that this is thus, the Comet threatneth not the earth with winde and raine sodainly, as *Aristotle* saith, but maketh all the whole yeare suspected: whereby it appeareth that a Comet hath not sodainly drawne presages to reflect them vpon that which shee meeteth withall, but shee hath them in reseruation, and comprehended by the lawes of the world: The Comet that appeared during the Consulship of *Paterculus*, and *Vopiscus*, accomplished that which was foretold by *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*: For there were great and continuall tempests euery where. But in Achaia and Macedon the Cities were ruined by earthquake. Their slow motion (saith *Aristotle*) sheweth that they are waightie, and haue much earthly exhalation in them: Their course likewise for almost ordinarily they are pushed towards the Poles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

BOth the one and the other is false, I will first speake of the former, why those things that are carried more heauily are more waighty? what then? Is the Planet of *Saturne*, which of all others shapeth his course more slowly, heauie? But it is a signe of leuitie in it, that it is aboue the rest. But she goeth about with a longer compasse, in the moneth more slowly, but longer then the rest. Remember thy selfe that I may say as much of Comets, although their course be more slow. But it is a lie to say they goe more slowly, for this last hath trauersed the halfe of the heauens in sixe moneths space: The former shaped his course in lesse time. But because that Comets are waightie, they are carried more low. First, that which is carried circularly, hath not a course in straight angle. Afterwards, this last beganne his motion in the North, and came by the West vnto the South, then raising her course vanished. The other vnder *Claudianus* appeared first in the North, and ceased not to raise it selfe continually on, and vntill it was extinct. Hetherto haue I proposed other mens reasons, or mine owne, in respect of Comets: which, whether they be true or no, the Gods know, who haue the knowledge of truth. For vs it is lawfull to censure and coniecture vpon them in secret only, not with any confidence to finde them out, but yet with some hope.

Senecaes opinion of that which is contayned in the former Chapter.

CHAP. XXX.

ARISTOTLE speaketh worthily, that we ought neuer to be accompanied with more modestie, then when we speake of the Gods: if we enter the Temples with a good countenance; if we approch the Sacrifice with abased eyes; if wee cast our gownes ouer our faces; if wee compose our behauiour in the most humblest sort that may be: how much more ought we to doe this when we dispute of fixed and wandring starres, and of the nature of the Gods; auoiding carefully all rash, impudent, light, foolish, lying, and malicious speech? neither let vs wonder that those things are discouered lately, which lye hidden so deeply. It must needes concerne *Panætius* and those, that denie that a Comet is an ordinarie starre, affirming that it is but a vaine appearance to intreat more exactly, if euery moneth of the yeare be equally apt to produce Comets; if euery Region of the heauens be fit to entertaine them, if they may be conceiued euery where, whereas they may wander: and other questions, all which are taken away, when I say that they are no casuall fires, but interlaced in the heauens, which they bring not forth frequently, but moue them in secret. How many things are there besides Comets, that passe in secret, and neuer discouer themselues to mans eyes? For God hath not made all thinges subiect to humane sight. How little see wee of that which is enclosed in so great an Orbe? Euen he that manageth these things, who hath created them, who hath founded the World, and hath inclosed it about himselfe, and is the greater and better part of this his worke, is not subiect to our eyes, but is to be visited by our thoughts.

The vse of the doctrine of Comets.

Senecaes answere to Panætius as touching Comets.

How God ought to be considered.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the weaknes of mans iudgmēt in the consideration and knowledge of Celestiall things.

THere are many thinges besides, that are neare vnto the diuinitie, and haue a power that approcheth neare vnto it, which are hidden, or happily which thou wilt more wonder at, haue filled our eyes, and fled from them, be it that their subtilitie is so great, as the apprehension of humane vnderstanding cānot reach therunto, or that so great a maiestie remaineth hidden in so sacred a retreat, gouerning his Kingdome, that is himselfe, without suffering any thing to approch him, but the soule of man: We cannot know, what this thing is, without which nothing is; and we wonder if some small fires are vnknowne vnto vs, wheras God which is the greatest part of the world, is not subiect to our vnderstanding? How many liuing creatures haue we first knowne in this world? and many things likewise are there, that the people of succeeding age shall know, which are vnknowne vnto vs. Many things are reserued for the ages to come, when as our memorie shall bee extinguished. The world is a little thing, except all men haue somewhat to obserue in it. Those thinges that are sacred are oftentimes taught. The Eleusians alwayes reserue some noueltie, to shew vnto those that revisit them. Nature discouereth not her secrets at once: we thinke that we are exercised in them, but we are but poore Nouices. Thinges that are so hidden, are not the subiects and obiects of euery mans eyes: they are enclosed and shut vp in his most retyred sacrarie. The ages wherein wee are shall see somewhat, the succedent another part: why therefore shall these things bee brought into our knowledge. The greatest come slowly, especially when we cease to trauell after them. That which we wholly endeuour in our mindes, we haue not yet effected, which is to be most wicked: vices are but yet a learning: dissolution hath found some noueltie whereupon he may mad himselfe and doate. Impudicitie hath attracted some new thing to defame her selfe: The pompe and vanitie of this world hath inuented I know not what, more daintie and delicate then was accustomed, to confound it selfe: Wee are not as yet sufficiently effeminate, but extinguish by our disguises all that which remaineth of vertue: we will out-strip women in their vanities; we that are men, attire our selues in colours like Harlots, which modest Matrons would be ashamed to thinke vpon: We Bride it in our walkes, and treade vpon tip-toe; wee walke not, but slip along. Our fingers are loaden with rings, and there is not a ioynt that hath not a precious stone: We daily inuent, I know not what, to violate and vitiate manhood, and to defame it, because wee cannot shake it off. One hath cut off his members, another hath retyred himselfe into the most shamefull and infamous place in the Theater, and being hired to die, is armed with infamie. The poore man likewise hath found a subiect, wherein to exercise his infirmitie.

The wonders of the world are discouered from age to age.

Disorders not of Seneaes age but ours, wherein pride wanteth no ornament.

CHAP. XXXII.

His Conclusion is such, that he complaineth of the contempt of Philosophie, and the affectation of vanities, which if it be not a misery of this time, let euery wise man iudge.

WOndrest thou that wisedome hath not as yet attained her perfection? Iniquitie is not yet wholly discouered. Shee is but new borne, and we bestow all our labour vpon her, our eies and hands are at her seruice. Who is he that seeketh after wisedome? who iudgeth her worthy any more but a superficiall knowledge? who respecteth Philosophie or the liberall studie thereof, but when the Plaies and Past-

Paſtimes are put downe, or when it rayneth, or when a man knoweth not how to looſe the time? Therefore is it that ſo many ſchooles of the Philoſophers are emptie. The old and new Academique haue no Reader left them: Who is he that will teach the precepts of *Pyrrhon*. The ſchoole of *Pithagoras*, whoſe ſcholers were ſo enuious, findes not a Maſter. The new ſect of the *Sextians* more powerfull amongſt the Romans, then any other, hauing begunne with great vehemencie, is extinguiſhed in his infancie. Contrariwiſe, what care is there had that the name of ſome famous ſtage-player ſhould not be obſcured. The families of *Pylades* and *Batillus*, two famous Players, continueth by ſucceſſions, there are diuers Scholers and a great number of Profeſſors in thoſe ſciences. Priuately through the whole Citie their Pulpit ſoundeth: hether men and women trot. Both huſbands and wiues contend which of them ſhall bee neareſt, afterwards hauing loſt all ſhame vnder their maskes, they enter into Tauernes, caring in no ſort what becomes of Philoſophie. So farre are we therefore from comprehending any of thoſe things, which the ancients haue left in obſcuritie, that for the moſt part moſt of their inuentions are forgotten. But vndoubtedly, when we ſhall trauell with all our power after it, if ſober and modeſt, youth would ſtudie this, if the elders would teach this, and then yonger learne it, yet ſcarcely ſhould they ſound the depth of it, where truth is placed, which now we ſeeke with idle hands and aboue the earth.

The End of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF THE REST AND RETIREMENT OF A WISE-MAN.

WRITTEN BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I Know not whether this be a Booke or an Epistle, yet is it to be seuered from the booke of blessed life, with which it hath no correspondence. Neyther know I when it was written, yet is both the matter and the handling therof good and learned. The question was, Whether it were lawfull for a Wise man to liue prinately and retired from the Common-weale? It was debated amongst the Stoickes, who by consent called men thereunto. He maintayneth the affirmatiue, and the beginning of this booke is missing, that which is extant intendeth thus much. He saith by the example of the chiefest of the Stoiques, that this is both iust and vsuall, who although they sent some vnto the Common-weale, yet went not. But that some embraced honest repose, euen from their youth, other some in their later dayes retired thither, like olde souldiers that had alreadie deserued their wages. But that honest repose is in the studies of wisedome, and contemplation of Nature. He addeth this, that these are pleasing both to the Stoicks and Epicures, but with some slight difference, because the one doe purposely seeke out the rest, the other vpon occasion; Namely, if the Common-wealth be desperately corrupted, if a man haue small authoritie and fauour; likewise if he be infirme and sickely. Hee concludeth that euen in retirement the Common-weale is handled, which he maketh double, the lesser and the greater; the one is concluded and comprehended in certaine bonds and lawes, as the Athenian or Roman Common-weale: the other is the whole world it selfe, wherof nature hath made vs Citizens. The greater, a wise-man both manageth and handleth euen in his rest and retirement, eyther by writing

or

or teaching. This did ZENO *and* CHRISIPPVS, *and more profited they mankinde then the labours and discourses of all active men.*

OVT OF THE XXVII. CHAPTER.

THE Circi by all mens consent, commend vices vnto vs, although wee attempt nothing else that is profitable for vs, yet shall it profit our selues first of all to retire our selues into our selues: the better shall wee bee euery one of vs in retiring our selues apart, and why is it not lawfull for vs to retire our selues to those that are the best men, and to chuse some patterne whereby we may direct our liues? which may it not be done in retirement? Then may a man build on that which is the best, when no man commeth betweene, that may wrest the iudgement which as yet is but weake, by the assistance of the people. Then may the life march onward with an equal and setled pace, which we make vnprofitable by contrary deliberations: for amongst all other euils this is the worst, that we change our vices into other vices, in such sort, as wee haue not that power ouer our selues to continue in one vice, which is alreadie familiar vnto vs: we grow from one vnto another, and cause our selues to bee tormented daily after some new maner. This likewise vexeth vs, that our iudgements are not onely depraued, but slight and vaine: we fluctuate and comprehend one thing by another, we leaue that which we haue wished for, and runne after that which we haue forsaken. In briefe, there is a perpetuall turne and returne betweene our desire and our repentance. For we depend wholly on other mens aduice, and that seemeth the best in our iudgement, which is desired and praised by the most, and not that which we ought to desire and esteeme. Neither estimate we the good or euil way by it selfe, but only by that which is most beaten, wherein euery one throngeth after another. Thou wilt say vnto me, What doost thou *Seneca?* Thou forsakest thine owne part. Truly the Stoickes say thus: We will be in action euen vntill the last terme of our liues, wee will not desist to seeke out common good, to helpe euery one, to assist our very enemies, and to labour with our hands: we are they that giue not any vacation to our yeares, and who, as an eloquent man saith, hide our white haires vnder our helmets. We are they amongst whom it is so hard a matter to finde any tract of idlenesse before death, that (if the occasion offer it) euen in our death we employ our selues more then euer. Why talkest thou vnto vs of the precepts of *Epicurus* amidst the very principles of *Zenoes* Doctrine? If thou be aggrieued, and moued by following one partie, why forsakest thou them not honestly and couragiously without betraying them? Behold what for the present I will answer thee; Requirest thou any more at my handes then this, that I endeuour to resemble my Masters and Conductors? What therefore wilt thou doe? I will tract that path which they leade me, and not that way which they send me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

NOw will I approue vnto thee that I forſake not the precepts of the Stoicks, for they themſelues haue not departed from them, and yet might I be very well excuſed, although I followed not their precepts but their examples. This which I ſay, wil I diuide into two parts: in the firſt I wil ſhew how any man may from his infancie addict himſelfe entirely to the contemplation of veritie, ſeek and exerciſe apart, the means how to order his life wel. In the ſecond, how in his old age he may faſhion other men, and make them vertuous. Herein will I follow the cuſtome of the veſtall Virgins, which diuide and order their age in ſuch ſort, that they may learne firſt of all to vnderſtand their ceremonies, and then to practiſe them, and finally to teach them vnto others.

CHAP. XXX.

I Will alſo ſhew that this is approued by the Stoickes, not that I am conſtrained to doe nothing that repugneth againſt the ſaying of *Zeno* or *Chriſippus*, but becauſe the diſpute permittes me to incline to their aduice; and to follow alwaies the opinion of one alone, is to offer iniurie to the reſt. Gladly would I wiſh it that all things were alreadie vnderſtood, & that truth ſhould be diſcouered & confeſſed by all men, we would not then change the opinions of the Stoicks: but now we ſeeke the truth with thoſe men that teach the ſame. There are two great ſorts that differ in this thing, the one of the Epicures, the other of the Stoicks; but both of them ſend a man to his repoſe, but the truth is that the wayes are different. The Epicure ſaith, *That a wiſe-man ſhall not haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except ſome accident happen that driueth him thereunto.* And *Zeno* ſaith, *That he ſhall haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except there be ſomewhat that retayneth him.* The one ſeeketh repoſe of ſet purpoſe, the other vpon occaſion and cauſe. But this cauſe extendeth very farre, if the Common-weale be ſo deſperate as it cannot he helped, if it be poſſeſſed with miſchiefs. The wiſe-man ſhall not labor in vain, neither hazard himſelfe, knowing that it will be but loſt time, eſpecially if he haue little credite and leſſe forces, and that the Common-weale be ſo ſicke, that it neither can nor will giue him acceſſe or audience. Euen as a weake and conſumed man will not enrowle himſelfe to goe vnto the warres; and as no man will lanch a Ship into the Sea that leaketh, and hath watching tymbers: ſo a wiſe-man will not caſt himſelfe into a way where there is neither entrie nor any iſſue whatſoeuer. He then that hath all his commidities in their entyre, may ſtay in the hauen, and addict himſelfe readily to good occupations, rather then make ſaile and to go and caſt himſelfe athwart the winds and waues; in briefe, the diſciple of vertues may embrace this happie repoſe, wherin the moſt peaceable men haue licence to maintaine themſelues. This is required at each mans hands, that (if he may doe it) he profit diuers, at leaſtwiſe ſom, if not his neereſt; or if he cannot, at leaſtwiſe himſelfe. For when he maketh himſelfe profitable to others, he procures the common good. As contrariwiſe, he that makes himſelfe worſe, firſt of all hurteth himſelfe, then all thoſe whom he might aſſiſt had hee beene a good man. So then he that behaueth himſelfe well in his owne reſpect, doth

doth hereby profit others, becauſe hee prepareth them the meanes whence they may reape profit.

CHAP. XXXI.

LEt vs imagine two Common-weales, the one great and truely publique, the which comprehendeth both gods and men: wherein we cannot confine our eye within this or that limit, but wee meaſure the extent of the ſame with the Sunne: and the other, that where Nature hath cauſed vs to be borne. This ſhall be either Athens, or Carthage, or ſome other Citie, which appertaineth not vnto me, but to certaine men only. Some men at one time ſerue both theſe Common-weales, other ſome the leſſer onely, and ſome other the great, and not the leſſe. We may in repoſe ſerue this greater Common-weale, & I know not whether better in contemplation then in action, as if we enquire what vertue is, or if there be but one or diuers; whether it be nature or ſtudie that maketh men vertuous: whether there be but one world that comprehendeth the ſeas, the firme lands, and that which is incloſed within them: or if God hath created diuers worlds, if the matter whereof all things are made, is continuate and compleate, or in parcels: if there be void intermixed amongſt thoſe things that are ſolid: if God onely beholdeth his worke, or if he manage and gouerneth it: if he be ſpred about the ſame, and not incloſed, or if he be infuſed into all creatures: if the world be corruptible or incorruptible, and to be numbred amongſt thoſe things that haue end. What ſeruice doth he to God, that beholdeth and conſidereth theſe things? It is to that end, that the workes of God ſhould haue ſuch a man for a witneſſe. We ſay vſually that the ſoueraigne good is to liue according to nature, which hath brought vs into this world, both for contemplation and action. Let vs now approue that which wee haue ſaid heretofore.

CHAP. XXXII.

THis ſhall be well approued, if euery one aske himſelfe how great deſire he hath had to know vnknowne things, and how much he liſteneth attentiuely to all fables that are recounted vnto him. Some trauell by ſea, and expoſe themſelues to the dangers of a long voyage, vnder hope to know ſome hidden things, and which few other men haue ſeene. The like deſire aſſembleth the people in the Theaters. This compelleth vs to ſearch out hidden things, and to ſearch out thoſe things that are ſecret, to turne ouer antiquities, and to examine the cuſtomes of forren Nations. Nature hath giuen vs a curious minde, and knowing the excellencie of her art and ſecret, hath created vs to be beholders of things ſo excellent. But ſhe had beene fruſtrated of her intention, had ſhe diſcouered in ſecret, workes of ſo great, ſo apparant, ſo exquiſitly laboured, ſo proper, and of ſo diuers beauties. But to the end thou mayeſt know that ſhe would be beheld euery wayes, and not couertly or ſlightly conſider where ſhe hath lodged vs. She hath placed vs in the middeſt of her ſelfe, and hath giuen vs the ouer-view of euery thing, and hath not onely created man vpright: but alſo to the end he might

might behold the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and carry his eies on euery ſide; ſhe hath raiſed his head, and planted it vpon his necke, which boweth and turneth at his pleaſure. Afterwards ſhe hath produced ſix ſignes for the day, and ſix for the night, and hath left no part of her vndiſcouered, to the end thereby that ſhe might preſent them to the eye, and enkindle a deſire in him to behold the reſt. For we ſee not all things: and as touching thoſe things which appeare vnto vs, we ſee them not in their greatneſſe: but our ſight in ſearching them maketh way, and planteth the foundations of the truth, to the end that inquiſition may paſſe from thoſe things that are manifeſt to thoſe that are obſcure, and find ſomewhat more ancient then the world it ſelfe. As, where theſe celeſtiall bodies come, what was the eſtate of the world, before the parts thereof was diſpoſed, as now they be: what reaſon hath diſcouered thoſe things that were drowned and confuſed, who hath aſſigned places vnto things; whence commeth it, that thoſe things that are waightie, are by their nature inclined downwards; and thoſe things that are light mount vp on high: if beſides the force and waight of bodies, ſome higher power hath impoſed a law on al thoſe things; if that be true, and which is more iuſtifiable, that a man is a part of God, and that they are, as it were, ſparkles which that holy fire hath cauſed to fall vpon the earth, and that remaine encloſed in this forren place. Our thought breaketh thorow the bulwarkes of heauen, neither is contented with that which is ſhewed vnto it. I ſearch, ſaith he, that which is beyond the world, whether it be a deepe void, or ſome great extent incloſed, yet notwithſtanding within certaine bounds. What is the habitude of thoſe things that are excluded from our world, if they be informed and confuſed: if in euery part they haue equall place, if they be ordered to ſome vſe, if they are belonging to our world, or far eſtranged from it, and whirleth about in the void: if they be indiuiduall, whereof all things created are to be made, or if their matter entertaineth them, and is euery way mutable: if the elements are contrarie the one vnto the other, or if they be not at diſcord, but by diuers meanes entertaine one another. Being borne to ſeeke out theſe things. Conſider how ſmall a time man hath receiued, although he employ himſelfe wholly herein, although he permit no man to diſtract him, and were carefull to huſband well euery minute of an houre, without loſing one: although he liued longer then any other, without touch of any croſſe or diſaſter whatſoeuer, yet is he ouer mortall, and of to ſmall continuance to attaine vnto the knowledge of eternall things. So then I liue according to Nature, if I addict my ſelfe wholly vnto her, and admire and reuerence her. But her will is that I ſhould intend to contemplation and action. I do both the one and the other, for contemplation is not without action. But we muſt ſee (ſayeſt thou) if thou haſt diſpoſed thy ſelfe thereunto, to this end onely, to reape the pleaſure without ſearching any other thing, then a continuall contemplation and without iſſue; for this contemplation is a ſweete and very attractiue thing. To this I anſwere thee, that it importeth as much as to demand, with what affection thou addicteſt thy ſelfe to a politique and actiue life? If it be to trauell alwayes, and without ceaſing, in ſuch ſort as thou neuer raiſeſt thy ſelfe from the conſideration of humane things to diuine? Euen as it is vnlikely that a man can deſire things, or doe any worke, except he firſt of all haue ſome ſcience in his ſoule, and ſome loue of vertue (for theſe things deſire to be mixed together, and compared the one with the other) ſo vertue, which is idle and without action, is an imperfect and languiſhing good, which neuer maketh ſhow of that which ſhe hath learned. Who wil ſay that a vertuous man ought not to aſſay in action how

how much he hath profited? Dare any man maintaine that he ought to meditate only on that which he ought to do? Is he not tied also to exercise his hand sometimes, and to bring that which he hath meditated to a true effect. What if the delay be not in the wiseman himselfe, if there wanteth not an actor, but such things as are to be acted. What, wilt thou permit him to be with himselfe? With what mind doth a wiseman retire himselfe? To the end he may know that he will act somewhat by himselfe that may profit posteritie. Vndoubtedly we that are Stoikes doe maintayne that *Zeno* and *Chrisippus* haue done more in their solitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exercised publique charges, established lawes: for they haue proposed worthy lessons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankinde: why therfore should not such repose become a good man, by meanes whereof he gouerneth the ages to come, and instructeth not only a small assembly of people, but teacheth all men that are liuing at this day, and that shall come hereafter into the world? In briefe, I aske if *Cleanthes*, *Chrisippus*, and *Zeno*, haue liued according to their precepts? I assure my selfe that thou wilt answere me thus, that they liued so, as they said, men were to liue, but none of these gouerned a Common-weale. But thou mayest reply, that they had not either the meanes, or qualities that were requisite in them that are admitted to the gouernment of publike affaires. And I say for all that, that they liued not without doing somewhat, but haue found the meanes to make their solitude more profitable vnto mankind, then other mens endeuours and labours. So then they haue done much, although they haue done nothing in publike. Besides, there are three sorts of life, amongst which, there is a question which is the best. The one intendeth pleasure, the other contemplation, the third action. First of all, laying aside all contention, and that irreconciliable hatred that we haue denounced against those who are of a contrarie opinion to ours: let vs see if these three manners of liuing do not iumpe in one, although they appeare vnder diuers titles. He that approueth pleasure is not without contemplation, and he that is contemplatiue enioyeth some pleasure; and he that addicteth himselfe to the actiue life, hath not wholly forsaken the contemplatiue. There is a great difference (sayest thou) whether that be one thing which a man proposeth, or a dependance of some proposition; vndoubtedly a great difference, and yet the one cannot be without the other. Neither is he without action, who is contemplatiue, neither doth the other doe any thing without contemplation. The third likewise, whom ordinarily we make worst account of, appeareth not an idle pleasure, but that wherein hee confirmeth himselfe by reason. So this voluptuous sect likewise is in action. And why should it not be in action? When as the Epicure himselfe saith, that hee will sometimes retire himselfe from pleasure, and long after paine, if either penitence attend pleasure, or a lesser griefe bee taken for a more grieuous. Whereto tendeth this discourse? To show that a contemplatiue life is pleasing vnto all men. Some seeke after the same, it is our place of rest and not our part. Adde hereunto now, that according to the precepts of *Chrisippus*, a man may liue without trauell, not to addict himselfe vnto idlenes, but make choice of a commodious repose. The Stoiques maintaine that a wiseman will beware lest he meddle with affaires of estate. But what skilleth it how a wise-man come vnto repose, is it because the Common-weale forsaketh him, or he forsaketh the Common-weale. If the Common-weale should leaue euerie one there (as she searcheth not those who seeke her in despight.) I aske you to what Common-weale a wise-man should retire himselfe? Shall it be to Athens?

thens? In which *Socrates* is condemned, and from whence *Ariſtotle* fled, for feare he ſhould be condemned? whence enuie ſmothereth all vertues? Thou wilt grant me this, that a wiſe-man ſhould not retire thither: if hee ſhould goe and liue in that of Carthage, troubled with continuall ſeditions, enemie of their libertie who are good men: where equitie and goodneſſe are baſely priſed, where enemies are rudely and cruelly intreated, and where citizens themſelues are purſued as enemies. He will flie that place likewiſe. If I ſhould repreſent other vnto thee, I ſhould not finde one that might ſupport a wiſe-man, or be ſupported by a wiſe man. And if we finde not this Common-weale, which wee imagine, the repoſe beginneth to bee neceſſarie for all. Conſidering, that that alone which might be preferred before repoſe, is found in no part. Put caſe that ſome one ſay, that it is good to embark, but that we muſt not make ſaile vpon that ſea, wherein ſhips are drowned ordinarily, and which is agitated with ſudden guſts, which carrie away the moſt expert Pilots out of their courſe: I thinke that ſuch a one forbiddeth mee to weigh anchor, although hee praiſeth the Nauigation.

The End of the Booke of a Wiſe-mans reſt and retirement.

CERTAINE COLLECTIONS *GATHERED OVT OF* SENECAES Bookes.

Of Pouertie.

COntented pouertie, as the Epicure ſaith, is an honeſt thing, but it is not now pouertie, if it be content. He that agreeth well with his pouertie is a rich man: he is poore that deſireth much, not he that hath little; for what profiteth it a man to haue much in his coffer, to hoorde vp much in his barnes, to feede much cattell, and lend much vpon vſurie, if he thirſteth after another mans fortunes, if he deſire not thoſe things which are gotten, but ſuch as are to be attained? Askſt thou me what meaſure there is in riches? Firſt, to haue that which is neceſſarie; ſecondly, that which is ſufficient: no man can be poſſeſſed of a peaceable and contented life, that tormenteth himſelfe much about the enlargement thereof. There is no good whatſoeuer that profiteth him that poſſeſſeth the ſame, except that which wee are addreſſed and willing to looſe. By the law of nature the greateſt riches are but a compoſed pouertie. But knoweſt thou what bounds the law of Nature hath allotted vs? Not to be hungrie, not to be a thirſt, not to be colde. To ſatisfie and aſſwage thy thirſt thou haſt no neede to attempt the Seas, nor follow the warres: the thing that nature deſireth is eaſily gotten, and readily ſet before thee. We ſweat for ſuperfluities. They are thoſe that weare out our apparrell, that compell vs to waxe olde, that driue vs vpon forraine forces: it is at hand that may ſuffice vs. If a man ſuppoſe not that which he hath to be ample enough, although he be Lord of the whole world, yet is he miſerable. Wretched is he that iudgeth not himſelfe to be moſt bleſſed, although he command not the whole world: he is not happy that thinkes not himſelfe happy. Let vs haue nothing which may be taken from vs, to his great profite that would lay holde thereof: let there be very little in thy bodie that may be taken from thee. There is no man, or very few at leaſtwiſe, that thirſt after mans bloud for murther-ſake onely. The thiefe paſſeth by the man that is naked, the poore man hath peace in a way beleagred with theeues. He hath moſt fruit of his riches that wanteth leaſt. If thou liueſt according to nature, thou ſhalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion neuer rich: nature deſireth a little, opinion a great deale. If thou beeſt loaden with as many goods as diuers rich men poſſeſſe, if beſide theſe particular

riches

riches fortune raiſe thee to honours, couereth thee with golde, cloatheth thee in purple, bringeth thee to ſuch a height of delights and riches, that thou couereſt the earth with marble pillars, that not onely handleſt golde and ſiluer, but treadeſt vpon it, that beſides all this thy chambers be garniſhed with ſtatues and pictures, and all that which cunning could repreſent, eyther rare or exquiſite in golde or ſiluer: theſe things will teach thee to deſire more greater. Naturall deſires are finite, they that ſpring from falſe opinion haue neyther end nor meaſure: for falſitie hath noe limit, truth hath ſome end; errour is infinite. Retire thy ſelfe therefore from theſe vanities, and when thou wouldeſt know whether thou haſt a naturall or vaine deſire, behold if it ſtay in any part or no: if hauing gone farre onward thou alwayes findeſt ſomewhat farther off to be atchieued, know that this is not naturall. That pouertie which is expedite, is ſecure. When the allarum is ſounded, ſhe knoweth that ſhe is not ſought after: when the armie is commanded to diſlodge, ſhe ſeeketh how to iſſue, not what to carrie with her. But if ſhe muſt make ſaile, the hauen hath no noyſe in it, the ſhores are not peſtered with many attendants. A troope of men attend her not to nouriſh, when ſhe neede not wiſh for the felicitie of forraine countries: it is an eaſie matter to feed a few bellies that are well gouerned, and deſire nought elſe but to be filled. Hunger is ſatisfied with a little, but exceſſe with much: pouertie is content to ſatisfie her inſtant deſires: well aduiſed is that rich man, that hauing great ſtore of riches, poſſeſſeth them as things that may bee taken from him. What moues thee then to refuſe ſuch a one for thy companion; whoſe manners a diſcreet wiſe-man doth imitate. If thou wilt gouerne thy minde well, eyther thou muſt be poore, or like vnto a poore man. Thou canſt not ſtudie any thing that may profite thee except thou haue a care of frugalitie, and this frugalitie is a voluntary pouertie. Whole armies haue diuers times beene deſtitute of all things, the ſouldiers haue fedde vpon roots and hearbes, and haue ſuffered famine too loathſome to be ſpoken. And all this haue they ſuffered for a Kingdom, and which thou wilt wonder at more, for another man. Is there any man that will doubt to endure pouertie to deliuer his minde from theſe furious paſſions? Many in obtayning worldly riches, haue not ſeene the end of their miſeries, but onely the change. Neither wonder I hereat. The fault is not in the riches, but in the minde it ſelfe. That which made pouertie ſeeme tedious vnto vs, will make our riches burthenſome likewiſe. Euen as it skilleth not whether you place a ſicke man in a wooden or a golden bed; for whether ſoeuer you ſhall carrie him he beareth his ſickeneſſe with him: ſo it matters not whether a ſicke minde be in riches or in pouertie; for his miſchiefe followeth him. We haue no need of fortune to liue ſecurely: for whatſoeuer is neceſſarie ſhe will giue, although ſhe be diſpleaſed. For feare ſhe finde vs vnprepared, let pouertie be familiar with vs: we ſhall be more ſecurely rich, if we know how eaſie a thing it is to be poore. Begin to accuſtome thy ſelfe to pouertie.

Behold my gueſt to ſet thy wealth at nought,
Reſembling God in nature and in thought.

There is no man more worthy of God then hee that hath contemned riches. And thererore I hinder thee not from the poſſeſſion of goods, but this would I effect, that thou ſhouldeſt poſſeſſe them without feare; which thou ſhalt attain vnto by this one meanes, if thou hopeſt that thou likewiſe ſhalt liue well without them, and beholdeſt them as things that are tranſitorie. Let him paſſe who

followeth not thee, but ſomething that is in thee. For this cauſe onely is pouertie to be beloued, becauſe it diſcouereth by whom thou art eſteemed: it is a great matter not to be corrupted with the fellowſhip of riches. Great is that man who is poore in his riches. No man is borne rich. Whoſoeuer entereth into this world is commanded to content himſelfe with breade and milk. Kingdomes come not to ſeeke vs ſo farre. Nature requireth bread and water. Hee that hath theſe is not poore; and if he boundeth his deſires in theſe, hee ſhall contend with *Iupiter* in felicitie: felicitie is a diſquiet thing; ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe, ſhe diſtempereth the braine in more then one ſort. She prouoketh ſome to braue it, ſome to counterfeit grauity, ſome ſhe maketh proude, otherſome ſhe humbleth. If thou wilt know how little euill there is in pouertie, compare the countenance of a poore and rich man, one with the other: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily, he is ſhaken with no care, he is aboue the tempeſts of this world. His care paſſeth ouer like a ſlight cloud: their mirth (who are called fortunes minions) is fained: their grieuous and intollerable pride, although not openly is inwardly their torment, and ſo much the more grieuous, becauſe that ſometimes they haue not libertie to be publiquely miſerable. But amongſt thoſe diſguſts that torment and ſwell vp their hearts, they are inforced to counterfeit their happineſſe: riches, honours, powers, and ſuch like, which draw vs from the right, which in mens opinion are precious, but in effect vilde. We know not how to praiſe thoſe things, whereof we ought not to determine according to common report, but according to the nature of the things themſelues. Theſe things haue nothing magnificent in them, that may allure our mindes vnto them, except this, that wee are accuſtomed to admire them. For they are not praiſed becauſe they are to be deſired, but becauſe they are deſired. This precedent cauſe haue riches: they change the minde, they breede pride and arrogancie, they draw on enuie, they ſo farre eſtrange the mind that the fame of the mony delighteth vs, although it be harmful vnto vs. All good things ought to be without fault, they are pure, they neyther corrupt nor ſolicite the minde, yet they extoll and delight mens minds, but without any pride. Thoſe things that are good make men confident, riches make men audacious. Thoſe things that are good, giue vs greatneſſe of minde, riches inſolencie.

OTHER

OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Of the remedies of caſualties.

ALthough thou art fully poſſeſſed with all the flowers of Poeſie, yet debated and reſolued I with my ſelfe at length to dedicate this little worke vnto thee, concerning caſuall remedies, which the precedent times ſpeake not of, poſteritie ſhall reſpect. From whence therefore ſhall we firſt take our beginning? If thou thinkeſt it fit from death. What, from the laſt? Yea, from the greateſt. Hereat mankinde doth moſt eſpecially tremble; neyther without cauſe in thy iudgement do they ſo. All other feares leaue ſome place after them, death cutteth off all things. Other things torment vs, but death deuoureth all things. The iſſue of al that which we feare and are affrighted at, after they haue long time followed vs and attended vs, haue their period in this: yea, euen thoſe who thinke they feare nothing, yet notwithſtanding are affraid of death. All other things which we feare may finde ſome redreſſe or ſolace. So therefore form and conforme thy ſelfe, that if any man threaten thee openly with death, thou mayeſt delude all his threats and ſlight feares.

Thou ſhalt die: this is mans nature, and not his puniſhment. Thou ſhalt die: vpon this condition entered I the world, that I muſt leaue it. Thou ſhalt die: it is the law of Nations to reſtore that which thou haſt borrowed. Thou ſhalt die: life is but a pilgrimage, when thou haſt trauailed long thou muſt returne home. Thou ſhalt die: I thought thou wouldeſt tell me ſome newes; to this end I came into the world, this I doe, euery day conducteth me thereunto. Nature when I was borne forthwith prefixed me this limit: why ſhould I be diſpleaſed herewith? I am ſworne to obey her. Thou ſhalt die: it is a fooliſh thing to feare that which thou canſt not auoyde. He eſcapeth not death that deferreth it. Thou ſhalt die: neyther the firſt nor the laſt; many haue gone before me, and all ſhall follow me. Thou ſhalt die: this is the end of all that I ought to doe; what olde man would not be glad to be exempted from ſeruice? Whither the world paſſeth thither ſhall I paſſe. To this end are all things created. That which began muſt haue an end. Thou ſhalt die: nothing is grieuous that happeneth once. I know that I muſt pay that which I owe. I haue contracted with a creditor that will not looſe his debt. Thou ſhalt die: there can be no better newes, or more happie threat to mortall men.

But thou ſhalt be beheaded: what care I whether I die by the ſtroake, or by the ſtab? But thou ſhalt haue many ſtroakes, and thou ſhalt ſee diuers ſwords

vnſheathed againſt thee. What matters it how many the wounds be, there can no more but one be mortall.

Thou ſhalt die in a ſtrange countrie. The way to death is in euery place. I am readie to pay that which I owe. Let the creditor ſee to it, where he will arreſt me. Thou ſhalt die in a ſtrange countrie. There is no earth that is ſtrange to him that dieth. Thou ſhalt die in a ſtrange countrie. Sleepe is no more grieuous abroad then it is at home. Thou ſhalt die in a ſtrange countrie. This is to returne into a mans countrie without prouiſion.

But thou ſhalt die yong. It is the beſt that may befall a man to die before he wiſheth it. This is the only thing that concerneth the yong, as well as the old. We are neither cited according to our reuenewes or yeares. The ſame neceſſity of deſtiny conſtraineth both yong and old. It is beſt for a man to die, when he hath a deſire to liue. Thou ſhalt die yong. Whoſoeuer commeth to the laſt period of his deſtinie, dieth old. For it skilleth not what the age of man is, but what his terme is. Thou ſhalt die yong. It may be that Fortune retireth mee from ſome great miſhap, and if from nought elſe, at leaſtwiſe from old age. Thou ſhalt die yong. It skilleth not how many yeares I haue, but how many I haue receiued. If I cannot liue longer, this is mine old age.

Thou ſhalt lie vnburied. What other thing ſhall I anſwere thee, but that of *Virgils*.

Slight is the loſſe of ſepulture.

If I feele nothing, I need not care whether my bodie be burned or no, and if I be ſenſible, euery ſepulture is a torment.

Heauen couers him that hath no pointed tombe.

What matters it whether fire or wilde beaſts conſume me, or the earth which is the ſepulture of all things? This to him that hath no ſenſe, is nothing, and to him that hath feeling a burthen. Thou ſhalt bee vnburied. But thou ſhalt bee burned, but then drowned, but then impriſoned, and locked in a tombe, but thou ſhalt rot, and be embowelled and ſowed vp, or caſt into the hollow of a ſtone, which ſhall conſume and drie thee by little and little. There is no ſepulture, we are not buried, but caſt out. Thou ſhalt not be buried. Why art thou afraid amiddeſt thy moſt ſecuritie. This place is out of feare and danger. We are indebted much vnto life, to death nothing. Sepulture was not inuented for the dead ſake, but for the liuing, to the end that our bodies, which in ſight and ſmell are moſt loathſome, ſhould be hidden from our eyes: ſome the earth ouerwhelmeth, ſome the flame conſumeth, ſome are ſhut vp in ſtone, that will returne nothing but bones. We ſpare not the dead, but our owne eyes.

I am ſicke. The time is now come wherein I muſt make proofe of my vertue. A confident man not onely diſcouereth himſelfe vpon the ſea, and in the battell, but vertue approueth her ſelfe euen in the bed. I am ſicke. This cannot continue for an age. Either I ſhall leaue mine Ague, or mine Ague will leaue me. We cannot be alwayes together. The queſtion is betwixt me and ſickneſſe, and either he ſhall be conquered, or I ouercome.

Men ſpeake euill of thee. But euill men. It would moue me, if *Marcus Cato*, if *Lelius* the wiſe-man: if the other *Cato*, if the two *Scipioes* ſpake theſe things. In this time it is a matter praiſe-worthie to diſpleaſe the wicked. That ſentence can haue no authoritie, where hee that is condemned doth condemne. Men

ſpeake

ſpeake euill of thee. It would moue me, if they did it vpon iudgement, but now they doe it vpon infirmitie. They ſpeake not of me, but of themſelues. Men ſpeake euill of thee, they doe it therefore becauſe they cannot ſpeake well. Not becauſe I deſerue it, but becauſe they are accuſtomed vnto it. For there are ſome dogs of that nature, that they barke rather vpon cuſtome then curſineſſe.

Thou ſhalt be baniſhed: thou art deceiued: when I haue done all that I may, I cannot paſſe out of my countrey. All men haue one countrey, and out of this no man may wander. Thou ſhalt be baniſhed, I am not forbidden my countrey, but the place. Into whatſoeuer countrey I come, I come into mine owne. I can be baniſhed into no place, for it is my countrey. Thou ſhalt not be in thy countrey. That is my countrey whereſoeuer I liue well. But to liue well is in the man, and not in the place: In his power it is what his fortune ſhall be. For if he be wiſe, he trauelleth; if a foole, he is baniſhed. Thou ſhalt be baniſhed: thou ſayeſt thus. Thou ſhalt be a citizen in another Citie.

Sorrow is at hand; if it be ſlight, let vs endure it, patience is an eaſie thing to ſupport. If it be grieuous, the glorie is the greater. Let paine extort cries, ſo he expreſſe not ſecrets. A man cannot reſiſt paine, neither paine reaſon. Paine is a tedious thing, nay rather thou art effeminate. Few men could endure paine. Let vs be one of the few. We are weake by nature. Defame not Nature, ſhe created vs ſtrong and valiant. Let vs flie paine. And why? Knoweſt thou not that he followeth thoſe that flie from him?

Pouertie is grieuous vnto me, nay, thou vnto pouertie. The error is not in pouertie, but in the poore man. Shee is readie, ioyfull, and aſſured. I am poore. I in opinion, but not in truth. Thou art poore, becauſe thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe ſo. I am poore. The birds want nothing. Tame beaſtes liue their time, wilde beaſts find food in their ſolitude.

I am not powerfull, be glad, thou ſhalt not be impotent. I may receiue an iniurie. Be glad, thou canſt not doe any. He hath great ſtore of money. Iudgeſt thou him to be a man, it is his meanes? Who enuieth a treaſurie or full coffers. And this man, whom thou ſuppoſeſt to be maſter of this money, is but the bag that ſhutteth it vp. He hath much. Whether is he couetous or prodigall: if couetous, he hath nothing: if prodigall, he ſhall haue nothing. This man, whom thou ſuppoſeſt to be happie, is often ſad, doth often ſigh. Many accompany him. Flies follow after hony; Wolues after carion; Ants after wheate. This troope followeth their prey, and not the man. I haue loſt my money. It may be it would haue loſt thee. I haue loſt my money, but thou hadeſt it. I haue loſt my money. Thou ſhalt be no more in ſo great danger. I haue loſt my money. how happie art thou, if thou haſt loſt thy couetouſneſſe with the ſame. But if ſhee remaine with thee, yet art thou happie in ſome ſort, becauſe thou haſt neither wood nor oyle to caſt into ſo horrible a fire. I haue loſt my money. And thy money hath loſt and ſpoiled an infinite number of men. Thou ſhalt be now more light to walke on thy way, and more aſſured in thy houſe. Thou ſhalt neither haue nor feare an heire. Fortune hath diſburthened thee, if thou conceiueſt the ſame, and ſetled thee in a more ſecure place. Thinkeſt thou it to be thy wrong? It is thy remedie. Thou weepeſt, thou waileſt, thou crieſt, as if thou wert vndone, becauſe thy riches haue beene taken from thee. It is thine owne fault that this loſſe doth torment and touch thee ſo neere. If thou hadſt poſſeſſed them as things that might periſh, thou wouldeſt not torment thy ſelfe thus. I haue loſt my money, another had loſt it before, to the end thou ſhouldeſt haue it.

I haue loſt my ſight. Night and obſcuritie hath her pleaſures. I haue loſt my ſight. From how many deſires art thou exempted? How many things ſhalt thou want, which rather then thou ſhouldeſt ſee, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt pluck out thine eyes. Knoweſt thou not that bodily blindnes is a part of innocence? The eye diſcouereth vnto one man an adultery, to another inceſt, to this man a houſe which he deſireth, to that man a towne; in briefe all ſorts of miſchiefes. Vndoubtedly, the eyes are the ſtings of vices, and the guides of wickednesſe.

I haue loſt my children. Thou art a foole to bewaile the death of thoſe that are mortall. Is this a noueltie, or a thing to be wondered at? Is there any houſe exempt from this accident? Calleſt thou a tree miſerable, whoſe fruit falleth to the ground whileſt his branches mount aloft. Thy child is thy fruit. No man is exempt from theſe ſtroakes, vntimely funeralls are led as well out of the Artificers ſhop, as the Kings Pallace. Deſtinie and age haue not the ſame order. A man departeth not out of the world in the ſame ſort as he entered. But why art thou vexed? What hath happened contrarie to thy hope. Thoſe that ought to die are dead. Yet could I haue wiſhed that they might haue liued. But no man promiſed thee thus much. My children are dead. They had them who had greater right vnto them then thou? They were onely lent thee. Fortune left thee them to bring them vp, ſhee hath retained them, and hath taken away nothing but her owne.

I haue ſuffered ſhipwracke. Bethinke thee not what thou haſt loſt, but what thou haſt eſcaped. I came naked to the ſhoare. But thou gotteſt to land. I haue loſt all: but thou mighteſt haue beene drowned with the reſt.

I fell into the hands of theeues. But another man hath met with detractors, another with theeues, another with coſeners, The way is full of dangers. Complain not thou that thou haſt met with them, rather reioice that thou art whole and in ſafetie. I haue grieuous enemies. Euen as thou ſeekeſt out meanes to defence thy ſelfe againſt the furie of ſauage beaſts, and the venome of ſerpents: ſo ſee thou fortifie thy ſelfe with ſome ſuccours againſt thine enemies, by meanes whereof thou mayeſt repulſe them or repreſſe them, or which is more aſſured and better, make thy ſelfe gracious in their eyes.

I haue loſt a friend. It is true then that thou hadſt one. I haue loſt a friend. Seeke out another in ſome part where thou mayeſt finde him. Seeke amongſt the Liberall Sciences, amongſt thoſe occupations that are iuſt and honeſt, in the ſhops of Artificers. This treaſure is not ſought out at the table. Seeke out ſome one that cares not for good cheere, but is frugall. I haue loſt my friend. Show thy ſelfe to be a braue fellow, if thou haſt but loſt one, bluſh; if an only friend: why truſtedſt thou to one anchor in ſo great a tempeſt.

I haue loſt a good wife. Didſt thou finde her good, or make her good? If thou foundeſt her by chance, thou mayeſt hope to light vpon the like. If thou madeſt her good, hope well: the patterne is loſt, but the crafteſmaſter *is* liuing. I haue loſt a good wife. What allowedſt thou in her? Her chaſtitie? How many women are there found, that hauing maintained their honor a long time, haue loſt it at laſt? Was it her modeſty: how many haue bin numbred in the ranke of moſt honeſt matrons, that afterwards were ſcoulds and railers? Wert thou delighted in her loyaltie? How many of the beſt wiues haue we ſeene proue noughts, of the moſt diligent, the moſt diſſolute. The minds of all vnskilfull perſons, eſpecially women, is ſubiect to inconſtancy. If thou hadſt a good wife, thou couldeſt not maintaine that ſhe would alwayes remaine in that eſtate. There is not any thing ſo inconſtant and vnaſſured as the will of women. We know the diuorces

of

of ancient matrimonies, and the brawles of married couples, more hatefull then diuorces. How many are there that hauing affectionately loued their wiues in their youth, haue forsaken them in their age? How oftentimes haue we laughed at the diuorces of old and married folkes? How manies noted loue, hath beene changed into more notable hatred? But this was both good, and would haue continued good had she liued. Death is the cause that thou mayest boldly maintaine this. I haue lost a good wife, if thou seekest none but a good wife, thou shalt finde her. Prouided that thou studie not about the antiquitie of her race, nor on her worldly possession, which men prise now adaies more then Nobilitie. Bewtie annexed to these, will make head-long time against thee, but thou shalt not haue so much labour to gouerne a mind that is puffed vp with any vanitie. A woman that is too proud of her selfe, will make small reckoning of her husband. Marrie with a maid, or that is well brought vp, and not tainted with her mothers vices. A maid that beareth not her fathers and mothers bequest at her eares, that is, not loaden with Rings and Iewels, nor cloathed in such apparell, as cost more then she brought vnto her marriage. Nor that causeth her selfe to be drawne in her Coach thorow the Citie, and to behold the people as boldly, and on both sides, as would her husband. Nor such an one for whom thine house will seeme too little to containe her cariage and equipage: Thou shalt worke that mayden according to thy minde, which hath not as yet beene corrupted by those dissolutions that are in request. I haue lost a vertuous wife. Art thou not ashamed to weepe, and to call thy losse intollerable? But wel, thou must know this, if thou bewailest thy wife or no. In remembring thy selfe that thou art a husband, remember also that thou art a man. I haue lost a good wife. A man cannot recouer a good mother or a good sister, but a woman is an accessarie good, and is not reckoned amongst those which euery one cannot meete with but once in his life time. I haue lost a good wife. I can name thee many men, that hauing bewailed a good wife, haue met a second farre better then the first.

Death, banishment, paines, sorrowes, are no punishments, but tributes which we must pay vnto this life. Destinie sendeth no man out of this world, without giuing him some stroake. Happie is he that esteemeth himselfe such, and not he who is esteemed such by others. But consider that this happines is rare in this world. It hath neere vnto it miserie, and borroweth something of it.

The end of SENECAES *Workes.*

A Table vvherein SENECAES Paradoxes and other Stoicall vanities are set downe, to the end that such as are of weakest iudgement and apprehension, may both know, and be more circumspect in iudging of them.

1 IT is a thanks giuing for a benefit when a man receiueth it with a good will.

2 The vertuous child doth more good vnto his father, then hee hath receiued from him.

3 Of the names of God, and if so many presents as hee bestoweth on vs, should bee as many names as a man might bestow vpon him.

4 Thou art not to thinke that there are but seuen wandering starres, and that the rest are fixed.

5 The wicked and the foolish man is not exempt from any vice.

6 Of the power of God.

7 That sometimes wee ought not to recompence the good turne which we haue receiued.

8 The wise-man satisfieth the rich man for the gold and siluer he offereth him by one refusall.

9 Whether a man may giue vnto himselfe, and requite himselfe.

10 That no man is good, wicked, or vngratefull.

11 All men are vngratefull.

12 If a wise-man may receiue a benefit, and pleasure from another man, considering that he is Lord of all things.

13 Of diuers sorts of benefits.

14 Of the resemblance and difference betwixt God and good Men.

15 If Iupiter would fixe his eyes vpon the earth, I thinke that he might not see any thing more faire, then Cato was at such time as he slue himselfe.

16 Of fatall destinie.

17 One and the same necessitie enchaineth both Gods and Men.

18 Death is in the power and will of a man to kill himselfe, and to depart out of this world when hee thinketh fit, without expecting the good will and pleasure of God.

19 The rich man cannot be rich except he be poore.

20 Remedies against diuers accidents of this life.

21 Our infirmities may bee healed, and nature which hath created vs to tend vnto good, aideth vs when wee desire her to become better.

22 Why mourneſt thou? on which side soeuer thou turneſt thy selfe, there is the end of thine euills.

23 Mercie or compassion is an imperfection of the soule of affections.

24 If a wise-man pardoneth.

25 Of happy Life, and of perfect Vertue.

26 Wherein consisteth the soueraigne good.

27 The praise of that Epicure who cut his owne throat.

28 That a wise-man ought not to intermeddle with affaires of estate.

29 Of an imperfect and perfect wise-man.

30 Death is neither good nor euill, for that may bee either good or euill which is some-

ſomething, but that which is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, neyther ſubiecteth vs to good or to euill.

31 *Of the purgation of the ſoule aboue vs, where ſhe maketh a little ſtay to cleanſe her ſelfe from the ſpots that remaine in her.*

32 *Of the end of the world, and of the reſolution of ſoules into their auncient elements.*

33 *Of the creator of all things, and of the immutable ſucceſſion of things that are enchained the one within the other.*

34 *Death is not a puniſhment, but the ordinance of nature.*

35 Iupiter *after the conſummation of the world, all the gods being deriued into one, and nature reposing her ſelfe a little, ſhall content himſelfe with himſelfe, and ſhall gouerne his thoughts.*

36 *It is a great miſery to be conſtrained to liue, it is no conſtraint to be conſtrained to liue; there is no man that may be hindered from forſaking this life.*

37 *Dying we are worſe then we were when we were borne.*

38 *Of two ſorts of Wiſe-men.*

39 *God dwelleth in euery good man, but we know not what God he is.*

40 *Thinkeſt thou for the preſent what I call a good man? He which is imperfectly: for the other which is perfectly wiſe appeareth not but by chance one time in fiue yeares, as the Phœnix and we ought not to be abaſhed, if the generation of great things requireth a great diſtance.*

41 *Of the ſource of diſorder which is in the ſoule.*

42 *The ſhort life of a Wiſe-man hath as much extent for him as the long life of God. There is likewiſe ſomething wherein a wiſe-man marcheth before God, which is that God is wiſe by the benefite of nature, and not by intention and diligence.*

43 *We deceiue our ſelues to thinke that life followeth death, when as death had gon before, and life followeth it.*

44 *If the ſoule of a man being hidden vnder the ruines of a Tower or Mountain, cannot be deliuered from the bodie, nor finde iſſue, but ſpreadeth it ſelfe incontinently thorow all the members, becauſe ſhe hath no free iſſue.*

45 *If by reaſon of continuall paine it be lawfull for a man to murther himſelfe.*

46 *Of perfect vertue in this life.*

47 *Of the equalitie of vertues, and wherein lieth their difference.*

48 *Of reaſon and the ſoueraigne good.*

49 *Of the behauiour of a wiſe-man in death.*

50 *If it lie in our owne power to diſpoſe of our liues as we pleaſe.*

51 *Of the Stoicks wiſe man.*

52 Iupiter *can doe no more then a wiſe-man.*

53 *Three ſorts of Philoſopers.*

54 *Stoicall inductions to perſwade a man to murther himſelfe.*

55 *The eſtate of the ſoule before it entereth into the bodie, and after it hath left it.*

56 *That no man but a wiſe-man can requite a good turne which is receiued.*

57 *If a wiſe-man be without paſſions or no?*

58 *Of happy life and the chiefeſt good.*

59 *A happie man is perfectly happy.*

60 *Of the golden age and the firſt men.*

61 *Of the inuention of artes and occupations.*

62 *That the firmity and felicitie of a wiſe-man (imagined perfect in this preſent life) is in himſelfe.*

63 *The ſoueraigne good is in this life, and cannot receiue increaſe.*

64 *This world wherein we are contayned, is one, is God, whoſe members and companions we are.*

65 *A dead man is no more.*

66 *That which we call good is a body.*

67 *Vertues and other things, yea, thoſe accidents which are without ſubiect and forme, are animals and bodies.*

68 *If it be better to haue moderate affection, or to haue none at all.*

69 *Wiſedome is a good thing, to be wiſe is not.*

70 *Nothing ſeemeth more diſhoneſt* then

then to wiſh for death. It is in thine owne power to die when thou wilt.

71 *God is the ſoule of the world: it is all that which thou ſeeſt, and all that which thou ſeeeſt not.*

72 *Of the vniuerſall deluge by water which ſhall ruine the world.*

73 *Of the end of the world by an vniuerſall deluge.*

74 *If the heauen turneth and the earth ſtandeth ſtill, or if the heauen is immoueable, and the earth turneth. If the heauen falleth continually, vnperceiued becauſe it falleth into that which is infinite.*

75 *Of Comets.*

76 *The nouriſhment of the fleſh is a ſauage life and beaſtly.*

77 *There is nothing honeſt but that which is good.*

78 *Vertue is ſufficient for her ſelfe, to liue well and happily.*

79 *Sinnes are equall, and vertuous actions likewiſe.*

80 *All imprudent men are mad.*

81 *All wiſe-men are exempt and free: contrariwiſe, all imprudent men are vicious and ſlaues.*

82 *No one but a wiſe-man is rich.*

83 *The ſumme of certaine dangerous Paradoxes of the Stoickes.*

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